AN
UNIVERSAL
HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,
And other TABLES.

VOL. XIII.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσει ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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To the Right Honourable

THOMAS Lord LOVELL,

Baron LOVELL of *Minsted-Lovell*,

Knight of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath*.

My LORD,

WE might be justly deemed unpardonable, if, amongst the several illustrious Persons who have honoured this Work with their Patronage, we should neglect applying to Your Lordship for YOURS. That universal Knowledge of Men and Books, joined to a distinguishing Judgment and polite Manners, which is Your confessed Character, gives us a Kind of Claim to IT: History, beyond all other Sciences, deserves the Protection of the Great and Good, as its Utility is not of a confined Nature, but diffuses a general Benefit to all Mankind. This Consideration, my LORD, greatly justifies the Presumption of this Address, since Benevolence, and every amiable Virtue, eminently adorn and add a Lustre to Your Rank.

IT must be acknowledged, the following Sheets cannot appear abroad under a greater Recommendation, since Your LORDSHIP has given the Public SUCH early Proofs of a refined Taste for Antient History; particularly in Your Travels through *Italy*, where, at a large Expence, You enriched the Republic of Letters with a curious Account of the *ETRURIA REGALIS*; THAT this noble Example must animate the Youth of Genius and Quality to cultivate so useful a Branch of Learning, and at the same Time reflect no small Honour upon the Professors of it.

DEDICATION.

BUT what more immediately obliges us to ſhelter ourſelves under the Sanction of the Illuſtrious and the Great, and may, we hope, intitle us to the Favour of ſuch unqueſtionable Judges, is the Reſolution we have made of concealing our Names until the Whole is completed. Under this Obſcurity, My LORD, we have received ſeveral conſiderable Hints, (which we might otherwiſe have been deprived of) that have much contributed to the Improvement of our original Plan, and conſequently render the Undertaking more ſerviceable to the World. From hence ariſes the Neceſſity of our ſubmitting each Yearly Production to ſome Perſonage of avowed Candour and Judgment, and is the Motive that prevails upon us to ſolicit YOUR LORDSHIP'S favourable Acceptance of this preſent Volume. The Reputation that this Work has hitherto obtained in moſt Parts of Europe, we humbly truſt, will incline your LORDSHIP to indulge us in this Requeſt, and to pardon the Liberty we take in aſſuming the Honour of ſubſcribing ourſelves,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient, and

Moſt Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

CHAP. XI.

The history of Rome, from the first triumvirate to the death of Crassus.

THE first benefit Cæsar reaped from this association was, his promotion to the consulate, Pompey and Crassus employing all their interest in his favour. He had but two competitors, L. Luceius Hirrus and M. Calpurnius Bibulus. The former, a man of great learning (R), was but little versed in public affairs; and therefore Cæsar, well apprised that if he had him for his collegue, he should reign alone, did his utmost to get him elected. He was not ashamed openly to purchase the suffrages

(R) If we may judge of his learning from the account Cicero gives of him, he was one of the best historians of Rome. Besides the history of the war of the allies, he wrote that of Cicero's consulship, at the request of the consul, who had himself already published one of his own in Greek and Latin.

of the people with large ſums; but the ſenators, being reſolved to have him excluded and Bibulus choſen, agreed among themſelves to defeat Cæſar's meaſures in his own way, and to offer the people greater ſums than he had done. Cato himſelf, tho' a rigid ſtoic, was of opinion, that the laws, forbidding all ſort of bribery, ought to be diſpenſed with on this occaſion; ſo that it was reſolved, that Bibulus ſhould buy the ſuffrages of the people, and that each ſenator ſhould pay his ſhare towards raiſing the promiſed ſums. By this means Luceius was excluded, and Bibulus appointed to be Cæſar's collegue. The firſt thing Cæſar did, after entering upon his office, was, to confirm all Pompey's acts, purſuant to his promiſe. After this he made it his whole buſineſs to gain the affection of the people. With this view he drew up an agrarian law, with ſuch wiſe reſtrictions and proviſoes, that the ſenators themſelves could not juſtly find fault with it; for it enacted only, "that certain lands in Campania, belonging to the "public, ſhould be divided among ſuch of the poor citizens, as "had three children or more." Cæſar declared in the ſenate, that he would do nothing without the conſent of the conſcript fathers, nor propoſe any of his friends for commiſſioners, nor any perſon elſe, who might be liable to ſuſpicions; but that they ſhould be all men of unblemiſhed characters and known abilities. The fathers had nothing to object againſt the law itſelf; but as they were well appriſed of the legiſlator's ambitious view, they put off from day to day giving their aſſent to it. Cæſar complained of theſe delays; and then Cato told him in plain terms, that he did not diſapprove of the diſtribution of the lands as propoſed, but dreaded the conſequences of it: "We do not care, ſaid he, that you ſhould purchaſe the "favour and affections of the people at the expence of the pub-"lic treaſury." This open declaration piqued Cæſar, who ordered his lictors to carry Cato to priſon; but he ſoon after privately ordered the tribunes to releaſe him. The example of Cato was followed by the conſul Bibulus and moſt of the ſenators, who declared, that they had nothing to object againſt the law; but that they would ſuffer no innovations. Hereupon Cæſar had recourſe to the people, and having ſummoned them to aſſemble, appeared in the comitium, attended by Pompey and Craſſus. He mounted the roſtra, and directing his ſpeech to his two aſſociates, aſked them, Whether they did not approve of the law? It is eaſy to imagine, that two men of his own cabal would ſpeak the ſame language as he. They both anſwered, "That they would ſupport his motion, with all their "power, againſt the enemies of the people, who oppoſed it."

Cæſar and Bibulus conſuls.

Cæſar draws up an agrarian law.

Which is rejected by the ſenate.

Pompey

Pompey went further, adding, with more warmth than prudence, "If any one oppoſes this law with the ſword, I will reſiſt "him with ſword and buckler." Pompey, by this raſh anſwer, which was no-way ſuitable to his dignity and was contrary to his true intereſt, made himſelf odious to the ſenate, and at the ſame time gained no credit among the people, who thought themſelves indebted to Cæſar only for ſo beneficial a law. However, Bibulus oppoſed with great courage; but the people, loſing all regard for the conſular dignity, treated him with the utmoſt indignity, drove him out of the aſſembly, broke his faſces, wounded his lictors, &c. The ſenators, dreading the fury of the populace, held their peace; ſo that the law paſſed without any further diſturbance [u].

But paſſed by the people.

THIS victory over the ſenate and Bibulus made Cæſar in great meaſure abſolute in Rome. His collegue was ſcarce ever mentioned; no deference was paid to his orders; they all looked upon Cæſar as the only conſul, and called this year ironically the year of the conſulate of Julius and Cæſar. And now the ſuſpicions entertained of the confederacy between the triumvirs being confirmed by Cæſar's marrying his daughter Julia to Pompey, Cato, who was a ſincere friend to his country, loudly exclaimed againſt the arbitrary power uſurped by the triumvirs; and when the agrarian law was brought before the ſenate to be confirmed by them, he continued inflexible, oppoſing it with great warmth, tho' threatened with baniſhment; but at length Cicero telling him, That if Cato did not want Rome, Rome wanted Cato, upon this conſideration he acquieſced, and the law was eſtabliſhed in full force. And now Cæſar reſolved to gain the favour of the knights, as he had done that of the people. With this view he abated a third part of their rents which they paid annually into the public treaſury, and by this means attached them unalterably to his intereſt. Having thus ſecured to himſelf both the people and knights, he governed Rome with an abſolute ſway. Cicero exclaimed againſt the triumvirate, and, by ſome ſevere jeſts (S), provoked them to ſuch a de-

And at laſt approved by the ſenate.

[u] Plut. in Cæſ. Suet. in Jul. Dio, l. xxx.

(S) Cicero, who was naturally ſevere and loved raillery, ſeized every opportunity that offered of ſhewing his wit, without regard either to decency or friendſhip. He was one of thoſe, who would rather loſe their friend, than their jeſt. If this ſatirical turn was not one of the chief cauſes of his misfortunes, it contributed at leaſt to ſtir up againſt him ſeveral powerful enemies. Tho' ſome of

a degree, that they reſolved upon his ruin; and, in order to compaſs it the more effectually, they got his mortal enemy, P. Clodius, promoted to the tribuneſhip. We ſhall ſoon ſee the ſeditious Clodius, vent his rage againſt this great orator, and forward the ruin of the republic, by the baniſhment of one of the chief ſupporters of the public liberty [w]. Cæſar, having thus eſtabliſhed the power of the triumvirate, applied himſelf to his own private intereſt. Pompey had got two conſuls elected for the next year, who were perſonally devoted to him, viz. L. Calpurnius Piſo and A. Gabinius. Cæſar, fearing Pompey might attempt a ſuperiority over him during their adminiſtration, attached Piſo to himſelf, by marrying his daughter Calpurnia. Having thus ſecured his intereſt at Rome during the next conſulſhip, he applyed himſelf both to the ſenate and people, and, with the aſſiſtance of Pompey and Craſſus, procured the government of Tranſalpine and Ciſalpine Gaul, contrary to all law, for five years together, with the command of four legions.

P. Clodius promoted to the tribunate

UNDER the next conſulſhip of Calpurnius Piſo and A. Gabinius Nepos, the triumvirate ſtill continued to govern Rome by the conſuls themſelves, who were their creatures. As Cicero adhered ſteadily to the intereſts of the republic, the conſuls gave Clodius full liberty to vent on him all his fury. Cicero was looked on as the father and defender of his country, and the ſervice he had done the republic was yet freſh in every ones memory; the conſul therefore was obliged to have recourſe to craft and cunning to compaſs his ruin. His firſt ſtep was to gain the affections of the people, by paſſing ſeveral laws favourable to them; then he obliged both the knights and ſenators, by leſſening the power which the cenſors had of degrading them; and in the laſt place he paid his court to the conſuls, by aſſigning them provinces of a very great extent. The conſuls had hitherto choſen their provinces by lot; but Clodius pretended, that the right of aſſigning them was lodged in the people, who accordingly gave to Piſo Macedon, Achaia,

Clodius reſolves on the ruin of Cicero.

[w] Plut in Cic. Dio. Caſſ. l. xxxviii. Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epiſt. 19.

of his jeſts were lively and poignant, yet he often brought himſelf into contempt by the low conceits and ſtale alluſions, which he put off for wit. He has dropt ſeveral things of this nature, even in his moſt eloquent diſcourſes. Macrobius tells us, that one of Cicero's freed-men was at the pains of collecting all his maſter's witticiſms, under the title of Ineptiæ. It is ſurpriſing, that a man of ſo much ſagacity ſhould not think ſuch puns and ridiculous conconceits unbecoming the gravity of a magiſtrate.

chaia, Theſſaly, and Bœotia; and to Gabinius Syria and moſt of the eaſtern kingdoms. Cicero, who had too much ſagacity not to ſee through the tribune's deſign, ſecured to himſelf a faithful friend in L. Ninnius Quadratus, another of the tribunes, who ſo effectually oppoſed all the attempts of Clodius, that he could not proceed. Hereupon Clodius, fearing Ninnius, or, as others call him, Mummius, might by his oppoſition overturn all his ſchemes, had recourſe to artifice, and aſſured Cicero, that he would undertake nothing to his prejudice, provided he would perſuade Ninnius not to oppoſe his meaſures. We are told that both Cæſar and Pompey baſely demeaned themſelves to aſſure the orator, that the tribune had no deſign to hurt him; and that Cicero, deceived by theſe falſe aſſurances, deſired Ninnius to wave his oppoſition, and ſlept in ſecurity. In the mean time, Clodius got another law paſſed, enacting, That when a tribune of the people ſhould propoſe any law in the comitia, no regard ſhould be had to the denunciations of the augurs. As moſt of that college favoured Cicero, the tribune was afraid, leſt they ſhould, under pretence of religion, prevail upon the people to reject the decree, which he had already drawn up againſt Cicero. And now the tribune, thinking himſelf in a condition to carry his point, mounted the roſtra, and propoſed the following law, at which all theſe preparations aimed, viz. "That whoever had been con-
" cerned in the death of a Roman [illegible], before the people
" had paſſed ſentence on him, ſhould be deemed guilty of trea-
" ſon, and puniſhed as a ſtate criminal." Cicero, well appriſed that he was the perſon aimed at by this law, and ſeeing himſelf in ſo great danger, changed his habit, and, letting his beard grow, went about in deep mourning, ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of his friends. Many of the knights teſtified their regard for him, by changing their habits, and, in a negligent dreſs, ſupplicating in his behalf. Among theſe was the ſon of Craſſus the triumvir, who had been taught by Cicero the rules of eloquence, and had made an extraordinary proficiency under ſo great a maſter. This young patrician, at the head of twenty thouſand young Romans of his age, attended Cicero where-ever he went. Clodius on the other hand, attended by a numerous body of armed men, inſulted Cicero, where-ever he met him, reproached him with want of courage, and, interrupting him in his humble addreſſes to the people, encouraged his enemies, who were the dregs of the populace, to throw ſtones and dirt at the orator and his company, who dared not return the like treatment, for fear of violating the ſacred perſon of a tribune. The ſenate, affected with the unjuſt

What ſteps he took to compaſs it.

Propoſes a law aimed at Cicero.

Regard paid by the knights and ſenators to Cicero.

proſecution of a man, whom they looked upon as the chief ornament of their body, aſſembled, in order to decree, that the people ſhould put on mourning, as in a public calamity; but the conſuls, whom Clodius had gained over, oppoſed it, while he himſelf with a band of armed ſlaves beſet the place where the ſenate met, and with menaces deterred them from coming to any reſolution. It muſt be owned, that Cicero on this occaſion acted a part unworthy of his former conſtancy. He ran from houſe to houſe with ſorrow and conſternation in his face, imploring the protection of his friends, and cringing, with a ſhameful meanneſs of ſpirit, even to his enemies. The advice his friends gave him ſerved only to embarraſs him the more. Lucullus was for having recourſe to arms and repelling force by force. The knights declared for him, and with them the better part of the citizens; but Cato and Hortenſius adviſed him not to tarniſh his paſt glory, by filling Rome with ſlaughter, and exerciſing the ſame cruelties on his fellow-citizens, which he had ſo ſeverly condemned in Catiline. Cicero, greatly perplexed and not knowing how to eſcape the fury of the mad tribune, had at length recourſe to Cæſar, entreating him, that he would take him with him into Gaul as one of his lieutenants. This was, all things conſidered, the ſafeſt method he could have taken; and Cæſar who wanted nothing elſe but to get him out of Rome, where he might, by his eloquence, raiſe great diſturbances, readily conſented to his requeſt. Clodius was well appriſed, that, by this means, his prey would eſcape him; and therefore, in order to divert him from accepting the new employment, he feigned himſelf diſpoſed to a reconciliation, and ſent him word by ſome common friends, that he had been informed, that his wife Terentia had been the chief cauſe of his giving evidence againſt him in the affair of Pompeia, and that now he was determined to drop the proſecution, and live again in amity with him. Cicero, tho' a man in other reſpects of uncommon ſagacity, was ſo far impoſed upon by his enemy's fair words and promiſes, that he changed his mind, and refuſed to attend Cæſar into Gaul. This ſo provoked Cæſar, that he joined Clodius againſt him, and engaged Pompey not to intermeddle in his behalf. Hereupon Clodius reſumed his impeachment, and accuſed Cicero before the tribes, of having put Lentulus, Cethegus and other Roman citizens to death, without a lawful trial. Cicero, ſeeing himſelf thus expoſed anew to the rage of the furious tribune, had recourſe to Pompey, who was indebted to him for moſt of his employments, and had ever profeſſed a great friendſhip for him; but Pompey

Cæſar becomes his enemy.

was

was retired to one of his country-houſes, for fear of being reproached with his unfaithfulneſs, if he did not ſtir in behalf of his friend. Cicero immediately diſpatched Piſo his ſon-in-law to him; and, upon his delaying to return, went himſelf; but Pompey, not able to bear the ſight of his old friend, who had done him ſo many good offices, and whom he had engaged his word with Cæſar not to aſſiſt, went out at a back-door, ordering his ſervants to tell Cicero, that he was returned to Rome. Cicero, no longer doubting but he was abandoned by him, having called together his true friends, aſked their advice, when Lucullus, who was an old experienced commander, was for taking up arms; but the reſt of his friends adviſed him to give way to the ſtorm and retire from Rome. As he could not bear the thoughts of ſhedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he followed their advice, left Rome at midnight, and reſolved to retire to Sicily, where Vigilius was prætor, who owed his fortune to him; but the ungrateful governor refuſing him admittance into the iſland, he embarqued at Brunduſium, and ſailed to Dyrrachium, where he diſcovered ſo much dejection and meanneſs of ſpirit, as were a reproach to his great abilities and the philoſophy he profeſſed. He himſelf acknowledges that in the height of his grief, he was going to lay violent hands on himſelf; but was prevented by his friend Atticus [x] (S).

He is abandoned by Pompey.

He retires into baniſhment.

IN

[x] Plut. in Cic. & Pomp. Cic. pro Seſtio, domo ſua, & alib. paſſ. Dio Caſſ. l. xxxviii.

(S) Cicero came firſt to Vibo, called alſo Hipponium which ſtood on the coaſt of Brutium, and had choſen Cicero for its patron or protector; but one Vibius, on whom Cicero had conferred many favours, not only refuſed to admit him into his houſe, but would not even ſuffer him to come into the city. however, one Sica, who held a farm near Hipponium, received and entertained him, till he ſet out for Brunduſium. Thither the people of the country guarded him, the neighbouring country being infeſted by a troop of exiles of the Catilinarian faction, under the command of Autronius, whoſe reſentment Cicero had reaſon to fear. Before he embarqued at the port of Brunduſium, he ſpent ſome days with his friend M. Lænius Flaccus, who had a country-houſe near that city. He was then in a moſt deplorable condition, not knowing what place to chuſe for his reſidence during his exile. Greece and Epirus were beſet by a troop of robbers in the pay of Autronius, his ſworn enemy. The government of Macedon had been given to the conſul Piſo, an avowed friend to Clodius. Aſia only offered

Clodius gets the decree of his baniſhment paſſed.

In the mean time, Clodius got the decree of his baniſhment paſſed, confiſcated his effects, which, to the immortal honour of the exile, no-body would buy when expoſed to ſale, burnt to the ground his houſes in the country, and his fine palace in Rome, and ordered the pontifices to conſecrate the ground, on which his city-houſe ſtood, to the goddeſſes Peace and Liberty, to make the reſtitution of it in a manner impoſſible. Thus Clodius triumphed at Rome; but as Cato ſtill thwarted him in his pernicious attempts, he prevailed on the people to paſs the moſt unjuſt decree poſſible, purely to gratify a private reſentment of his own, and then, by another decree, obliged Cato to put the firſt in execution. Clodius had been taken in his youth by the pirates, while he was ſerving in the eaſt; and Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, a covetous prince, had refuſed to pay his ranſom. This Clodius took greatly amiſs, and now that he was the reigning tribune, he reſolved to be revenged on the king of Cyprus; and accordingly got a decree offered him a ſecure retreat; and therefore he embarqued at Brunduſium, reſolving to ſail to Cyzicus, a city of Myſia. This he himſelf declares in a letter, which he wrote before he embarqued, to his wife Terentia, and to his children Tullia and Cicero. "I have "ſpent thirteen days, ſays he, at Brunduſium, in the houſe of "M. Lænius Flaccus. This faithful friend is affected with my miſ-"fortunes, and, in ſpight of the furious Clodius, entertains me with "great civility. I am going to leave him and embarque for Macedon, "whence I intend to proceed to Cyzicus, and there finiſh my courſe." Accordingly, on the thirteenth of April, he took leave of his friend Flaccus, who, with his father and children, attended him to the port, where theſe illuſtrious friends parted, after having given each other reciprocal aſſurances of the moſt ſincere friendſhip. Cicero had at firſt a favourable wind; but a few hours after a violent ſtorm obliged the pilot to return to the ſame port. When the ſtorm was appeaſed, he put to ſea again, and landed at Dyrrachium, now Durazzo. There the inhabitants received him in ſuch a manner, as might have allayed his grief if he had been capable of any comfort; but he diſcovered a weakneſs on this occaſion, which could not have been expected from a man bred up in the ſtudy of philoſophy. He grew melancholy, was ever ſighing, and turning his eyes towards Italy. The Greeks, who came to viſit him, being quite tired with his complaints, were forced to invent dreams, and draw good preſages of his ſpeedy return from the moſt trifling events, in order to pacify him. So very different are ſometimes the greateſt men from themſelves in times of adverſity! Cicero, after a ſhort ſtay at Dyrrachium, repaired to Theſſalonica, and there reſided, till he was recalled from baniſhment.

a decree paſſed, depriving him of his dominions, under pretence that he had forfeited them by his ill conduct. Cato was charged with the execution of this ſcandalous decree, and that he might be kept the longer from Rome, he was ordered at the ſame time to reſettle ſome citizens of diſtinction in Byzantium, who had been driven from thence by the populace. When Cicero and Cato were gone, the furious tribune, and the triumvirs, whoſe tool he was, reigned without controul; but in the mean time, news being brought to Rome, that the Helvetians, having abandoned their country, and burnt down their towns and houſes, were preparing to enter Gaul by way of Geneva, Cæſar, whoſe province Gaul was, found himſelf obliged to leave Rome, and haſten to the defence of the country committed to his care. Accordingly he repaired thither in ſuch haſte, that he reached the banks of the Rhone in eight days. Upon his arrival, he broke down the bridge of Geneva; and as he found but one legion in the province, he deferred giving anſwer to the Helvetians, who deſired leave to paſs through the country of the Allobroges, till he had covered the frontiers of his province, by carrying on a wall from the lake Lemanus, or lake of Geneva, to mount Jura, now Mont S. Claude. This wall was nineteen miles in extent, ſixteen foot high, and defended by a deep ditch and caſtles at proper diſtances. As Cæſar did not ſet out from Rome till about the beginning of April and this work was completed before the ides, or the thirteenth, of the ſame month, it is manifeſt, that beſides the Roman legion, great numbers of the inhabitants were employed in it. When the deputies of the Helvetii returned at the time appointed for an anſwer, Cæſar told them, that the Romans never ſuffered foreign armies to march through their countries; and that, if they attempted to force a paſſage, he would repel force with force. Upon this, the whole nation of the Helvetians appeared in a body; and then Cæſar, perſuaded that he could not reſiſt them with the few troops he had, left Labienus, one of his lieutenants, to defend his lines, and haſtening back into Italy, brought from thence in a very ſhort time five legions. With theſe he fell upon the Helvetians, while they were embarraſſed in paſſing the Arar, now the Saone, cut in pieces thoſe who had not yet croſſed the river, and, throwing a bridge over it, advanced againſt the reſt. The Helvetians, ſomewhat diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, ſent deputies to the Roman camp to treat of an accommodation; but as they refuſed to give hoſtages, Cæſar detached his cavalry, with orders to haraſs them on their march. The Roman horſe, having

Cæſar goes into Gaul.

Refuſes the Helvetians a paſſage through the Roman province, and defeats them.

having attacked them in narrow roads, were repulſed with no ſmall loſs, which raiſed the courage of the Helvetians, while the Romans began to be ſomewhat diſheartened for want of proviſions. Cæſar had none but the Ædui, the faithful allies of Rome, to depend on for a ſpeedy ſupply of corn. Their country lay between the Seine, the Loire, and the Saone, was extremely fruitful, and capable of ſupporting an army far more numerous than that of Cæſar; but the Roman general, to his great ſurpriſe, found the corn fail when he moſt wanted it. The Ædui indeed had promiſed to ſupply his troops with proviſions; but they poſtponed from day to day the ſending of the convoys which they had promiſed; ſo that the army was reduced to great ſtreights. Cæſar therefore, ſuſpecting the fidelity of the Ædui, reſolved to find out the true cauſe of theſe artful delays. In order to this he examined Liſcus, the chief magiſtrate of the Ædui, and a lord of the country named Divitiacus, who ſerved both in the Roman army. The former told him, that Dumnorix, younger brother to Divitiacus, deſigning to uſurp the ſovereign power, and depending on the aſſiſtance of the Helvetians, had, to gratify them, privately conveyed the corn out of the province, and raiſed the price of it, hoping by that means to make the Roman army periſh with famine. Divitiacus owned the ſame thing, but without naming his brother. Cæſar was inclined to puniſh Dumnorix with ſeverity; but pardoned him at the entreaty of his brother Divitiacuts [y].

Treachery of Dumnorix the Æduan.

And now Cæſar drew near Bibracte (T), the capital of the Ædui, to facilitate the conveyance of the corn, which thoſe faithful allies had promiſed. When the enemy ſaw him retreat, they purſued and attacked him; whereupon a bloody battle

[y] Cæſ. bell. civil. l. i. c. 1——18.

(T) The modern geographers are divided in their opinions as to the ſituation of Bibracte, as Cæſar and Strabo call it. They all agree, that it was the moſt conſiderable of all the cities of the Ædui from the Doux to the Saone; but moſt of them pretend, that it ſtood where the city of Autun now ſtands. It was called firſt, according to them, Bibracte, and afterwards Auguſtodunum, from the emperor Auguſtus. The latter name it retained, ſay they, till the time of the emperors Conſtans and Conſtantine, by whom it was rebuilt, and from them took the name of Flavia, both thoſe princes being deſcended from the Flavian family. M. Valois places the antient city of Bibracte near a village called Beauvray, about two leagues from Autun; and others take the town of Pebrac, on the borders of Auvergne and Gevaudan, to be the antient capital of the Ædui.

battle enſued, which laſted from noon till night. The Helvetians behaved with incredible bravery; but at length were forced to give way, and retire to a hill, where they had placed their baggage and their women, and ſurrounded them with their waggons as with a rampart. Thither Cæſar purſued them, made himſelf maſter of their baggage, and took a great many priſoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of the famous Orgetorix, the firſt author of the tranſmigration. After this overthrow, the Helvetians, diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained, which amounted to one hundred and thirty thouſand of their people, had recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror; who, having obliged them to lay down their arms and give him hoſtages, ſent them back to their own country, with orders to rebuild their cities and villages. Only the Boii were allowed, at the requeſt of the Ædui, to ſettle in Gaul, whence they formerly came. This victory made the Roman name formidable throughout all Gaul; congratulations were brought to Cæſar from all parts, and the Ædui implored his protection againſt Arioviſtus king of the Germans, who, taking advantages of the differences which had long ſubſiſted between them and the Arverni (U), had joined the latter, made himſelf maſter of great part of the country of the Sequani (W), and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hoſtages. Cæſar, pleaſed with this new opportunity of acquiring glory, promiſed them his aſſiſtance, and accordingly diſpatched embaſſadors to Arioviſtus, inviting him to an interview; which he declining, Cæſar ſent other deputies, deſiring him to reſtore to the Ædui their hoſtages, and to bring no more troops over the Rhine into Gaul. At the ſame time he put him in mind of the favour he had ſhewn him during his conſulate, ſince, by his means, he had been declared a friend and ally of the Roman people. Arioviſtus anſwered, That he had a right to make war when and where he pleaſed; that he

The Helvetians defeated anew, return to their own country.

Cæſar invites Arioviſtus to an interview,

[z] Cæſ. ibid. c. 18——55.

(U) The country of the Arverni lay, according to Strabo, between the ocean, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine. Lucan tells us, that the Arverni pretended to derive their origin from a colony of Trojans, who ſettled among the Gauls, under the conduct of Antenor. This fable Sidonius, to do honour to his nation, adopts for a certain truth. The Arverni, in antient times, were one of the moſt powerful nations of Gaul.

(W) The Sequani inhabited the country now called the Franche Comte, which reaches from the canton of Baſle to the neighbourhood of Stralſund.

he was not obliged to give any perſon an account, either of the victories he gained, or of the terms he preſcribed to the conquered; that he would not reſtore to the Ædui their hoſtages, &c. Cæſar no ſooner received this anſwer, than he marched to Veſontio now Beſançon, the capital of the Sequani, to prevent its being ſurpriſed by Arioviſtus. There the Romans received ſuch accounts of the formidable ſtature and looks of the Germans, as alarmed them. Cæſar therefore having called a council of war, reproached them in ſuch ſtrong terms with their fears, that they were aſhamed of the weakneſs they had diſcovered. He then led them againſt the enemy; but when they came within five miles of their camp, Arioviſtus ſent to deſire an interview with the Roman general; which was readily granted. Both commanders repaired to the place agreed on, which was a riſing ground in the midſt of a large plain.

Treachery of Arioviſtus.

During the conference, in which they treated each other with great haughtineſs, the horſe that attended the king drew near to thoſe of Cæſar, and diſcharged a ſhower of darts and ſtones at them. Cæſar reſtrained the ardour of his men; but immediately broke off the conference and retired to his camp, whither he was followed by deputies from the king, deſiring, that embaſſadors might be ſent him to treat in an amicable manner. Cæſar readily complied with his requeſt; but Arioviſtus, as ſoon as they arrived in his camp, treated them as ſpies, put them in irons, and, decamping the ſame day, poſted himſelf ſo as to intercept the Roman convoys. Cæſar followed him, and drawing up his men for five days together in a neighbouring plain, bid the enemy defiance; but Arioviſtus kept cloſe in his camp, and Cæſar was informed, that the women in the enemy's camp, who pretended to propheſy, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new-moon.

Arioviſtus entirely defeated.

Upon this intelligence, the proconſul marched all his legions up to the German trenches, which forced Arioviſtus to come to a battle, in which he was entirely defeated, and moſt of his troops cut in pieces. The king, with much difficulty, eſcaped croſs the Rhine; but two of his wives and one of his daughters periſhed in the flight. Another of his daughters was taken priſoner, with many Germans of diſtinction. After this victory, Cæſar put his troops into winter-quarters, and, croſſing the Alps, returned into Ciſalpine Gaul, which was a part of his government, to make there the neceſſary preparations for the next year [z].

At Rome the tribune Clodius, who was entirely devoted to

[z] Cæſ. ibid. c. 18—55.

to Cæſar, being ſenſible of the ſuperiority that general was gaining over Pompey, whoſe glory he had almoſt eclipſed in one campaign, began to inſult him, and even talked of diſ- annulling all his acts. He had already taken young Tigranes out of the hands of L. Flavius the prætor, to whoſe cuſtody Pompey had committed him, and ſent him back into Armenia, where it was feared, he would raiſe new troubles. This treatment rouſed Pompey, who now began to think of recalling his old friend Cicero, whom he had ſo baſely deſerted. As this could no otherwiſe be done, than by a decree of the ſenate, or of the people, and the latter was impracticable during the tribuneſhip of Clodius, he made it his buſineſs to engage the conſcript fathers in his behalf; but the conſuls, Piſo and Gabinius, rendered all their attempts abortive, ſo that nothing could be done this year in favour of the illuſtrious exile. The next year, the firſt thing the new conſuls, P. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Cæcilius Metellus, propoſed in the ſenate, was the recalling of Cicero, which met with a general approbation; but when the affair was brought before the people, Clodius appeared armed in the comitium, at the head of a company of gladiators, to oppoſe it with open violence. Then Milo, who was at the head of the tribunes, hired another company of gladiators to repel force with force. The conſcript fathers, depending on the protection of Milo, paſſed the decree in the moſt ſolemn and pompous manner; as did alſo the people when it was brought before them, notwithſtanding the warm oppoſition of Clodius. In the mean time, Cicero, informed of what paſſed at Rome, left Theſſalonica, where he reſided, and came to Dyrrachium, and from thence ſet ſail for Brunduſium, where his reception was a kind of triumph. From Brunduſium he ſet out for Rome, and had the pleaſure to ſee all Italy take part in his joy, every colony and municipium ſent deputies to congratulate him; and the nearer he came to Rome, the more the crowds encreaſed. As he was juſt ready to enter the city at the gate Capena, the whole ſenate met him in a body and conducted him, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, to the capitol, from whence he was carried to his habitation, as he himſelf expreſſes it, "on the ſholders "of all Rome." After his return, he ſoon began to reaſſume his former aſcendant over the ſenate, and as corn was become exceeding dear at Rome, he procured for Pompey, his benefactor, the honourable commiſſion of ſupplying the city, with an unlimited power in all the ports of the Mediterranean for five years. After this he prevailed on the pontifices to put him again in poſſeſſion of the ground, on which his houſe had

Clodius inſults Pompey.

Cicero recalled.

Returns to Rome with great honour

ſtood,

ſtood, and on the conſcript fathers to rebuild, at the expence of the public, his houſes both in the city and country [a].

DURING theſe tranſactions at Rome, Cæſar being informed by Labienus, whom he had left in Gaul, that all the nations of Belgium had conſpired againſt the republic, and had entered into an alliance againſt the Romans as a common enemy, raiſed two new legions in Inſubria, repaſſed the Alps early in the ſpring, and joining Labienus, immediately began to march, and in fifteen Days arrived on the confines of the Belgæ (X). Upon his approach the Rhemi ſubmitted; but the reſt of the Belgæ, appointing Galba, king of the Sueſſones, now the Soiſonnois, commander in chief of their united forces, which amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand men, marched againſt the Rhemi, who had declared for the Romans, and laid ſiege to one of their cities called Bibrax, which ſome modern writers take to be Braine, a little city in the Soiſonnois, others to be Laon, called by the antients Mons Bibrax. Cæſar, upon this news, ſent a ſtrong detachment to the relief of the beſieged city. Whereupon Galba, leaving Bibrax marched directly to Cæſar and encamped about three miles from the Romans. After both armies had continued ſome days in ſight of each other, Galba attempted to paſs the Axona, now the Aiſne; which Cæſar no ſooner knew, than he marched his horſe and light-armed infantry over the bridge, which he had ſeized, and attacking the enemy while they were embarraſſed in croſſing the river, made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter of them, that the bed of the river was filled up with dead bodies; inſomuch that the Belgæ, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, marched over them to the oppoſite bank. The Belgæ were ſo diſheartened with this defeat, that they reſolved to diſperſe, and return every one to his own country. The next day Cæſar appeared before Noviodonum, now Noyon, a city of the Sueſſones, and ſo terrified the inhabitants with his machines, that they opened their gates to him. The Bellovaci, who inhabited the preſent Beauvaiſis, alſo gave way to the ſtorm, and implored the clemency of the conqueror, as ſoon as he appeared before their capital. The Ambiani, now the people af Amiens, followed the example of the Bellovaci, but the Nervii,

Cæſar marches againſt the Belgæ.

And defeats them.

Reduces the Sueſſones, the Bellovaci, the Ambiani, &c.

[a] Dio. Caſſ. xxxvi. Plut. in Cic. Cic. pro domo ſua. pro Sextio in Piſ. & alib. paſſ.

(X) Belgic Gaul comprehended that great country, which is bounded by the Britiſh ocean on one ſide, and the river Seine on the other.

Nervii, a fierce nation, who poſſeſſed the country now known by the name of Cambreſis, joined the Atrebates and Veromandui, that is, the inhabitants of the territory of Arras and of the Vermandois, and, having ſecured their wives and children in inacceſſible places, ſtood on their defence. In the mean time, Cæſar advanced, and arrived in the enemy's country; but while his legions were buſy in pitching their camp, the Nervii, who lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, ſallying out of their ambuſcade, attacked the Roman cavalry, put them to flight, and then fell on the legionaries with a fury not to be expreſſed. As this attack was unexpected, Cæſar had in a manner every thing to do at the ſame inſtant. The banner was to be erected, the charge ſounded, the ſoldiers at a diſtance recalled, the army drawn up, and the ſignal given. In this ſurprize Cæſar ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the beſt manner he could, cauſed the ſignal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous reſiſtance; but as the enemy ſeemed determined either to conquer or die, the ſucceſs was different in different places. In the left wing, the ninth and tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and made a great ſlaughter of them. In another place, the eighth and eleventh legions repulſed the Veromandui, and drove them before them. But in the right wing, the ſeventh and twelfth legions ſuffered extremely. They were entirely ſurrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions in the fourth cohort being ſlain, and moſt of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæſar, ſeizing the buckler of one of the private men, put himſelf at the head of his broken wing, renewed the attack, and being joined by the two legions, which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii already fa igued, with freſh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. However, that warlike nation did not give ground; as ſoon as one fell, another ſtood upon his body and ſupplied his place. In ſhort, they were almoſt all cut in pieces; and then their old men, with their women and children, ſurrendered to the conqueror, who left them in poſſeſſion of their cities and liberty. Then Cæſar advanced againſt the Aduatici (Y), who, upon his approach, pretended to give up their arms, and ſubmit; but treacherouſly

Is attacked by the Nervii. vii.

Whom he defeats.

And likewiſe the Aduatici.

(Y) The Aduatici were the remains of thoſe Cimbri and Teutones, whom Marius had defeated in Italy. They had been left on the banks of the Rhine to guard the baggage and booty of their countrymen, and had ſetled there, after the entire defeat of the Cimbri.

treacherouſly concealed a third part of them, and made an attack on the Romans in the night. This ſo provoked the Roman general, that he broke down the gates of their city the next day, put a great number of them to the ſword, and ſold the reſt, to the number of fifty-three thouſand, for ſlaves. At the ſame time P. Craſſus, the ſon of the triumvir and one of Cæſar's lieutenants, ſubdued ſeven other nations (Z), and took poſſeſſion of their cities. The fame of theſe exploits brought the proconſul embaſſadors with offers of ſubmiſſion from ſeveral nations beyond the Rhine; but as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters in the territories of the Andes, Taurones, and Carnutes, now the Anjovins, the Tourangeaux, and thoſe of Chartrain, and repaſſing the Alps, ſpent the winter in Inſubria [b]. By theſe conqueſts Cæſar effaced the remembrance of Pompey's victories in the eaſt, and at the ſame time by the prodigious ſums he heaped up in Gaul, chiefly by robbing the temples of their treaſures, he purchaſed himſelf many friends in Italy.

Several other nations ſubdued.

THE following year Marcius Philippus and Cornelius Lentulus were raiſed to the conſulate. During their adminiſtration, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, who had been driven from the throne by the Alexandrians, was reſtored to it by Gabinius, proconſul of Syria, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of Egypt. In Gaul, Galba, one of Cæſar's lieutenants was attacked in his winter-quarters at Octodurus now Martaignac in Lower Valais, by a great body of Gauls, whom he defeated, killed above ten thouſand of them, and then, after having burnt Octodurus, marched into the country of the Allobroges, to ſpend the reſt of the winter there in more peaceable quarters. In the mean time, Cæſar, who was in Illyricum, which was part of his province, being informed, that the Veneti, that is, the antient inhabitants of Vannes in Bretagne, with ſome other nations near them, had endeavoured to recover their hoſtages, and were making great preparations for war, ſent orders for building a fleet on the Loire, and made all haſte to the army. Upon his arrival, he appointed Brutus admiral of the fleet, which he found ready equipped; and the new admiral putting to ſea, engaged the enemy's fleet, and

Galba defeats a great body of Gauls.

[b] Cæſ. l. ii. c. 1——33.

(Z) Theſe ſeven nations were the Veneti, Unelli, Oſymii, Curioſolitæ, Seſuvii, Aulerci, and Rhedones, that is, according to the modern geographers, the inhabitants of Vannes, Coutance Treguier, Cornouaille, Sees, Maine, and Rennes.

and gained a complete victory over them. Hereupon the Veneti immediately ſubmitted; but Cæſar put their chief men to death, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. At the ſame time Tituriius Sabinus, whom he had detached againſt the Unelli, defeated Veridorix their chief, and ſubdued them, with the Aulerci and Lexovii (A). Craſſus, whom he had ſent into Aquitaine, beſieged the capital of the Sotiates, and reduced it; but the reſt of the Aquitani ſtill refuſing to ſubmit, Craſſus marched againſt them, and killed near thirty thouſand of them in one battle. The conſequence of this victory was the reduction of all Aquitaine. And now all the nations in Gaul being diſarmed, except the Morini and Menapii, that is, the antient inhabitants of the territory of Teroüenne, of Guelders, Juliers, and Cleves, Cæſar himſelf marched againſt them; but, as they retired to inacceſſible faſtneſſes, all he could do was to burn and ravage their country; after which he put his troops into winter-quarters in the countries of the Aulerci and Lexovii, and repaſſing the Alps, as uſual, ſpent ſome months in Ciſalpine Gaul. From thence he influenced all affairs at Rome, and encouraged his chief agent Clodius to pull down Cicero's new houſe; but Milo oppoſed the furious tribune, and prevented the execution of his deſign. And now Pompey began to be extremely jealous of Cæſar, whoſe victories in Gaul entirely eclipſed the glory he had acquired in the eaſt. Cæſar likewiſe took umbrage at Pompey's joining Cicero; however, they both kept up the appearance at leaſt of friendſhip, being apprehenſive, that Craſſus would leave them, if they came to a quarrel. Beſides Cæſar ſtood in great need of Pompey's aſſiſtance, to get Domitius Ahenobarbus excluded from the conſulate, who had declared; that he would, if raiſed to that dignity, ſhorten the time of Cæſar's proconſulate. To exclude Ahenobarbus was no eaſy matter, he being ſupported by Cato who was returned from Cyprus, and by all the enemies of the triumvirate, who were very numerous. Among all the well-wiſhers of the republic, Cicero was the only perſon who kept meaſures with the triumvirs, the remembrance of his baniſhment having made him more circumſpect. As it was the common intereſt of the triumvirate, that Ahenobarbus, a ſincere friend to his country, ſhould be ſet aſide at the next election, Pompey and Craſſus agreed to ſtand in competition

The Veneti, Unelli, Aulerci, &c. ſubdued.

Cæſar excites Clodius to commit violences in Rome.

Pompey and Craſſus agree to ſtand for a ſecond Conſulſhip.

(A) Some take the Unelli for the people of Coutance; others place them in Perche; and ſome bring them nearer Bretagne. The countries of the Aulerci and Lexovii comprehended Evereux and Liſieux.

tition with him; but as they deſpaired of ſucceſs without the concurrence of Cæſar, they both went to Luca, where he ſpent the winter, to propoſe their ſcheme to him, and engage his intereſt. There they found ſo many prætors and proconſuls making their court to him, that one hundred and twenty bundles of rods were ſeen at a time. Pompey and Craſſus no ſooner informed him of their deſign, than he came heartily into their meaſures. He was indeed ſenſible, that a ſecond conſulate would encreaſe the power of Pompey and Craſſus; but it was more for his intereſt, that they ſhould ſucceed, than that the conſulſhip ſhould be conferred on Ahenobarbus, who was entirely under the influence of Cato. Cæſar therefore cloſed with the propoſal, and ordered his agents and emiſſaries at Rome to ſpare no expence in purchaſing the ſuffrages of the tribes. As all this was kept ſecret, Ahenobarbus, not ſuſpecting that the two triumvirs would be his competitors, went very early on the day appointed for the election to ſolicit the ſuffrages of the people. He was attended by Cato, who was to preſent him to the tribes, and by a ſlave, who, as it was yet dark, carried a flambeau before him; but he had not gone far, before ſome aſſaſſins, who lay in wait for him, killed the ſlave, and falling on the candidate and his friend, would have diſpatched them likewiſe, had they not ſaved themſelves by flight. Ahenobarbus eſcaped unhurt; but Cato was wounded in the arm. This notorious act of violence rouzed the zeal of the ſenate; but the furious Clodius, at the head of an armed mob, oppoſed all their meaſures; and at the ſame time Caius Cato, another tribune, proteſted againſt holding the comitia; ſo that the conſular year being expired, the republic fell into an interregnum; which ſo grieved the ſenators, that they went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. As the fathers were well apprized, that theſe diſturbances were occaſioned by Pompey and Craſſus, they aſked them in full ſenate, whether they aſpired to the conſular dignity? They owned they did; and then the other candidates deſiſting, through fear of the triumvirs, the comitia were held without the leaſt diſturbance, and Pompey and Craſſus unanimouſly choſen [c].

They are choſen.

Cæsar, now under no apprehenſion of being recalled from Gaul, haſtened thither to oppoſe the Uſipetes and Tenchtheri (B), who being driven out of their own country by the Suevi, had croſſed the Rhine, with a deſign to ſettle in Belgic Gaul. As

[c] Dio Caſſ. l xxxix. Plut. in Pomp. Cic. de provin. conſular.

(B) Some modern geographers place theſe people in the territo-

ry

As ſoon as he appeared, the Germans ſent him a deputation, offering to join him, if he would aſſign them lands. Cæſar anſwered, that there was no room in Gaul for new-comers; but that he would deſire the Ubii, the people of Cologne, to give them leave to ſettle in their territories. Then they deſired time to treat with the Ubii; and in the mean while, falling treacherouſly upon ſome Roman ſquadrons, killed about ſeventy men. Cæſar, exaſperated at this perfidiouſneſs, immediately marched after them, and coming up with them, when leaſt expected, made a dreadful ſlaughter of the unhappy wretches, who were but indifferently armed. They fled in the utmoſt confuſion; but Cæſar purſued them to the conflux of the Rhine and the Maeſe, where the ſlaughter was renewed with ſuch fury, that of four hundred thouſand ſouls very few eſcaped. After this, being reſolved to break into Germany, and ſpread the terror of the Roman name among thoſe barbarous nations, he ordered a bridge to be built over the Rhine; which wonderful undertaking being completed in ten days, he entered Germany, plundered and ſacked the country of the Sicambri (C), terrified the Suevi (D), and having made them ſenſible that there was a more formidable nation in the world than themſelves, he returned into Gaul, and broke down the bridge he had built. This expedition into Germany was finiſhed in eighteen days [d].

Cæſar defeats the Uſipetes and Tenchtheri.

Paſſes the Rhine.

And now Cæſar, having reduced all Gaul, and ſtruck terror into the German nations bordering on the countries which he had ſubdued, reſolved to paſs over into Britain, and puniſh thoſe iſlanders for ſending continual ſupplies to the Gauls againſt the Romans. This was a dangerous enterprize; and therefore, before he embarqued in it, he carefully enquired of the merchants, who traded to the Britiſh iſlands, what ſort of people they were; in what manner they made war; under what

His expedition into Britain.

[d] Cæſ. bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 1—17.

ry of Relinchuſen in Germany; others in the neighbourhood of Zutphen. It is certain that they had no fixed ſettlement; for in Tacitus's time, they inhabited the country bordering on the territory of Baſile (26).

(C) We cannot give any account of the country of the Sicambri. All we know of them is, that they lived near the rivers Lyppe and Iſel, and that they poſſeſſed a pretty large territory in Germany.

(D) The Suevi inhahited that part of Germany which is now the dutchy of Mecklemburg, the marquiſate of Brandenburg, Turingen, and a part of Upper Saxony.

(26) Tacit. de morib. German.

what laws they lived, and which were their beſt ports. After this, he ſent Voluſenus over into Britain, to view the coaſt, while he himſelf, croſſing the country of the Morini, came to the place where the paſſage from the continent to the iſland is narroweſt. Thither he ordered all the ſhips to repair, which he had made uſe of againſt the Veneti. In the mean time, the Britains, informed of theſe preparations, diſpatched deputies to him, offering to ſubmit to the republic and to give hoſtages. Cæſar ſent the embaſſadors back with fair promiſes, and with them one Comius of Atrebatum, a man well known in Britain, charging him to gain over to the Roman intereſt as many cities as he could, and to perſuade them to ſend him hoſtages; but Comius, not caring to truſt the inhabitants, continued five days on the coaſt; and then, without ſo much as landing, returned to make his report to Cæſar of what he had obſerved. Cæſar, leaving Sulpicius Rufus in Gaul to guard the ports, put to ſea with two legions, and made the Britiſh coaſt the next morning, which he found lined with men to oppoſe his landing. As he could not conveniently make a deſcent in that place, the eminences, which the inhabitants had ſeized, being ſo near the ſhore, that they could from thence haraſs the Romans with their darts, without being expoſed themſelves to any danger, he ſailed eight miles farther, and there met with ſuch a vigorous oppoſition, that he was in danger of being obliged to return to ſea, till the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, leaping boldly into the water, encouraged, by his example, the others to follow him. They all leaped out of their ſhips, through fear of leaving a Roman eagle in the hands of the enemy, and, advancing through a ſhower of darts, gained the ſhore, engaged the Britains on firm ground and put them to flight. The Britains were ſo terrified with the ſucceſs of the Romans, that they deſired a peace; which was granted them, upon their delivering ſome hoſtages; but in the mean time, Cæſar's tranſports being, for the moſt part, ſhattered by a violent ſtorm, and proviſions growing ſcarce in his camp, the Britains, inſtead of ſending him the reſt of the hoſtages, drew together what troops they could, and falling on the ſeventh legion, which Cæſar had ſent to get proviſions, would have cut them all off, had not the general come very ſeaſonably to their aſſiſtance and diſengaged them. In this extremity Cæſar loſt no time in refitting his ſhips, procuring proviſions, and ſecuring his camp. However, the Britains attacked him anew, and fought with great bravery and intrepidity; but, being defeated a third time, they had recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror, who

Lands in Britain.

Defeats the inhabitants in ſeveral battles.

who was glad to grant them a peace, upon their delivering up to him double the number of hoſtages which he had required before. With theſe hoſtages, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, he put to ſea, and returned to Gaul, without the loſs of one ſhip. There he put his troops into winter-quarters, and, repaſſing the Alps, returned to Inſubria [c].

And returns to Gaul.

WHILE Cæſar was thus employed in Gaul, Pompey and Craſſus governed Rome very arbitrarily, without any regard either to the ſenate or people. C. Trebonius, tribune of the people, in order to put the conſuls upon a level with Cæſar, propoſed a law, appointing Craſſus governor of Syria, Egypt, and Macedon, and Pompey of the two Spains, for five years. Cato oppoſed this dangerous propoſal, till he was ſeized by the tribune's orders and ſent to priſon. As Cæſar's commiſſion was near expiring, and by this law all power would be veſted in Pompey and Craſſus, Cæſar's friends oppoſed it, till the tribes agreed to continue him in his government of Gaul for five years longer. Then the Trebonian law paſſed by a great majority, enacting, that they ſhould have the above-mentioned governments; that it ſhould not be in any one's power to recal either from his province, till five years were expired; that they might raiſe as many troops as they judged neceſſary; and laſtly, that they might draw what ſupplies of men and money they thought proper from the kings and ſtates in alliance with Rome. This law plainly tended to the total deſtruction of the republican ſtate, and made the triumvirs ſole maſters of the government. Pompey choſe to ſtay in Rome; but Craſſus, extremely deſirous of making war upon the Parthians, embarqued at Brunduſium, before his conſulate expired, and ſet ſail for Aſia. Pompey, the to more engage the people in his intereſt, built a ſtone theatre at a vaſt expence, and diverted the multitude with moſt magnificent ſhews, in which five hundred lions and eighteen elephants appeared in the arena.

The Trebonian law

THE next year Domitius Ahenobarbus and Claudius Pulcher were raiſed to the conſulate. The former was an avowed enemy to the triumvirate; and Cato, now prætor, was in a condition to aſſiſt him: but as the triumvirs were at the head of three great armies, they feared nothing either from the conſul or the prætor. Cæſar and Craſſus were indeed at a great diſtance from Rome; but Pompey, without any regard to law or precedents, having raiſed an army, to put himſelf, as he ſaid, upon a level with the other two, kept it at the very gates of Rome; ſo that the moſt zealous republicans durſt

Cæſar's ſecond expedition into Britain.

[c] Idem ibid. c. 7——37.

durſt not attempt any thing againſt the triumvirs, or in favour of the publick liberty. While Pompey was thus keeping the capital in awe, Cæſar was intent on another expedition to the Britiſh iſlands. This was firſt retarded by Indutiomarus, a chief of the Treviri, who raiſed an inſurrection among his countrymen, but ſubmitted as ſoon as Cæſar drew near him; and afterwards by the revolt of Dumnorix the Æduan, who was killed by the Roman cavalry, whom Cæſar ſent againſt him. Theſe obſtacles being removed, Cæſar embarqued with five legions and two thouſand horſe, and landing in Britain without oppoſition, forced one of the enemy's intrenchments, and afterwards defeated Caſſivelaunus, general of all the Britiſh forces; which ſo terrified the enemy, that they never after appeared in the field with any conſiderable body. Whereupon Cæſar advanced farther into the country, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, paſſed the Thames, his men wading up to the neck in the water. However, Caſſivelaunus, with only four thouſand of his chariotecrs, haraſſed the Romans to ſuch a degree that Cæſar would probably have found it very difficult to have reduced him, had he not been aſſiſted by Mandubratius, prince of the Trinobantes, who, out of hatred to Caſſivelaunus, by whom his father Immanuentius, had been killed, prevailed on his countrymen to join Cæſar. Then Caſſivelaunus, after ſome unſucceſuful attempts in Cantium or Kent, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and gave hoſtages. Whereupon Cæſar, fearing ſome new tumults in Gaul, embarqued his troops, and returned to the continent before the autumnal equinox [f] (E).

The death of Julia.

On his return, he received letters from Rome. acquainting him with the death of his daughter Julia, who was, we may ſay,

[f] Idem, l. v. c. 1.——23.

(E) Cæſar, notwithſtanding the great advantages he gained, according to his account, in Britain, abandoned the iſland, without leaving any troops in it, or fortifying any ſingle place; which inclines us to believe, that the reputation he acquired in theſe two expeditions, was not near ſo great as it is repreſented in his commentaries. The poet Lucan tells us in expreſs terms, that he turned his back to the Britains: "Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga "Britannis, ſays he." Dion writes, that, in one action, the Britains entirely routed the Roman infantry; but were afterwards put in diſorder by the cavalry. Horace and Tibullus inſinuate, in ſeveral places of their works, that, in their time, the Britains were not looked upon as a conquered nation. Whence it is pretty plain, that his expedition into Britain was not ſo ſucceſsful, as he repreſents it to have been

ſay, the great cement of peace between her father and huſband, and had, by her good offices, hitherto prevented them from coming to an open rupture. Her virtue and extroardinary qualities had ſo endeared her to all ranks of men in the republic, that ſhe was honoured after her death, with a mark of diſtinction never before beſtowed on any of her ſex. She was buried in the Field of Mars, an honour allowed only to the greateſt heroes of the republic [g].

A general inſurrection in Gaul.

Cæſar on his return to Gaul, found a famine in the country which obliged him to divide his troops, and put them into different quarters, for their better ſubſiſtence. This gave the Eburones, now the people of Liege, an opportunity of taking arms againſt Sabinus and Cotta, whom Cæſar had poſted in their country with only one legion and five cohorts. At the ſame time Ambiorix, a leading man among the Gauls, pretending friendſhip, told Sabinus and Cotta, while they were beſieged in their camp, that all the Gauliſh nations were marching againſt them, and offered to conduct them ſafe through his dominions to Cæſar or Labienus, The Romans in this diſtreſs accepted the offer; but were by the treacherous Ambiorix led into an ambuſcade, and moſt of them cut in pieces. Ambiorix elated with this ſucceſs, proclaimed it in the neighbouring nations; and then the Aduatici, falling unexpectedly upon Quintus Cicero, whom Cæſar had poſted among them with one legion, reduced him to great ſtreights; but the brave Roman defended himſelf with great gallantry, till Cæſar, whom he found means to acquaint with his danger, came to his relief and defeated the enemy. The news of this victory ſoon reached Labienus, who was likewiſe attacked by the Rhemi, among whom Cæſar had quartered him with one legion. Indutiomarus, being joined by the Senones, came and inſulted him in his camp; but the Roman, after pretending fear for ſome time, made a vigorous ſally, put the enemy to flight, and killed Indutiomarus, the chief author of the revolt. This victory gave Cæſar a little more quiet during the reſt of the campaign, which was the moſt difficult, as well as the moſt glorious of any he had made in Gaul; but after all, he loſt ſo many men this ſummer that he was forced to have recourſe to Pompey, who was weak enough to ſpare him two legions out of the army, which he kept for oſtentation only near Rome. Pompey was blind to Cæſar's deſigns; but Cato foreſaw the evils he was bringing on the republic, tho' it was out of his power to prevent them. All he could do was, to

Pompey ſends Cæſar two legions.

attempt

[g] Plut. in Pomp.

attempt the rooting out of bribery and corruption. In order to this, he enacted a law, forbidding the buying of votes at elections; and thereby incurred the hatred both of the rich, whom he endeavoured to deprive of a ſure way of obtaining honours, and of the poor, whom he would have excluded from a means of living without labour; neither did the law put a ſtop to the evil. When the election of new conſuls came on, the candidates bought no more ſingle votes of the people, but with large ſums purchaſed the protection of the triumvirs, or of the preſent conſuls; and thoſe who offered moſt would have been choſen, had not Q. Mutius Scævola, one of the tribunes and a true republican, by raiſing difficulty upon difficulty, got the aſſembly diſſolved as often as it was called, till at length the conſular year expired before the election was made, and then a long inter-regnum enſued [h].

Cato endeavours in vain to prevent bribery.

Great diſorders occaſioned in Rome by Pompey.

Pompey, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood of Rome, fomented diſcord in the capital, and, by his private intrigues, got the election of conſuls put off for ſeven months; during which time his friends, to ſound the diſpoſition of the people, ſaid in all places, that it was neceſſary, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, that Rome ſhould be governed by one man; nay, the tribune C. Luceius went ſo far, as to propoſe to the people the raiſing of Pompey to the dictatorſhip, but Cato oppoſed the motion with ſuch elequence and reſolution, that he had like to have got the tribune deprived of his office. Then Pompey, fearing to diſguſt the people whoſe favour he courted, and in order to remove all ſuſpicions, ſuffered Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Meſſala to be choſen conſuls; but this did not reſtore peace to the city. The five remaining months of the conſular year were ſpent in factions and maſſacres. Thoſe who ſtood candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where it was without ſhame diſtributed among the heads of the factions; and thoſe who received it employed force and violence in favour of the perſons who paid them: ſo that ſcarce any office was diſpoſed of, but what had been diſputed ſword in hand, and had coſt the lives of many citizens [i].

The death of Craſſus.

During theſe tranſactions at Rome, Craſſus, whoſe unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Parthians we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of Parthia [k], after having loſt his ſon in that war, was himſelf killed, and his whole army, except five

[h] Dio Caſſ. l. xi. Cic. ad Q. fratrem, l. iii. & ad Attic. l. iv. epiſt. 15, 16.

[i] Appian bell. civil. l. ii. Cic. ad. Q. fratrem, l. viii. epiſt. ult.

[k] Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XI. p. 18——36.

five hundred horſe, either cut in pieces, or taken priſoners. His death gave riſe to the civil war, which ſoon after broke out between the two ſurviving triumvirs; for, while he lived, he was a check to them both, and balanced their intereſts: but he being taken off, an open field was left for their ambition and emulation to contend in. Pompey would bear no rival, and Cæſar no ſuperior; and hence thoſe diſturbances, which ended at length in the ruin of Pompey, and the utter deſtruction of the republican ſtate, as we ſhall ſee in the following chapter.

CHAP. XII.

The Hiſtory of Rome, from the death of Craſſus to the death of Pompey.

ONE of the triumvirs being dead, and another at a great diſtance from Rome; Pompey, who continued in the capital, raiſed great diſturbances there, hoping by that means to get himſelf promoted to the dictatorſhip. The city was now, in a manner, a ſeat of war between the candidates for offices; inſomuch, that the people being afraid to meet in the Campus Martius, the comitia were deferred, and another inter-regnum enſued. Theſe diſturbances were greatly encreaſed by the death of Clodius, who was killed by his mortal enemy Milo. This event, which Cicero endeavours to diſguiſe with all the art of eloquence, is thus related by hiſtorians: As Milo was going from Rome to Lanuvium, with his uſual guard of domeſtics, he met Clodius on the road, who was returning from his country-houſe. Milo was in a chariot, with his wife and other women; but Clodius on horſe-back, and well attended. They met near Bovillæ, and, tho' their looks were not very cordial, they paſſed each other without any inſult. But the maſters were ſcarce paſſed, when their ſlaves began to quarrel, and exchanged ſeveral blows with each other. Hereupon Milo, alighting out of his chariot, fell upon Clodius's ſlaves ſword in hand; and his attendants, encouraged by the example of their maſter, wounded many of Clodius's retinue. In this ſcuffle, Clodius himſelf, being dangerouſly wounded with a blow on the head, one of his ſlaves carried him to a neighbouring inn, or, as ſome ſay, to his own houſe. Thither Milo followed him, and, thinking

Clodius is killed by Milo.

ing it more eaſy to eſcape condemnation by killing his enemy, than by ſuffering him to live after he had been wounded, completed the work, which one of his ſlaves had begun. Some writers tell us, that Milo, finding his rival ready to expire of the wound he had received before, left him in that condition, and returned with all ſpeed to Rome, to prevent what might be related and exaggerated there to his prejudice. However that be, the bloody body of Clodius was brought to the city by his brother Appius, which raiſed a general commotion among the people, who looked upon the deceaſed tribune as their boldeſt protector, and the moſt reſolute enemy of the ſenate and nobility. They ran to Milo's houſe to ſet fire to it; but he repulſed them at the head of his ſlaves, and killed ſeveral of the mutinous multitude in the fray. Then they carried the dead body to the ſenate-houſe, and there pulling to pieces all the ſeats of the ſenators, they made a funeral pile of them, on which they placed the body, and then ſet fire to it, which burnt with ſo much fury, that the ſtately building, where the ſenate uſed to aſſemble, was ſoon reduced to aſhes. In the mean time, Milo, having ſent for a great number of his ſlaves out of the country to guard his perſon, made uſe of an artifice with reſpect to the murder, which he imagined muſt be effectual. He gained M. Cæcilius, one of the tribunes, who, having called an aſſembly of his own creatures, ordered Milo to appear at his tribunal with a deſign to acquit him. But the people, more tranſported than ever, fell upon Milo and his tribune, who narrowly eſcaped being killed, diſperſed the aſſembly, and, under pretence of ſeeking for Milo's friends, committed all ſorts of violences; inſomuch, that no-body durſt appear in the ſtreets, unarmed and unguarded. During theſe diſturbances, Pompey's friends revived the old propoſal of nominating him dictator. The ſenate aſſembled, but while they were conſulting about raiſing him to that dignity, Cato, who was always watchful over the public liberty, inſinuated, that it would be more proper to chuſe him ſole conſul, ſince a conſul was bound, when called upon, to give an account of his adminiſtration to the ſenate and people, whereas a dictator was accountable to no-body for his conduct. Cato's expedient was approved of, and Pompey declared ſole conſul, a thing never known in Rome before. At the ſame time new troops were allotted to him, a thouſand talents, that is, 193750l. ſterling, allowed him yearly for their maintainance, and he continued in the government of Spain for four years longer, with a power to govern that province by his deputies. Pompey no ſooner entered upon his

Great diſturbances occaſioned by his death.

Pompey ſole conſul.

new

new office, than he ordered Milo to be tried for the murder of Clodius. On the day appointed for the trial, Appius Claudius, brother of the deceased, appeared against him, and was heard with great attention. Cicero undertook the defence of the accused, but was so terrified by Pompey's presence and the soldiers about him, that he could scarce open his mouth; so that Milo was condemned to banishment. He chose Marseilles for the place of his abode, whither Cicero sent him the speech, which he had composed in his defence. We are told, that Milo, in reading it, cried out, "It is lucky for me that "Cicero could not pronounce this harangue; for if he had, I "should not have eat so good fish as I now do."

Milo tried and condemned.

While Pompey was ruling arbitrarily at Rome, Cæsar was securing his conquests in Transalpine Gaul. Ambiorix, the Nervii, Aduatici, and Menapii, had revolted at the instigation of the Treviri, and the revolt had spread to other nations. He therefore first reduced the Menapii, and then marched against the Treviri and Eburones. The former he found already subdued by Labienus, and the latter at his approach retired, under the conduct of Ambiorix, to the woods and marshes, whither no army could follow them. In the mean time, winter approaching, Cæsar retired to Insubria, that he might be within reach of the capital. He was afraid lest Pompey, who was no longer attached to him by ties of blood, or by the regard he had for Crassus, should gain such a superiority over him, as it would not be easy for him to conquer. To prevent this, he sent immense sums to Rome to be distributed by his agents among the populace, paid the debts of some, lent money to others without interest; and in short, after having conquered the Gauls, as one of the antients expresses it, with the Roman steel, subdued the Romans with the Gaulish gold. But he had not been long in Insubria, when news was brought him, that the Gauls had taken up arms in his absence, that they had made Vercingetorix, a young and brave prince, their generalissimo, and that almost all the nations bordering on the ocean had joined in the revolt. Hereupon the proconsul repassed the Alps, flew with incredible expedition to Narbonne, from thence through deep snows to the country of the Nervii, where he gathered together his scattered troops, and then laid siege to Noviodunum, a city of the Bituriges, which brought Vercingetorix to its defence. But he was defeated and obliged to retire. Cæsar, having made himself master of Noviodunum, led his troops against Avaricum, now Bourges, one of the strongest cities in Gaul; took it by storm, notwithstanding the vigorous resist-

The progress of the Roman arms in Gaul.

The Gauls revolt.

Cæsar defeats Vercingetorix.

ance

ance of the garriſon, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of the Gauliſh troops, that of forty thouſand men, ſcarce eight hundred eſcaped. His next attempt was on Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, which he beſieged in ſight of Vercingetorix. But, while he was purſuing the ſiege, he received advice, that the Nithiobriges, now the people of Agenois, had revolted, and that ſome of the chief men among the Ædui had formed a treacherous ſcheme of carrying off to Vercingetorix ten thouſand men, whom they were to ſend to the Romans. Upon this advice, Cæſar, leaving Fabius to guard his camp before Gergovia, went to meet the Ædui, who begged for mercy, and were incorporated among the Roman auxiliaries. But ſoon after the whole nation of the Ædui ſhook off the Roman yoke, and murdered all the Italians in their capital. This made Cæſar uncertain what meaſures to purſue. At length he reſolved to attack the enemy's camp, which he did with good ſucceſs, till his men, contrary to his orders, abandoning the attack of the camp, fell unexpectedly on the town in hopes of ſurpriſing it. But Vercingetorix defended it ſo effectually, that Cæſar, after the loſs of ſeven hundred men, was forced to raiſe the ſiege. From thence he haſtened to Noviodunum, where he had left his military cheſt, baggage, and proviſions; but the revolted Ædui had ſeized all and ſet fire to the city. Then Cæſar, reſolving to join, if poſſible, his lieutenant Labienus, marched to Agendicum, now Sens, and at the ſame time Labienus, upon a report of Cæſar's diſtreſs, haſtened to the ſame place; and conducted his march through the enemy's country with great ſkill and dexterity. Camulogenus, a Gauliſh general, attacked him with great courage; but the Roman defeated him, reached Agendicum, where he had left his heavy baggage, and from thence went to meet Cæſar. Notwithſtanding this defeat, almoſt all the nations of Celtic Gaul joined in the revolt; and, having appointed Vercingetorix their generaliſſimo had the reſolution to come and attack Cæſar, who defeated them, and obliged them to retreat to Aleſia, a town of the Mandubii, now as is commonly believed, Aliſe in Burgundy. Thither Cæſar purſued them, and laid ſiege to the place. As it was very advantageouſly ſituated, Vercingetorix, after he had ſent meſſengers into all parts to raiſe new forces, ſhut himſelf up in it with eighty thouſand men. Cæſar immediately inveſted the place, ſurrounded it with a double circumvallation, and fortified his camp with all poſſible art and care, intending to reduce the enemy by famine. As the garriſon was very numerous, they were ſoon reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions,

Is forced to raiſe the ſiege of Gergovia.

Camulogenus defeated by Labienus.

Cæſar beſieges Aleſia.

proviſions; and then Vercingetorix drove out of the city all the uſeleſs mouths; but Cæſar, refuſing to accept of their ſurrender, inhumanly ſuffered them to periſh within the circumvallation. At length the deſired ſuccours arrived to the number of a hundred and ſixty thouſand men, under four Gauliſh generals, the chief of whom was Comius, prince of the Atrebates, on whom Cæſar had beſtowed many favours. They made ſeveral attacks on Cæſar's trenches, and fought three battles; but being always defeated and repulſed with great loſs, Vercingetorix, deſpairing of ſucceſs, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Cæſar reduced all the Gauls in the place to ſlavery, except the Arverni and the Ædui, whom he ſpared, hoping to gain over the two chief nations of Celtic Gaul by the diſtinction he ſhewed them. His expectations were not fruſtrated; the Arverni immediately ſubmitted, and the Ædui received him into their capital, where he ſpent the winter in tranquillity, after he had placed his army in different quarters to keep the provinces in awe. Thus ended a campaign, in which Cæſar gained more glory, for his conduct as general, and his bravery as a ſoldier, than any Roman commander had ever done before him.[1] At Rome twenty days of public prayers were ordered, to return thanks to the gods for this extraordinary ſucceſs.

Defeats the united forces of the Gauls, and takes the place.

At Rome, Pompey, to ſtrengthen himſelf with a new alliance, married Cornelia, the daughter of Cæcilius Metellus, a ſenator of great intereſt and highly eſteemed by the patricians. As Cæſar was greatly beloved by the people, Pompey now made it his whole buſineſs to eſtabliſh his intereſt among the nobility. With this view he aſſociated his father-in-law with him in the conſulate, though that dignity had been conferred on him without a collegue; which moderation gained him the affection of the ſenate. When the time came for the electing new conſuls, Cato, actuated only by a zeal for the public good, appeared among the candidates; but the tribes preferred to him Claudius Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus, who were both in Pompey's intereſt. During their adminiſtration, Cicero was obliged to exchange the robe for the ſword, in virtue of a law made by Pompey during his late conſulſhip, which required all thoſe who had been conſuls or prætors for ſome years, to repair to ſuch provinces as ſhould fall to their lot, and exerciſe there their reſpective offices of proconſuls and proprætors. Cilicia and the iſland of Cyprus fell to Cicero's lot, who immediately embarqued at Brunduſium

Pompey courts the favour of the ſenate.

Cicero's expedition into Cilicia.

[1] Cæſar ibid. l. vii. c. 1——89.

ſium with two legions, and arriving in Cilicia, encamped near Iconium, where he was informed by Antiochus, king of Comagene, that the Parthians had paſſed the Euphrates. Upon this, Cicero, croſſing Cappadocia, came to Cybiſtra, in the ſtreights of mount Taurus, in order to prevent the enemy from making incurſions into his province. Upon his arrival he received certain advice, that the Parthians were aſſembling about mount Amanus. Hereupon he haſtened thither, ſurprized the enemy; made a great ſlaughter of them, and recovered many caſtles which they had ſeized. But what gained him moſt glory was, the taking of Pindeniſſum, a ſtrong town in Cilicia, which he reduced after a ſiege of fifty-ſeven days. In ſhort, though he was more of an orator than a ſoldier, he ſupported his character in this new employment with great dignity, and performed ſuch military exploits as induced his ſoldiers to ſalute him imperator [m]. His brother Quintus Cicero, who attended him in this expedition, and had ſerved in Gaul under Cæſar with great reputation, had, no doubt, his ſhare in the glory of this campaign.

In the mean time, Cæſar ſpent the winter at Bibracte, the capital of the Ædui, his cares being divided between the important buſineſs he had to tranſact at Rome, and the neceſſary preparations for finiſhing the war with the Gauls the next campaign. At Rome his party prevailed in the comitium, and the people, whom he had artfully gained by his bounties, openly declared for him. But the ſenate ſeemed to favour Pompey's intereſt more than his. The conſul Marcellus, who was entirely and blindly devoted to Pompey, propoſed in the ſenate the recalling of Cæſar before his time expired; and becauſe this motion was rejected, he did all that lay in his power to diſgrace and expoſe the proconſul of Gaul. Among other things, he ordered a ſenator of Novocomum, which Cæſar had declared a Roman colony and preſented with the freedom of Rome, to be whipt, telling him, that he laid that mark upon him to let him know he was no citizen of Rome, and bidding him, when he went back, ſhow his ſhoulders to Cæſar. Soon after Cæſar moved the ſenate for the prolongation of his proconſulate; but, as Pompey and his agent Marcellus had a much greater aſcendant over the conſcript fathers, his requeſt was rejected. When news of this refuſal was brought him into Gaul, he is ſaid to have clapt his hand on his ſword, crying out in the preſence of his officers, "What

Cæſar refuſed a prolongation of his proconſulate.

"Pompey

[m] Plut in Cic. Cic. l. v. ad Attic. ep. 15, 18, 20. & alibi paſſim.

" Pompey refuſes me, this ſhall give me." Plutarch puts theſe words in the mouth of an officer, whom Cæſar had ſent to Rome, and who waited for the reſult of the debate at the door of the ſenate-houſe [n].

THE proceedings of the Roman ſenate engaged Cæſar to uſe all poſſible expedition in putting the laſt hand to his conqueſt. The Gauls, after the Battle of Aleſia, reſolved to act ſeparately, and raiſe, in defence of the poor remains of their liberty, as many different armies as they had provinces. This Cæſar knew, and notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, he marched againſt, and ſucceſſively ſubdued, the Bituriges, Carnutes, and Rhemi. He then turned towards the country of the Bellovaci, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed Correus, one of their chief commanders, and by this ſingle victory quieted all Belgic, and the provinces bordering on Celtic, Gaul. After this he entered the country of the Eburones and laid it waſte, while Labienus did the ſame in the country of the Treviri. In the mean time Dumnarus, general of the revolted Andes, beſieged Limonum, now Poitiers, in the country of the Pictones; but Caninins and Fabius, two of Cæſar's lieutenants, advancing to the relief of the place, Dumnarus raiſed the ſiege in order to return into his own country. Fabius purſued him, and, coming up with him, defeated his army, killed twelve thouſand of them on the ſpot, and having diſperſed the reſt, entered the territories of the Carnutes, and ſubdued both them and the nations bordering on the ocean, whom Cæſar calls Armorici. And now the only Gauliſh generals, who kept the field, were Drapes the Senonian and Luterius the Cadurcean, who retired to a ſtrong place called Uxellodunum (E). Thither Caninius followed them, and defeated the two generals; but as the place was well garriſoned and ſtored with proviſions, he could not reduce it. As it was the only city which now held out, Cæſar haſtened thither from the fartheſt part of Belgic Gaul; and having ſoon reduced the place by depriving it of water, he cut off the right hands

Subdues the Bituriges, Carnutes, &c.

All Gaul ſubdued and reduced to a Roman province.

[n] Appian. bell. civil l. i. Plut. in Cæſare.

(E) Sanſon takes Uxellodunum for Cahors in Quercy; wherein he ſeems to be miſtaken, ſince the antients give Cahors the name of Devona, Dibona, and Divona. Beſides, Hirtius, in his continuation of Cæſar's commentaries, places Uxellodunum on the confines of Quercy, whereas Cahors, was, according to all the modern geographers, in the center of that province. Whence father Briet and Cellarius are of opinion, that the antient city of Uxellodunum ſtood near Uſſeldun, or, as others call it, Uſſelon, near the borders of Limouſin.

hands of all thoſe who were fit to bear arms, to terrify other cities from the like revolt. And now Cæſar, having ſubdued all Gaul from the Pyrenees and Alps to the Rhine, reduced his conqueſts to a Roman province under the government of a prætor. During his ſeveral expeditions into Gaul, he is ſaid to have taken eight hundred cities, to have ſubdued three hundred different nations, and to have defeated in ſeveral battles three millions of men, of which one million were killed and another taken priſoners; circumſtances which would ſeem greatly magnified, were they not vouched by Plutarch and other unexceptionable hiſtorians, both Greek and Roman.

AFTER Cæſar had put his troops into different quarters, in order to preſerve peace in all parts of Gaul, he went to ſpend the winter at Nemetocenna in the centre of Belgium. There he governed the vaſt continent he had ſubdued, with ſuch mildneſs and prudence, as ſhewed him equally qualified to preſide over nations and to command armies. In the mean time, Pompey got two of Cæſar's moſt avowed enemies, Claudius Marcellus and Æmilius Paulus, promoted to the counſulſhip, and Scribonius Curio, another of his creatures, put at the head of the tribunes. Curio, was a young patrician of extraordinary talents and great eloquence, but one of the moſt vicious and debauched young men in Rome. His father, who had been diſtinguiſhed by a conſulate and a triumph, had given him a great example; but the ſon only abuſed the gifts of nature and fortune. We are told, that young as he was, he had contracted debts to the amount of ſix hundred thouſand great ſeſterces, that is, 4,843,750l. ſterling. Appius Clodius Pulcher, who was generally thought an enemy to Cæſar, and Calpurnius Piſo, were choſen cenſors. So that of all the chief magiſtrates, Calpurnius, Cæſar's father-in law, was the only one on whom he could depend; but neither his character nor his office were ſuch at preſent as gave him any great weight. His collegue was indeed more bold; he degraded ſeveral of the Roman knights and ſenators, and among the reſt Salluſt the hiſtorian, whoſe enormous debauchery was branded with infamy [a]. The two cenſors took the laſt cenſus under the republic, in which they computed three hundred and twenty thouſand citizens fit to bear arms, and ended it with a luſtrum.

Pompey gets Cæſar's enemies raiſed to the chief magiſtracies.

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs at Rome when Cæſar, after having ſpent the winter in Tranſalpine Gaul, repaſſed the mountains, in order to obſerve more narrowly the ſteps which Pompey and his enemies were taking againſt him at Rome. During his ſtay in Ciſalpine Gaul, he was informed, that the two

[a] Dio. Caſſ. l. xl. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

two conſuls had ſworn his deſtruction; and that, to compaſs it with more eaſe, the tribune Curio was preparing a law, depriving him of his government and of the command of the army in Gaul. But in a few days he overturned all the ſchemes, which his competitor had been forming againſt him for ſeveral years. The riches he had heaped up in Gaul were immenſe. He had indeed diſtributed vaſt ſums among perſons of all ranks, and even among the ſlaves at Rome; but he had ſtill reſerved vaſt treaſures for himſelf. With theſe he endeavoured to draw off from Pompey thoſe very friends whom he had raiſed to the magiſtracy. Marcellus was proof againſt all temptation; but his collegue Æmilius Paulus was bought at the price of fifteen hundred talents, that is, 310,625l. ſterling. With this money he built that ſtately edifice, which was afterwards called the Baſilica of Paulus. As the tribune Curio was over-ran with debts and devoted to his pleaſures, Cæſar, by enabling him to ſatisfy his creditors and plentifully ſupplying him with money for his debaucheries, ſecured him in his intereſt. Nevertheleſs Curio did not diſcover at once the change which Cæſar's money had wrought in him, but gradually and with circumſpection. Pompey continued to repoſe an entire confidence in him, and was continually preſſing him to propoſe his law for the recalling of Cæſar. But the crafty tribune poſtponed it, from month to month, under frivolous pretences; and when he was at length forced to act, Cæſar's laſt year being near expired, he found means to do Cæſar the moſt important ſervice without declaring for him. He made a motion both to the ſenate and people, that they would either continue both generals in their commands or reduce both; and left it to them to take their choice. The tribune foreſaw, that Pompey would never conſent to lay down the government of Spain, or part with the command of the army; and therefore made this motion, that Cæſar might draw from Pompey's refuſal a pretence for continuing himſelf in his province at the head of his troops. Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonſtrated, that in the preſent caſe a great difference was to be made between the proconſul of Spain and the proconſul of Gaul, ſince the term of the former was not yet expired, whereas that of the latter was. To this Curio replied, that in the preſent criſis, when the republic was in a manner ſubject to two abſolute ſovereigns, there was no medium. Both ought to be diſcharged, ſaid he, or both continued in their office. Who-ever continues alone in arms, will become the tyrant of Rome. If they continue both armed, the power of the one will balance that of the other; and we ſhall be ſe-

Cæſar buys off one of the conſuls and one of tribunes.

Curio moves that both generals ſhould be recalled.

cured by their mutual fears. The ſenate were for recalling Cæſar and continuing Pompey in his office; but the people were inclined to favour Curio's motion. Pompey himſelf, being greatly embarraſſed, left Rome, under pretence of going to his government; but went no farther than to a country-houſe at a ſmall diſtance from Rome, whence he wrote a very artful letter to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he was ready to reſign all his employments and diſband his army, provided Cæſar did the ſame. Curio, well appriſed that Pompey's view was to induce the ſenate to recall Cæſar, told Pompey, on his return to Rome, that it was his duty to begin what he propoſed, and aſſured him, that his example would be followed by Cæſar. Pompey inſiſted upon Cæſar's reſigning the firſt, ſince his term was expired. Whereupon Curio propoſed, that both ſhould be ordered to lay down their commiſſions, and declared enemies to the republic if they refuſed to comply with the order. The fathers all inclined to recall both rivals; but were for obliging Cæſar to reſign the command of his army before Pompey gave up his. Whereupon Curio, who repreſented the people at the head of the tribunes, would not ſuffer them to deliberate any longer about the diſmiſſion of either. Then they only decreed, that one legion out of each army ſhould be ſent into Syria, where Bibulus wanted a reinforcement againſt the Parthians. Pompey at the ſame time demanded of Cæſar the legions which he had formerly lent him. Cæſar knew the reaſon of this order and of Pompey's deſign, which was to weaken his army; but nevertheleſs he delivered up the two legions to Appius Clodius, whom the ſenate had ſent to receive them and conduct them into Italy. Cæſar, on their quitting his army, loaded the officers with preſents, and gave each private man two hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, about five pounds of our money. When the two legions arrived in Italy, inſtead of being ſent into the eaſt, they were both, by an order from the conſul Marcellus, added to Pompey's troops. Cicero, at this time returned to Rome from his government of Cilicia, and demanded a triumph for his victory over the Parthians. His abſence had prevented him from joining either party, and his preſent pretenſions obliged him to ſtand neuter. He therefore took upon him the office of mediator; but Pompey would now hearken to no terms of accommodation, Appius having, on his return from Gaul, to flatter Pompey's ambition, ſpread abroad, that Cæſars's troops were diſſatisfied with their general, for having engaged them in ſo many dangerous expeditions; that they ſuſpected him of aiming at abſolute authority; and therefore, on their firſt entering Italy, would all to a man

Two legions draughted out of Cæſar's army.

Pompey will hearken to no terms of accommodation.

a man declare for him and the ſenate. This falſe repreſentation gave Pompey great confidence, and made him neglect the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe ſo powerful a rival. Cicero, amazed to find him deaf to all terms of accommodation, and at the ſame time neglecting to ſtrengthen his army with new levies, aſked him, with what forces he deſigned to make head againſt Cæſar? To this Pompey proudly anſwered, "that he "needed but ſtamp with his foot, and an army would ſtart out "of the ground." He ſpoke with ſo much confidence, becauſe he flattered himſelf, that, in caſe of an open rupture, Cæſar's army would abandon him. In the mean time, Pompey having got two of his friends, Clodius Marcellus and Cornelius Lentulus, choſen to the conſulate, Cæſar, before they entered upon their offices, wrote to the ſenate, deſiring them to continue him in his government, as they had continued Pompey. But his requeſt being rejected, he repaſſed the Alps with the third legion, and advanced to Ravenna, whence he wrote a letter to the new conſuls, wherein, after an honourable mention of his conqueſts and exploits, he declared, that he was willing to reſign all his power, provided Pompey did the ſame. Hereupon warm debates aroſe in the ſenate; but it was at length almoſt unanimouſly decreed, that Cæſar ſhould give up his government and the command of the army; and that he ſhould be treated as an enemy to his country, if he did not, within a limited time, comply with this decree. Caſſius Longinus, Marc Antony, and Curio, three of the tribunes, proteſted againſt the proceedings of the ſenate. But the conſuls, having firſt attempted in vain to make them deſiſt from their oppoſition, drove them out of the ſenate with diſgrace. Cæſar, informed of all theſe tranſactions, that he might have the appearance of juſtice on his ſide, wrote again to the ſenate with a great deal of temper, deſiring, that ſince they were determined to deprive him of his government of Gaul and the command of the army, they would at leaſt continue him in the government of Illyricum and allow him two legions. It is probable, he would never have made theſe propoſals, if he had believed the ſenate would have complied with them. But he was well appriſed, that the oppoſite faction had reſolved to reduce him to the ſtate of a private perſon. He therefore affected a great deal of moderation, though he was all the while determined, neither to part with the command of the army, nor his government. At length the three tribunes, his friends, not thinking themſelves any longer ſafe in Rome, where the conſuls threatened to degrade them, retired in the night in the diſguiſe of ſlaves to take

Cæſar's requeſts rejected.

The fatal decree for a civil war. Year of the flood 2955. Before Chriſt 44. Of Rome 704.

ſhelter in Cæſar's camp at Ravenna. Upon their departure, the fatal decree was iſſued, which put the republic in a flame, and brought it to its deſtruction: "Let the conſuls for the "year, the proconſul Pompey, the prætors, and all thoſe in "or near Rome, who have been conſuls, provide for the "public ſafety by the moſt proper means." This was proclaiming war. So that two powerful parties were ſeen to take up arms, both pretending to have nothing in view but the defence of their common laws and liberty, while their chiefs aimed only at eſtabliſhing their own power and authority on the ruins of that liberty, which they affected to defend. Pompey's party had a more ſpecious outſide; he covered his deſigns with the awful name of the commonwealth, which acknowledged him for her general, and the whole ſenate with the conſuls followed his enſigns. On the other hand, the people and their tribunes were with Cæſar; ſo that in reality the two legiſlative powers were divided between theſe two mighty rivals. The above-mentioned decree was no ſooner paſſed, than the conſul Marcellus went with his collegue Lentulus a little way out of town to a houſe, where Pompey then was, and, preſenting him with a ſword, "We "require you, ſaid he, ſpeaking in the name of both, to take "upon you with this the defence of the republic and the "command of her troops." Pompey declared he would obey their orders; adding th a feigned modeſty, "Unleſs a more "happy expedient be firſt found out." By the ſame decree, which deprived Cæſar of his government and the command of the army, Lucius Domitius was appointed to ſucceed him, and impowered to raiſe four thouſand new levies to enable him to take poſſeſſion of his government [p].

Pompey and the ſenate prepare for war.

After the ſenate had taken this fatal reſolution againſt Cæſar, they met daily to conſult about the moſt proper meaſures for carrying on the war, in caſe Cæſar refuſed to comply with their decree. Pompey lodged in the ſuburbs, not being allowed, as general, to enter the city; and there the ſenate aſſembled to hold their conſultations. They firſt conſidered what name they ſhould give the enterpriſe, and determined to call it a tumult, which was ranking it among thoſe ſudden commotions which are raiſed and ſuppreſſed in an inſtant. So that Rome either did not know, or did not dread, the enemy ſhe was bringing on herſelf. In the next place, they ordered Pompey to aſſemble thirty thouſand Roman troops,

[p] Plut. in Cæſar, Appian. bell. civil. l. i. Dio Caſſ. l. xl. Hirt. comment. l. viii. c. 50. Sueton. in Julio.

troops, and take into the ſervice as many foreign forces as he ſhould think proper. Levies were made accordingly in all haſte, and money taken out of the public treaſury to defray the expences of one campaign. As for Pompey, he was wholly intent on appointing ſuch governors for the provinces as were moſt firmly attached to him. He gave Syria to Cæcilius Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law, who immediately ſet out with young Pompey to aſſemble a fleet on the coaſt of Aſia. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to ſucceed Cæſar, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, in the government of Tranſalpine Gaul; but he imprudently ſhut himſelf up in Corfinium before he left Italy. Cato was appointed prætor of Sicily, Cotta of Sardinia, and L. Ælius Tubero of Africa. M. Calpurnius Bibulus and Cicero were charged to guard the coaſts of Italy. The other provinces, viz. Pontus, Bithynia, Cyprus, Cilicia, Macedon, &c. were all beſtowed on Pompey's friends, who from this time aſſumed the character of generaliſſimo of the republic, and governed with as abſolute a ſway as if he had been king of Rome [q].

Cæſar exhorts his ſoldiers to ſtand by him.

In the mean time, the three tribunes, Curio, Antony, and Longinus, who had been driven from Rome, arriving in Cæſar's camp, diſguiſed like ſlaves, he ſhewed them in that condition to the legion he had then with him, exaggerating the violence which had been offered them by the ſenate, and the unwarrantable ſteps the patricians had taken againſt himſelf; in the cloſe of his ſpeech, he exhorted his men to defend the honour and character of their general, under whom they had made war with ſucceſs for nine years together. When he had done ſpeaking, they all cried out, that they were ready to maintain the rights of their general and of the tribunes of the people, and revenge the injuries which had been done them. When he found he could depend on his ſoldiers, he reſolved to begin hoſtilities without delay, and, entering Italy properly ſo called, to make himſelf maſter of Ariminum, a city bordering on Ciſalpine Gaul, which was part of his province. As this was a bold ſtep, and an open declaration of war, he carefully concealed his deſign, and ſent a detachment towards the Rubicon, ordering the officer who commanded it, to wait for him on the banks of that river. The next day he aſſiſted at a ſhew of gladiators, and made a great entertainment. Towards the cloſe of the day he roſe from table, deſiring

[q] Plut. in Pomp.

firing his guests to stay till he came back, which, he said, would be very soon; but instead of returning to the company, he immediately left Ravenna, where he then was, after he had ordered some of his most intimate friends to follow him, thro' different roads, to avoid being observed. He himself travelled in a hired chariot, and drove first another way, but at some distance from the town turned towards Ariminum. When he reached the banks of the Rubicon, which parted Cisalpine Gaul, his province, from Italy, all the misfortunes of the succeeding war offered themselves to his mind, and kept him some time in suspence. He often changed his opinion without speaking a word, being one minute determined to cross the river, and another to go back, computing with himself how many calamities his passing it would bring upon the republic, and what an account of it would be transmitted to posterity. As he had been brought up in the bosom of a commonwealth, he could not look on the approaching ruin of his country without concern; and therefore turning to Asinius Pollio, "If I do not cross the river, said he, I am undone; and, if I do cross it, how many calamities shall I by this step bring upon Rome!" Having thus spoke, he mused a few minutes on the hatred and inveteracy of his enemies, and then crying out, "The die is cast," he threw himself into the river, and crossing it, marched with all possible expedition towards Ariminum, which he reached and surprised before daybreak (F). From thence, as he had but one legion with him, he immediately dispatched orders to the great army he had left in Gaul to cross the mountains, and join him [r].

Passes the Rubicon.

Rome in the utmost consternation.

It is impossible to express the terrour and fear all Italy and Rome herself was in, upon the unexpected news of this enterprise.

[r] Plut. in Cæsar. Dio. Cass. l. xii. Epit. Liv.

(F) Some authors, and among the rest Suetonius (27), tell us, that while Cæsar was yet in suspence and undetermined, there appeared all on a sudden a man of an extraordinary stature, playing on a flute of reeds; which uncommon sight drew many of the legionaries to him, and among the rest a trumpet, from whom the unknown man snatched his instrument, and sounding the charge, threw himself into the river, and crossed it. Hereupon, Cæsar without further consideration, followed him, crying aloud, "Let us go whither the Gods call us, and the fury of our enemies "drives us; the die is cast.

(27) Suet. in Julio.

terpriſe. They imagined this renowned commander already at the gates of the city, with the formidable army he commanded in Gaul. Nothing was ſeen but terror and confuſion, the country people crouding into the city for ſafety, and the citizens flying into the country. The ſenate met ſeveral times without coming to any reſolution. Several ſenators, without propoſing any thing themſelves, only contradicted the advice of others. Pompey himſelf was no leſs alarmed than the other ſenators; as he had not yet drawn together his troops, who were quartered in different provinces at ſome diſtance from the capital, he was no-ways in a condition to make head againſt Cæſar. But nothing gave him greater uneaſineſs, than the reproaches which many of his own party threw out againſt him, ſome charging him with indiſcretion in arming Cæſar againſt himſelf and the government, and others blaming him for having neglected the neceſſary preparations. M. Favonius, alluding to the rhodomantade mentioned above, deſired him "to ſtamp with his foot, and "make armies ſtart up, as he had promiſed." Every ſenator thought himſelf privileged to reproach and adviſe him. In this confuſion, Pompey, ſeeing himſelf in Rome without troops, and fearing, if he ſhould arm the people, they would declare againſt him, reſolved to retire to Capua, where the two legions were encamped which Cæſar had ſurrendered to Appius. He communicated his deſign to the ſenate, and at the ſame time declared, that if any ſenator or magiſtrate refuſed to follow him, he ſhould be treated as a friend to Cæſar, and an enemy to his country. Upon this declaration the conſuls, the ſenators, and all the magiſtrates, left Rome in great haſte, and attended Pompey into Campania [s]. Pompey abandons Rome.

In the mean time, Cæſar, having raiſed new troops in Ciſalpine Gaul, ſent Marc Antony with a detachment to ſeize Aretium, and other officers to ſecure Piſaurum and Fanum, while he himſelf marched at the head of the thirteenth legion to Auximum, which opened its gates to him. From Auximum he advanced into Picenum, where he was joined by the twelfth legion from Tranſalpine Gaul. As Picenum readily ſubmitted to him, he led his forces againſt Corfinium, the capital of the Peligni, which Domitius Ahenobarbus defended with thirty cohorts. But Cæſar no ſooner inveſted it, than the garriſon betrayed their commander, and delivered Cæſar ſeizes Aretium, Piſaurum, &c.

[s] Dio Caſſ. & Plut. ibid. Cæſar. bell civil. l. i. c. 8. Liv. l. lix. c. 46.

Takes Corfinium.

delivered him up with many ſenators, who had taken refuge in the place, to Cæſar, who, to ſhew his great moderation in the midſt of victory, granted them their lives and liberty (G). Domitius, fearing the reſentment of the conqueror, had ordered one of his ſlaves, whom he uſed as a phyſician, to give him a doſe of poiſon. When he came to experience the humanity of the conqueror, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the haſtineſs of his own reſolution. But his phyſician, who had only given him a ſleeping draught, comforted him, and received his liberty, as a reward for his affection [t].

Pompey

[t] Plut. Appian. Cæſar. ibid.

(G) Domitius, as ſoon as Corfinium was inveſted, found means to convey a letter to Pompey, wherein he preſſed him to march directly to the defence of a place of ſuch importance. "Loſe "no time, ſaid he, but lay hold of the favourable opportunity "which fortune now offers you of ſurrounding Cæſar. If you "make haſte the war will be at an end. Conſider, your credit "is at ſtake. You cannot in honour reject the requeſt of the "many ſenators and Roman knights, who are ſhut up in this "place. They have recourſe to you, as to their deliverer, and "take it for granted, that you will not abandon thirty three "cohorts of the beſt of your troops to the mercy of the enemy, "who haſtens to his own deſtruction." But Pompey's anſwer was very different from what Domitius expected He told him, "that he could not in his preſent ſituation hazard a battle, the loſs "of which would infallibly bring with it the ruin of the repub-"lic." He reproached him with having undertaken the defence of Corfinium, and ſhut himſelf up in that place contrary to his opinion. He adviſed him to abandon the place, and join the conſular army, with all poſſible expedition. But as this was not now in his power, he prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege, provided his machines, aſſigned his troops their poſts, and, in order to encourage them, promiſed each ſoldier four acres of land. Cæſar, on the other hand, provided his camp with all things neceſſary for a ſiege; and in the mean time, the eighth legion joined him with twenty cohorts of Gauls and three hundred German horſe. For theſe he formed a new camp, and appointed Curio to command in it, Domitius, though he expected no ſuccours, did all that lay in his power to perſuade his men, that all the forces of the republic were marching to his relief. But a report being ſpread, that he deſigned to eſcape privately, they mutinied, ran to his quarters, and, having ſeized him, opened the gates to the enemy. As this tumult happened in the night, Cæſar, leſt the darkneſs ſhould encourage his men to plunder and commit violences, de-

ferred

Pompey, thinging himſelf no longer ſafe at Capua, after the reduction of Corfinium, retired to Brunduſium, with a deſign to carry the war into the eaſt, where all the governors were his creatures. Cæſar followed him cloſe croſs Apulia, and arriving with his army before Brunduſium, inveſted the place on the land-ſide, and undertook to ſhut up the port by a ſtaccado of his own invention. But before the work was completed, the fleet, which had conveyed the two conſuls with thirty cohorts to Dyrrachium, now Durazzo, being returned, Pompey reſolved to make his eſcape, which he conducted with all the experience and dexterity of a great officer. He kept his departure very ſecret; but at the ſame time made all neceſſary preparations for the facilitating of it. In the firſt place he walled up the gates, then dug deep and wide ditches croſs all the ſtreets, except only thoſe two that led to the port; in the ditches he planted ſharp-pointed ſtakes, covering them with hurdles and earth. After theſe precautions, he gave expreſs orders that all the citizens ſhould keep within doors, leſt they ſhould betray his deſign to the enemy, and then in the ſpace of three days embarqued all his troops, except the light-armed infantry, whom he had placed on the walls; and theſe likewiſe, on a ſignal given, abandoning their poſts, repaired with great expedition to the ſhips. Cæſar, perceiving the walls unguarded, ordered his men to ſcale them and make what haſte they could after the enemy. In the heat of the purſuit, they would have fallen into the ditches, which Pompey had prepared for them, had not the Brunduſians warned them of the danger, and by many windings and turnings led them to the haven, where they found all the fleet under ſail, except two veſſels, which had run a-ground in going out of the harbour. Theſe Cæſar ſeized, took the ſoldiers on board priſoners, and brought them aſhore. Cæſar, ſeeing himſelf by the flight of his rival maſter of all Italy from the Alps to the ſea, was deſirous to follow and attack him, before he was joined by the ſupplies which he expected from Aſia. But being deſtitute of ſhipping, he ferred entering the town till the next morning. At break of day Lentulus Spinther, one of the ſenators who were ſhut up in the place, waited on Cæſar, who received him with great marks of friendſhip, which induced the others to ſubmit and ſurrender the place at diſcretion. Cæſar not only gave Domitius his liberty, but reſtored to him the money which he had taken out of the treaſury for the paying of his troops, and was lodged in the hands of the magiſtrates of Corfinium.

Beſieges Pompey in Brunduſium.

Pompey abandons Italy to the mercy of his rival.

he reſolved to go firſt to Rome and ſettle ſome ſort of government there, and then paſs into Spain to drive from thence Pompey's troops, who had taken poſſeſſion of that great continent under the command of Afranius and Petreius. Before he left Brunduſium he ſent Scribonius Curio with three legions into Sicily, and ordered Q. Valerius, one of his lieutenants, to get together what ſhips he could, and croſs over with one legion into Sardinia. Cato, who commanded in Sicily, upon the firſt news of Curio's landing there, abandoned the iſland, and retired to the camp of the conſuls at Dyrrachium: and Q. Valerius no ſooner appeared with his ſmall fleet off Sardinia, than the Caralitani, now the inhabitants of Cagliari, drove out Aurelius Cotta, who commanded there for the ſenate, and put Cæſar's lieutenant in poſſeſſion both of their city and iſland. In the mean time, the general himſelf advanced towards Rome, and that with the more confidence, becauſe he had made himſelf maſter of all Italy, without ſhedding one drop of blood. On his march he wrote to all the ſenators then in Italy, deſiring them to repair to the capital, and aſſiſt him there with their counſel. Above all, he was deſirous to ſee Cicero; and therefore, after having preſſed him in vain by Oppilus and Cælius, their common friends, to come and meet him, he turned out of the road, and went to his country houſe, where he had a long conference with him, but could not prevail upon him to return to Rome (H). As Cæſar drew near the capital, he quartered his

Cæſar's lieutenants make themſelves maſters of Sicily and Sardinia.

Cæſar goes to Rome.

(H) In this conference Cæſar earneſtly preſſed Cicero to return to the capital. "I have ſeen Cæſar, ſays he, in one of his "letters to Atticus (28). who earneſtly preſſed me to return to "Rome; but I withſtood his deſire. He looked upon my abſence as a tacit condemnation of his proceedings againſt Pompey, "and is perſuaded, that moſt of the ſenators are induced to retire "into the country by my example." Cæſar, in order to prevail upon Cicero to come to Rome, told him, that he had nothing elſe in view, but to employ him in bringing about a laſting accomodation between him and Pompey. To this Cicero replyed, "that "he would readily attend him to the capital, upon condition that "he ſhould be at full liberty to declare his opinion concerning the "preſent ſtate of affairs." But Cæſar not liking this condition, "You muſt not then take it amiſs, replyed Cicero, that I perſiſt, "in my reſolution of not going to Rome; if I am not allowed "to ſpeak my mind, I ought not to appear in the ſenate." Cæſar, little ſatisfied with this anſwer, took his leave of Cicero, after having entreated him in a friendly manner not to take any ſtep in ſo nice an affair, without mature deliberation.

(28) Epiſt. 10.

his troops in the neighbouring municipia; and then advancing to the city, out of a pretended reſpect to the antient cuſtoms, he took up his quarters in the ſuburbs, whither the whole city crouded to ſee the famous conqueror of Gaul, who had been abſent from Rome near ten years. And now ſuch of the tribunes of the people as had fled to him for refuge, reaſſumed their functions, mounted the roſtra, and endeavoured by their ſpeeches to reconcile the people to the head of their party. Marc Antony particularly and Caſſius Longinus, two of Cæſar's moſt zealous partizans, moved, that the ſenate ſhould meet in the ſuburbs, that the general might give them an account of his conduct. Accordingly, ſuch of the ſenators as were at Rome aſſembled, when Cæſar, with that dignity and eloquence, which were natural to him, made a ſpeech in juſtification of all his proceedings, encouraged the timorous, gave great hopes to the wavering, and concluded his harangue with propoſing a deputation to Pompey, with offers of an accommodation in an amicable manner. He even deſired the conſcript fathers, to whom in appearance he paid great deference, to nominate ſome of their venerable body to carry propoſals of peace to the conſuls and the general of the conſular army. But not one of the ſenators would take upon him that commiſſion, ſome being afraid of Pompey, who had declared all thoſe enemies who ſhould ſtand neuter, and others plainly ſeeing that Cæſar did not mean what he ſaid (I). He then began to think of providing himſelf with the neceſſary ſums for the carrying on of the war, and had recourſe to the public treaſury. But Metellus, one of the tribunes, oppoſed him, alledging a law, forbidding any one to open the treaſury, but in the preſence, and with the conſent, of the conſuls. To which Cæſar replied, "Arms and "laws do not well agree; when I ſhall have laid down my "arms, then I will hearken to laws, and let you make as long "harangues

The ſenate aſſembles.

(I) Cæſar tells us, that he attempted ſeveral times to make up matters with Pompey in an amicable manner. On his march to Brunduſium he ſent Cn. Magius, one of Pompey's chief officers, whom he had taken priſoner, to invite his rival to an interview. But, as the conſuls had already ſet ſail for Dyrrachium, Pompey anſwered, that he could do nothing in their abſence In the firſt days of the ſiege he attempted once more to draw Pompey to a conference, and with this view ſent Caninius Rebilius, one of the chief officers of his army, to mediate an accommodation, together with P. Scribonius Libo, Pompey's particular friend. But he returned

" harangues as you pleaſe; but at preſent I adviſe you to re-
" tire." Having thus ſpoke, he went directly to the temple of Saturn, where the public money was kept. But the keys of the treaſury having been carried away by the conſul Len-
Breaks open the treaſury. tulus, he ordered the doors to be broke open. This Metellus oppoſed, and then Cæſar, in a paſſion laying his hand on his ſword, threatened to kill him, if he gave him any further diſturbance, adding, " This you know, young man, is harder
" for me to ſay than to do." Theſe words ſo terrified Metellus, that he withdrew; and then Cæſar took out of the treaſury, which was ever after at his command, an immenſe ſum, ſome ſay three hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold. With this ſupply of money he raiſed troops all over Italy, and ſent governors into all the provinces ſubject to the republic. He made Marc Antony commander in chief of the armies in Italy, ſent his brother C. Antonius to govern Illyricum, aſſigned Ciſalpine Gaul to Licinius Craſſus, appointed M. Æmilius Lepidus governor of the capital, and having got together ſome ſhips to cruiſe in the Adriatic and Mediterranean ſeas, he gave the command of one of his fleets to P. Cornelius Dolabella, and of the other to young Hortenſius, the ſon of the famous orator. As Pompey had ſent governors into the ſame provinces, by this means a general war was kindled in all the parts of the known world. However, Cæſar would not truſt any of his lieutenants with the conduct of the war in Spain, which was Pompey's favourite province, but took it upon himſelf; and, having ſettled his affairs in great haſte at Rome, returned to Ariminum, aſſembled his legions there, and, paſſing the Alps entered Tranſalpine Gaul. There he was informed, that the inhabitants of Marſeilles had reſolved to refuſe him entrance into their city, and that L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom he had generouſly pardoned and ſet at liberty after the reduction of Corfinium, had ſet ſail for Marſeilles with ſeven gallies, having on board a great number of his clients and ſlaves, with a deſign to raiſe the city in favour of

turned the ſame anſwer, viz. that he could not come to an agreement in the abſence of the conſuls. Cæſar in his firſt ſpeech to the ſenate ſhewed a great inclination to compoſe matters in an amicable manner, and deſired the conſcript fathers to depute ſome of their body, with propoſals of an accommodation, both to Pompey and the conſuls. But men of penetration plainly ſaw, that Cæſar was more averſe to any ſort of accommodation than Pompey himſelf, and that he talked of it only to leſſen the odium of his proceedings, and throw the whole blame of the war on Pompey and his party.

of Pompey. Cæsar, thinking it dangerous to let the enemy take possession of such an important place, sent for the fifteen chief magistrates of the city, and advised them not to begin a war with him, but rather follow the example of Italy and submit. The magistrates returned to the city, and soon after sent Cæsar the following answer: since the Roman people are divided into two parties, we will not take upon us to determine on which side the right lies. We have great obligations, and an equal affection for both competitors; they are both our patrons, both our benefactors; and therefore that we may not help one against the other, our port and the gates of our city shall be shut to both. In the mean time, Domitius arriving with his small squadron was received into the city, and declared general of all their forces. Hereupon Cæsar, justly provoked at such unfair dealings, immediately invested the town with three legions, and ordered twelve gallies to be built at Arelas, now Arles, in order to block up the port. But as the siege was like to detain him too long, he left C. Trebonius to carry it on, and D. Brutus to command the fleet, while he continued his march into Spain, where he began the war with all the valour, ability, and success of a great hero. Pompey had three generals in this great continent, which was divided into two Roman provinces. Varro commanded in Further Spain; and Petreius and Afranius, with equal power and two considerable armies, in Hither Spain. Cæsar, while he was yet at Marseilles, sent Q. Fabius, one of his lieutenants, with three legions, to take possession of the passes of the Pyrenees, which Afranius had seized. Fabius executed his commission with great bravery, entered Spain, and left the way open to Cæsar, who soon followed him. As soon as he had crossed the mountains, he sent out scouts to observe the situation of the enemy; by whom he was informed, that Afranius and Petreius, having joined their forces, consisting of five legions, twenty cohorts of the natives, and five thousand horse, were advantageously posted on an hill of an easy ascent in the neighbourhood of Ilerda, now Lerida in Catalonia. Upon this advice he advanced within sight of the enemy, and encamped in a plain between the Sicoris and the Cinga, now the Segro and the Cinca. Between the eminence, on which Afranius had posted himself, and the city of Ilerda, was a small plain, and in the middle of it a rising ground, which Cæsar attempted to seize, in order to cut off by that means the communications between the enemy's camp and the city, from whence they had all their provisions. This occasion'd a sharp dispute between three of Cæsar's legi-

Marseilles besieged.

Cæsar enters Spain.

ons

ons and an equal number of the enemy; which lasted five hours with equal success, both parties claiming the victory. But after all, Afranius's men, who had first seized the post, maintained themselves in possession of it in spight of Cæsar's utmost efforts. Two days after this battle continual rains, with the melting of the snow on the mountains, so swelled the two rivers, between which Cæsar was encamped, that they overflowed, broke down his bridges, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great distance. This cut off the communication between his camp and the cities that had declared for him, and reduced him to such straights, that his army was ready to perish for famine, wheat being sold in his camp at fifty Roman denarii per bushel, that is, 1 l. 12 s. 3 d ½. sterling. He tried to rebuild his bridges, but in vain, the violence of the stream rendering all his endeavours fruitless [u].

In great danger.

Upon the news of Cæsar's distress, Pompey's party at Rome began to take courage. Several persons of distinction went to congratulate Afranius's wife on the success of her husband's arms in Spain. Many of the senators, who had hitherto stood neuter, hastened to join Pompey, taking it for granted, that Cæsar was reduced to the last extremity, and all the hopes of his party lost. Of this number was Cicero; who, without any regard to the remonstrances of Atticus, or the letters Cæsar himself wrote to him (K), desiring him to join neither party, left Italy and landed at Dyrrachium, where Pompey received him with great marks of joy and friendship. But Cicero soon repented of the little regard he had paid to the advice of his friends, and could not forgive himself his having too easily given credit to the reports that were brought from Spain. He ever appeared gloomy, thoughtful, and uneasy, and even vented his ill humour in severe

Cicero repairs to Pompey's camp.

[u] Cæsar bell. civil. l. i. c. 14.—46. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. c. 14, & seq. Dio Cass. l. 41.

(K) In one of these letters he expresses himself thus: "It will "not be believed, that the justice of my enemy's cause has in-"duced you to declare against me. Every one will think that you "have been displeased at some action of mine, which would most "sensibly grieve me. A man of honour who loves the peace and "welfare of his country, ought to avoid taking any side in a civil "war. You cannot do better, nor more for your reputation, than "to avoid engaging yourself, upon any account whatsoever, in "these broils."

ſevere jeſts on Pompey (L). The offenſive things he threw out on all occaſions, and his unſeaſonable jeſts, led ſome to ſuſpect, that he kept a correſpondence with Cæſar. However that be, Pompey would neither truſt him with any command, nor impart to him his deſigns; nay, he went ſo far as to bid him be gone to Cæſar's camp, where he would have leſs reaſon to jeſt, and more to be afraid. Neither did his old friend Cato give him a very favourable reception. He was diſpleaſed at his having ſo unſeaſonably declared for a party, which he might have ſerved more effectually, by keeping an exact neutrality. Cicero was ſo ſtrongly affected with theſe reproches, that he left the camp, and did not appear even at the battle of Pharſalia.

BUT the joy of Pompey's party was not long-lived. For Cæſar, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to rebuild his bridges, cauſed boats to be made with all poſſible expedition; and while the enemy were diverted by endeavouring to intercept the ſuccours that were ſent him from Gaul, he laid hold of that opportunity to convey his boats in the night on carriages twenty-two miles from his camp; where, with wonderful quickneſs, a great detachment paſſed the Sicoris, and, encamping on the oppoſite bank unknown to the enemy, built a bridge in two days, opened a communication with the neighbouring country, received the ſupplies from Gaul, and relieved the wants of his ſoldiers. Cæſar, being thus delivered from all danger, purſued the armies of Afranius and Petreius with ſuch ſuperior addreſs and conduct, that he forced them to ſubmit without coming to a battle, and by that means became maſter of all Hither Spain. The two generals diſbanded their troops, ſent them out of the province, and returned themſelves to Italy, after having ſolemnly promiſed never to aſſemble forces again or make war upon Cæſar [x]. Upon the news of the reduction of Hither Spain, the Spaniards in Further Spain, and one Roman legion deſerted from Varro, Pompey's governor in that province, which obliged him to ſurrender

Reduces all Spain.

[x] Idem ibid. c. 46——82.

(L) Pompey having told him one day, that he had joined the army at Dyrrachium a little too late; "How too late? replied "Cicero; I do not find your affairs in ſuch forwardneſs." Another time, when he was told, that ſeven eagles had been taken in Pompey's camp, and that the augurs looked upon this as an happy omen; "It would be very lucky indeed, ſaid he, if we were "at war with the magpies."

der his other legion and all his money. Cæsar, having thus reduced all Spain in a few months, appointed Cassius Longinus to govern the two provinces with four legions, and then returned to Marseilles, which city was then just upon the point of surrendering, after a most vigorous resistance. Though the inhabitants had by their late treachery deserved a severe punishment, yet he granted them their lives and liberty, but stripped their arsenals of their arms, and obliged them to deliver up all their ships. From Marseilles Cæsar marched into Cisalpine Gaul, and from thence hastened to Rome where he laid the foundations of his future grandeur. He found the city in a very different state from that in which he had left it. Most of the senators and magistrates were fled to Pompey at Dyrrachium. However, there were still prætors there, and among them M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was afterwards one of the triumvirs with Octavius and Marc Antony. The prætor, to ingratiate himself with Cæsar, nominated him dictator, of his own authority and against the inclination of the senate. Cæsar accepted the new dignity, but neither abused his power as Sylla had done, nor retained it so long. During the eleven days he held the dictatorship, he governed with great moderation, and gained the affections both of the people and patricians. He recalled all the exiles, except Milo, who had murdered Clodius. He granted the rights and privileges of Roman citizens to all the Gauls beyond the Po, and, as pontifex maximus, filled up the vacancies of the sacerdotal colleges with his own friends. Though it was expected, that he would have absolutely cancelled all debts contracted since the beginning of the troubles, he only reduced the interest to one fourth. But the chief use he made of his dictatorship was to preside at the election of consuls for the next year, when he got himself and Servilius Isauricus, one of his most zealous partisans, promoted to that dignity. And now, being resolved to follow Pompey and carry the war into the east, he set out for Brundusium, whither he had ordered twelve legions to repair with all possible expedition. But on his arrival he found only five there. The rest, being afraid of the dangers of the sea and unwilling to engage in a new war, had marched leisurely, complaining of their general for allowing no respit, but hurrying them continually from one country to another. "When at "last, said they, and where will this Cæsar suffer us to "enjoy some quiet? He carries us from place to place, and "uses us as if we were not to be tired out, or had no sense "of labour. Even our swords, our bucklers, and breast-
"plates;

Marseilles surrenders.

Cæsar nominated dictator.

Is chosen consul.

"plates, are worn out. Does not Cæsar gather from our "wounds that we are mortal men, and subject to the same "calamities and diseases as other mortals are?" Such was their dicourse as they marched from their quarters to Brundusium; and as their march was slow, they did not arrive at the time appointed. However, Cæsar did not wait for them, but set sail with only five legions and six hundred horse, in the beginning of January. When the legions found he had embarqued without them, they changed their sentiments, and, looking upon themselves as traitors to their general, blamed their officers for marching so slowly. While they were waiting at Brundusium for ships to transport them over into Epirus, Cæsar arrived safe with his five legions in Chaonia, the northern part of Epirus near the Ceraunian mountains. There he landed his troops, and sent the ships back to Brundusium to bring over the legions that were left behind. The war he was now entering upon was the most difficult he had yet undertaken. Pompey had for a whole year been assembling troops from all the eastern countries. When he left Italy he had only five legions; but, since his arrival at Dyrrachium, he had been reinforced with one from Sicily, another from Crete, and two from Syria. Three thousand archers, six cohorts of slingers, and seven thousand horse had been sent him by princes in alliance with Rome. All the free cities of Asia had reinforced his army with their best troops; nay, if we give credit to an historical poet, succours were brought him from the Indus and the Ganges to the east, and from Arabia and Æthiopia to the south; at least it is certain, that Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates took up arms in his favour. He had almost all the Roman knights, that is, the flower of the young nobility, in his squadrons, and his legions consisted mostly of veterans inured to dangers and the toils of war. Pompey himself was a general of great experience and address, and had under him some of the best commanders of the republic, who had formerly conducted armies themselves. As for his navy, he had above five hundred ships of war, besides a far greater number of small vessels, which were continually cruising on the coasts, and intercepting such ships as carried arms or provisions to the enemy. He had likewise with him above two hundred senators, who formed a more numerous senate than that at Rome. Cornelius Lentulus and Claudius Marcellus, the last year's consuls, presided in it, but under the direction of Pompey their protector, who ordered them to

Cæsar goes into the east.

Pompey draws together numerous forces.

aſſemble at Theſſalonica, where he built a ſtately hall for that purpoſe. There in one of their aſſemblies, at the motion of Cato, it was decreed, that no Roman citizen ſhould be put to death but in battle, and that no city ſubject to the republic ſhould be ſacked. At the ſame time the conſcript fathers aſſembled at Theſſalonica decreed, that they alone repreſented the Roman ſenate, and that thoſe, who reſided at Rome, where encouragers of tyranny and friends to the tyrant. And indeed, as the flower of the nobility was with Pompey, and the moſt virtuous men in the republic had taken refuge in his camp, he was generally looked upon as the only hope and ſupport of the public liberty. Hence many perſons of eminent probity, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, flocked to him from all parts. Among theſe were young Brutus, who afterwards conſpired againſt Cæſar, Tidius Sextius, and Labienus. Brutus, whoſe father had been put to death in Galatia by Pompey's orders, had never ſpoke to him, or ſo much as ſaluted him ſince that time. But, as he now looked upon him as the defender of the public liberty, he joined him, ſacrificing therein his private reſentment to the intereſt of the public. Pompey received him with great joy, and was willing to confer upon him ſome command; but he declined the offer, deſiring Pompey to beſtow ſuch marks of diſtinction on others, who better deſerved them, both in conſideration of their age and employments. Tidius Sextius, though extremely old and lame, yet left Rome, and went as far as Macedonia to join Pompey there. Labienus likewiſe forſook his old benefactor, under whom he had ſerved during the whole courſe of the Gauliſh war, and went over to his rival, though Cæſar had appointed him commander in chief of all the forces on the other ſide of the Alps (M). In ſhort, Pompey's party grew into ſuch reputation, that his cauſe was generaly called "th

Several perſons of diſtinction flock to his camp.

(M) It ſeemed very ſtrange, ſays Dion, that Labienus ſhou abandon Cæſar, who had loaded him with honours, and diſti guiſhed him above all others. But he gives this reaſon for " Labienus, ſays he, elated with his immenſe wealth, and pro " of his preferments, forgot himſelf to ſuch a degree, as to " ſume a character very unbecoming a perſon in his circumſtanc " He was even for putting himſelf upon an equal foot with Cæ " who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him w " ſome reſerve, which Labienus reſented, and went over to Po " pey.

" the good cauſe," while Cæſar's adherents were looked upon as enemies to their country and abetters of tyranny [y].

Cæſar takes Oricum and Apollonia.

BUT to return to Cæſar, as ſoon as he landed, he marched to Oricum the neareſt city to him in Epirus, and made himſelf maſter of it without oppoſition, L. Torquatus, who was governor of the place for Pompey, having abandoned it at his approach. From thence he advanced to Apollonia, which ſtood on the confines of Macedon. This important place likewiſe ſurrendered, as ſoon as Cæſar appeared before it, Staberius, Pompey's governor, not being in a condition to ſtand a ſiege. By theſe two conqueſts, Cæſar opened himſelf a way to Dyrrachium, a city on the confines of Macedon, where Pompey had fixed his magazines of arms and proviſions. In the mean time, news was brought to Cæſar, that his fleet, which he had ſent back to Brunduſium, to tranſport the reſt of his toops, had been attacked by a ſquadron of Pompey's fleet under the command of Bibulus, who had taken thirty of them, and inhumanly burnt them with the ſeamen on board. This gave Cæſar great uneaſineſs, the more becauſe he was at the ſame time informed, that Bibulus, with a hundred and ten ſhips of war, had taken poſſeſſion of all the ports and harbours between Salonium and Oricum; ſo that the legion at Brunduſium could not venture to croſs the ſea, without manifeſt danger of falling into the enemy's hands.

Makes new propoſals of an accommodation.

Hereupon Cæſar, being greatly embarraſſed, made new propoſals of an accomodation, ſending Vibullius Rufus, an intimate friend of Pompey's whom he had twice taken priſoner, viz. at Corfinium and in Spain, to propoſe to him the following terms; viz. that they ſhould both diſband their armies in three days, renew their former friendſhip with ſolemn oaths, and return together to Italy. With theſe propoſals Rufus, who was in pain for Dyrrachium, haſtened to Pompey's camp travelling night and day, without allowing himſelf any reſt till he reached it. Upon his arrival he found, that Pompey had not yet received advice of Cæſar's arrival; but he no ſooner informed him of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Dyrrachium before Cæſar, and encamped under the walls of the city. In the mean time, Cæſar was likewiſe advancing towards Dyrrachium, in hopes of ſurpriſing that important place; but, upon the unexpected news of Pompey's arrival, he halted on the other ſide of the river Apſus, and intrenched himſelf there, having

[y] Plut. in Pomp.

having but a ſmall number of troops with him, if compared with Pompey's formidable army. However, as Pompey durſt not croſs the river in Cæſar's ſight, the two armies continued ſome time quiet in their reſpective poſts. As to the propoſals of an amicable accommodation, Pompey, ſuſpecting Cæſar's ſincerity, anſwered, that he would not hearken to any terms, leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that he owed his life and return to Italy to Cæſar's favour. Nevertheleſs, Cæſar, either to gain time, his troops not being yet arrived, or to caſt all the blame of a civil war on his rival, ſent Vatinius to treat with Pompey in his name. Labienus was deputed to receive his propoſals. But while they were conferring together, a party of Pompey's men coming up to them, diſcharged a ſhower of darts at Vatinius and thoſe who attended him. Some of the centurions of his guard were wounded, and Vatinius himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life [z].

As Cæſar had not a ſufficient force with him to engage the enemy, he wrote letter after letter to Marc Antony, who commanded the legions he had left in Italy, preſſing him to haſten their embarquation. But Antony, either becauſe he wanted tranſports, or was afraid of the enemy's numerous ſquadrons, which almoſt covered the ſea, ſtill continued at Brunduſium, which filled Cæſar with many uneaſy reflections. Sometimes he accuſed Antony of cowardice, and ſometimes ſuſpected him of treachery, as if he deſigned to revolt from him and make a third party in the republic. At length his impatience and uneaſineſs put him upon a bold attempt, which nothing could excuſe, but the extraordinary confidence he always had in his good fortune (N). He diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſlave, and with all imaginable ſecrecy went on board a fiſherman's bark, which lay in the river Anius, or, as Strabo calls it, Aous, with a deſign to go over to Brunduſium, though the enemy's fleet was cruiſing on the coaſts both of Greece and Italy. The veſſel weighed anchor in the beginning

Cæſar tries croſs the ſea in a bark.

[z] Cæſar, bell. civil. l. iii. c. 19.

(N) Moſt hiſtorians blame this as a raſh action; and he himſelf in his commentaries makes no mention of this, or of another as dangerous an attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had ſurrounded his army in his abſence, he dreſſed himſelf like a native of the country, and in that diſguiſe paſſed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.

beginning of the night, and fell down the river without any difficulty. But it happened unluckily, that a ſtrong wind from the ſea ſprung up all on a ſudden, ſo that the rowers, after having ſtruggled a long time in vain with the waves and winds, which continually drove them back into the river, began to deſpair of getting out to ſea. Then Cæſar, who had hitherto never opened his mouth, ſtarting up, diſcovered himſelf to the maſter of the veſſel, who was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee him, and taking him by the hand, "Go on boldly, "my friend, ſaid he, and fear nothing; thou carrieſt Cæſar "and his fortune along with thee." The mariners, encouraged by Cæſar's preſence, uſed extraordinary efforts, and got out to ſea; but the ſtorm was ſo violent, that Cæſar himſelf, deſpairing of being able to get to Italy, ſuffered the pilot to return to the coaſt, where his ſoldiers met him, and expreſſed, with a great deal of tenderneſs and reſpect, their concern to ſee him ſo uneaſy for want of more troops, as if he could not gain a victory with them alone [a].

CÆSAR was no ſooner landed, than he diſpatched Poſthumius, one of his lieutenants, with moſt preſſing orders to Marc Antony, Gabinius, and Calenus, to bring the troops to him at all adventures. Gabinius, unwilling to expoſe all the hopes of his general to the hazards of the ſea, thought it ſafer to march a great way about by Illyricum, and therefore engaged all the legionaries he could to follow him by land. But the Illyrians, who had, unknown to him, declared for Pompey, fell unexpectedly upon him, and killed him and his men, not one eſcaping. Marc Antony and Calenus, who went by ſea, were in the greateſt danger from one of Pompey's admirals; but had the good luck to bring their troops ſafe to ſhore at Nymphæum, in the neighbourhood of Apollonia. As ſoon as it was known that Antony was landed, Pompey marched to prevent his joining Cæſar. On the other hand, Cæſar inſtantly decamped, and haſtening to the relief of his lieutenant, joined him before Pompey came up. Then Pompey, not caring to engage them when united, retired to an advantageous poſt in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, known by the name of Aſparagium, and there encamped. Cæſar, having thus at length got all his troops together, reſolved to finiſh the war by one general action, and determine the fate of the world, either by his own death or by that of his rival. To this end he offered Pompey battle, and kept his army a great while drawn up in ſight of the enemy. But

Part of Cæſar's troops cut off in Illyricum.

[a] Plut. in Cæſare.

Pompey declining an engagement, he decamped and turned towards Dyrrachium, as if he deſigned to ſurpriſe it, hoping by this means to draw Pompey into the plain. But Pompey, looking upon the taking of Dyrrachium as a chimerical project, followed Cæſar at ſome diſtance, and letting him draw near to the city, encamped himſelf on a hill called Petra, which commanded the ſea, whence he could be ſupplied with proviſions from Greece and Aſia, while Cæſar was forced to bring corn by land from Epirus, at a vaſt expence and through many dangers. This inconvenience put Cæſar upon a new deſign, which was to ſurround an army far more numerous than his own, and by ſhutting them up within a narrow tract of ground, diſtreſs them as much for want of forage, as his troops were diſtreſſed for want of corn. Purſuant to this deſign, he drew a line of circumvallation from the ſea quite round Pompey's camp, and kept him ſo cloſely blocked up, that though his men were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions by ſea, yet the horſes of his army began ſoon to die in great numbers for want of forage. Cæſar's men, though in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of corn, yet bore all with incredible chearfulneſs, proteſting, that they would rather live upon the bark of trees, than ſuffer Pompey to eſcape, now they had him in their power (O). At length Pompey, alarmed at the diſtempers which began to reign in his army, made ſeveral attempts to break through the barriers that incloſed him, but was always repulſed with loſs. One day Pompey himſelf attacked one of the enemy's caſtles; on which occaſion M. Caſſius Scæva, a ſoldier of fortune, at that time centurion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the defence of the caſtle in a very eminent manner. He withſtood the efforts of the enemy almoſt alone, made a great ſlaughter of them, and though he was wounded on the head, had loſt an eye, and was run quite through the body, yet he maintained the fight, till Sylla, one of Cæſar's lieutenants, brought two legions from the camp to his relief, and then Pompey was forced to retire. This caſtle was defended by one cohort only

Cæſar beſieges Pompey in his camp.

The gallant behaviour of Caſſius Scæva.

(O) Cæſar tells us, that in this extremity ſuch of the army as had been in Sardinia, found out the way of making bread of a certain root called Clæra, which they ſteeped in milk; and that when the enemy inſulted them on account of the ſtarving condition which they were in, they threw ſeveral of theſe loaves among them, to put them out of all hopes of ſubduing them by famine, "So "long as the earth produces ſuch roots, ſaid they, we will not let "Pompey eſcape."

only of the ſixth legion, which held out againſt the utmoſt efforts of Pompey at the head of four complete legions. Every ſoldier of the cohort was wounded, Pompey's men having diſcharged at them, during the attack, above thirty thouſand arrows, of which the brave Caſſius received two hundred and thirty on his ſhield. Cæſar therefore made him a preſent of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, raiſed him to the poſt of primipilus, or firſt centurion of the legion, and allotted the whole cohort double pay and double allowance of proviſions ever after [b].

AND now Pompey, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of forage, and in great danger of loſing all his forces, which for ſome time had had no other provender but leaves of trees, reſolved at all events to force the enemy's lines and eſcape. With the aſſiſtance therefore, and by the advice of two deſerters (P), he embarqued his archers, ſlingers, and light-armed infantry, and, marching himſelf by land at the head of ſixty cohorts, went to attack that part of Cæſar's lines which was next to the ſea, and not yet quite finiſhed. He ſet out from his camp in the dead of the night, and arriving at the poſt he deſigned to force by break of day, he began the attack by ſea and land at the ſame time. The ninth legion, which defended that part of the lines, made for ſome time a vigorous reſiſtance; but being attacked in the rear by Pompey's men, who came by ſea and landed between Cæſar's two lines, they fled with ſuch precipitation, that the ſuccours Marcellinus ſent them from a neighbouring poſt could not ſtop them. The enſign, who carried the Roman eagle at the head of the routed legion, was mortally wounded; but

Pompey forces Cæſar's lines.

[b] Cæſar. Ibid l. iii. c. 53. Lucan. l. vi. 53. Suet. in Julio.

(P) Theſe were two brothers Roſcillus and Ægus, Allobroges, and men of great diſtinction in their own country. They commanded the auxiliaries, whom they had brought to the aſſiſtance of Cæſar, but defrauded them of their pay, and uſed them with great rigour, which obliged them to carry their complaints to Cæſar, who thereupon privately reprimanded them. The two chiefs, offended at this diſgrace, took what money and horſes they could with them, and deſerted to Pompey. As they had narrowly obſerved all Cæſar's circumvallation, and knew the weak parts of it, they directed Pompey in this enterprize, and proved very ſerviceable to him (29)

(29) Dio Caſſ. l. xli. Cæſar. ibid. l. iii. c. 60.

but nevertheleſs, before he died, had preſence of mind enough to conſign the eagle to the cavalry of his party, deſiring them to deliver it to Cæſar. Pompey's men purſued the fugitives, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that all the centurions of the firſt cohort were cut off except one. And now Pompey's army broke in upon the poſts Cæſar had fortified, like a torrent, and were advancing to attack Marcellinus, who guarded a neighbouring fort; but Marc Antony coming very ſeaſonably to his relief with twelve cohorts, they thought it adviſeable to retire. Soon after Cæſar himſelf arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement, and poſted himſelf on the ſhore in order to prevent ſuch-like attempts for the future. From this poſt he obſerved an old camp, which he had made within the place where Pompey was encloſed, but afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it Pompey had taken poſſeſſion of it, and left a legion to guard it. This poſt Cæſar reſolved to reduce, hoping to repair the loſs he had ſuſtained on this unfortunate day, by taking the legion which Pompey had poſted there. Accordingly, he advanced ſecretly at the head of thirty-three cohorts in two lines, and arriving at the old camp, before Pompey could have notice of his march, attacked it with great vigour, forced the firſt intrenchment, notwithſtanding the brave reſiſtance of Titus Pulcio, and penetrated to the ſecond, whither the legion had retired. But here his fortune changed on a ſudden. His right wing, in looking for an entrance into the camp, marched along the outſide of a trench, which Cæſar had formerly carried on from the left angle of his camp about four hundred paces to a neighbouring river. This trench they miſtook for the rampart of the camp, and being led away, by that miſtake from their left wing, they were ſoon after prevented from rejoining it by the arrival of Pompey, who came up at the head of a legion and a large body of horſe. Then the legion, which Cæſar had attacked, taking courage, made a brisk ſally, drove his men back to the firſt intrenchment, which they had ſeized, and there put them in great diſorder, while they were attempting to paſs the ditch. Pompey, in the mean time falling upon them with his cavalry in flank, completed their defeat; and then flying to the enemy's right wing, which had paſſed the trench mentioned above, and was ſhut up between that and the ramparts of the old camp, made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter of them. The trench was filled with dead bodies, many falling into it in that diſorder, and others paſſing over them and preſſing them to death. In this diſtreſs Cæſar did all he could to ſtop the flight of his legionaries, but to no purpoſe; the

Cæſar defeated.

the ſtandard-bearers themſelves threw down the Roman eagles, when Cæſar endeavoured to ſtop them, and left them in the hands of the enemy, who on this occaſion took thirty-two ſtandards; a diſgrace which Cæſar had never ſuffered before. He was himſelf in no ſmall danger of falling by the hand of one of his own men, whom he took hold of when flying, bidding him ſtand and face about: but the man, apprehenſive of the danger he was in, drew his ſword and would have killed him, had not one of his guards prevented the blow by cutting off his arm. Cæſar loſt on this occaſion nine hundred and ſixty of his foot, four hundred of his horſe, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. Had Pompey attacked Cæſar's camp, during this panic, he might have eaſily made himſelf maſter of it, and put an end to the war at one blow. But, being afraid of ſome ambuſcade, he purſued the enemy to the gates of their camp, and then marched back without making any further attempts; which made Cæſar ſay, that "he had been loſt without redreſs, had Pompey known how "to make uſe of his victory. This loſs and diſgrace greatly mortified Cæſar, but did not diſcourage him. After he had by his lenity and eloquent ſpeeches, ſuited to his preſent circumſtances, recovered the ſpirits of his troops, he decamped and retired in good order to Apollonia, where he paid his troops, and left his ſick and wounded. From thence he marched into Macedon, where Scipio Metellus, Pompey's father-in-law, was encamped. He hoped either to draw his rival into ſome plain, or to overpower Scipio, if not aſſiſted. He met with great difficulties on his march, the countries through which he paſſed refuſing to ſupply his army with proviſions; to ſuch a degree was his reputation ſunk ſince his laſt defeat. On his entering Theſſaly he was met by Domitius, one of his lieutenants, whom he had ſent with three legions to reduce Epirus. Having now got all his forces together, he marched directly to Gomphi, the firſt town of Theſſaly, which had been formerly in his intereſt, but now declared againſt him. Whereupon he attacked it with ſo much vigour, that, though the garriſon was very numerous and the walls of an uncommon height, he made himſelf maſter of it in a few hours. From thence he marched to Metropolis, another conſiderable town of Theſſaly, which immediately ſurrendered; as did all the other cities of the country, except Lariſſa, of which Scipio had made himſelf maſter.

He retires in to Macedo

On

Pompey purſues him.

On the other hand, Pompey, being continually importuned by the ſenators and officers of his army, left his camp at Dyrrachium, and followed Cæſar, firmly reſolved not to give him battle, but rather to diſtreſs him by keeping cloſe at his heels, ſtreightening his quarters, and cutting off his convoys. As he had frequently opportunities of coming to an engagement, but always declined it, his friends and ſubalterns began to put ill conſtructions on his dilatorineſs, to his face. Some reproached him with ſpinning out the war, in order to continue his authority over the Roman ſenate and the foreign kings under his command. Domitius Ahenobarbus was continually calling him, in deriſion, Agamemnon, and king of kings, inſinuating thereby, that he had no mind to lay down his ſovereign authority, but was pleaſed to ſee ſo many kings and great commanders pay their attendance at his tent. Favonius, who affected Cato's free way of ſpeaking, complained in a ſcoffing manner, that by reaſon of Pompey's ambition they ſhould eat no figs that year at Tuſculum. Theſe reflections, together with the complaints of his ſoldiers, made him at length reſolve to venture a general action. With this deſign he marched into a large plain near the cities of Pharſalia and Thebes, which latter was alſo called Philippi, from Philip, king of Macedon and the father of Perſes, who, having reduced the Thebans, placed a colony of Macedonians in their city. This plain was watered by the Enipeus, and ſurrounded on all ſides by high mountains; and Pompey, who was ſtill averſe from venturing an engagement, pitched his camp on the declivity of a ſteep mountain, in a place altogether inacceſſible. There he was joined by Scipio, his father-in-law, at the head of the legions which he had brought with him from Syria and Cilicia. But, notwithſtanding this reinforcement, he was ſtill irreſolute, and unwilling to put all to the iſſue of a ſingle action, being ſtill convinced of the wiſdom of his maxim, that it was better to deſtroy the enemy by fatigues and want, than to engage an army of brave veterans, who were, in a manner, reduced to deſpair. As he put off from day to day, under various pretences, deſcending into the plain, where Cæſar was encamped, his officers forced him to call a council of war, when all to a man were for venturing a general action the very next day. Thus was Pompey obliged to ſacrifice his own judgment to the blind ardor of the multitude; and the neceſſary meaſures were taken for a general engagement. Plutarch and Cæſar tell us, that Pompey's officers were ſo confident of victory, that Domitius Spinther and Scipio quarrelled as if they had already conquered,

Murmurs in his army.

Pompey unwilling to engage.

The confidence of Pompey's officers.

which

hich of them ſhould ſucceed Cæſar in the office of ponti-
x maxims. Others ſent to Rome to hire ſuch houſes as
ere ſuitable to the ranks of conſuls and prætors, as being
ıre of entering upon thoſe offices as ſoon as the battle was
ver. Some put in for the forfeited eſtates of thoſe who fol-
ıwed Cæſar. Spinther reſerved for his ſhare Cæſar's gardens
nd houſe at Baiæ, and the houſe of Hortenſius. The con-
ıls were ſettled for ſeveral years; but a warm diſpute aroſe
bout the choice of prætors. The relations of Hirtius,
hom Pompey had ſent againſt the Parthians, inſiſted, that re-
ard ſhould be had for him, though abſent. In ſhort, their
houghts ran not ſo much on conquering, as in what manner
hey ſhould ſhare and enjoy the fruits of their conqueſt, as if
hey were to engage, ſays Plutarch, Tigranes the Armenian,
ır ſome petty king of Nabathæa, and not that Cæſar who
ıad ſtormed a thouſand towns, ſubdued above three hundred
different nations, gained innumerable victories, taken a mil-
lion of men priſoners, and ſlain as many upon the ſpot in
pitched battles. This preſumption was founded on the num-
ber of their forces; for Pompey's army conſiſted of forty-
five thouſand foot, ſeven thouſand horſe well mounted and
armed, and a great number of dart-men and ſlingers; whereas Cæſar had at moſt twenty-two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe [c].

When the day came, on which the fate of the world was to be decided, Pompey, having aſſembled his troops, made them the following ſpeech, which is recorded by ſeveral writers. "As I have been induced by your ardor to venture a battle, contrary to my own judgment, let me ſee you behave in it with bravery. As you ſurpaſs the enemy in numbers, ſtrive to do ſo in courage and reſolution. Look back with pleaſure on the glorious battle of Dyrrachium; maintain the glory you there acquired, and ſuffer not the beſt cauſe to ſink under the deſperate attempts of one, whoſe main aim is to deprive you of your liberty, and change the republic into a monarchy. Remember, that Pompey leads you, that the authority of the ſenate ſupports you, and the gods protect you." Having thus ſpoke, he cauſed the gates of the camp to be opened, and marched out at the head of his army. Cæſar was ſo far from expecting to engage that day, that he had already given the ſignal for decamping, with a deſign to march towards Scotuſa, his army being reduced to great ſtreights for want of forage and proviſions.

Pompey's ſpeech to his men.

[c] Appian. Plut. Cæſar. ibid.

proviſions. But while his ſoldiers were buſy in taking down their tents and ſending away their cattle, ſervants, and baggage before them, word was brought him by his ſcouts, that they had ſeen arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and that they had heard a noiſe and buſtle as of men preparing for battle. Not long after other ſcouts came in with further intelligence, that the enemy were marching out of their intrenchments, and that the firſt ranks were already drawn up in the plain. Cæſar, tranſported with joy at this news, told his men, "that the ſo much wiſhed-for day was come at "laſt, when they ſhould fight with men, not with hunger and "famine." Then he ordered the red ſtandard, the uſual ſignal of battle among the Romans, to be ſet up before his tent; which was no ſooner obſerved by the ſoldiers, than they left their tents, and with loud ſhouts of joy repaired to their arms. The officers drew up their reſpective corps, every man falling into his proper rank, without any trouble or noiſe. When he had drawn up his men, he ordered three legions to level the ramparts, and fill up the ditches of his camp, telling them with great confidence, that they ſhould lodge that night in Pompey's camp. This he ſaid not from a dependence on the vain aſſurances of the augurs and the preſages of victory, which were brought him from all parts (Q); but on his own addreſs and the experienced valour of his veterans. After he had levelled his trenches, he harangued his troops according to cuſtom, but with ſuch an air of confidence and ſatisfaction, as was ſufficient to have inſpired cowards with courage. "Fellow ſoldiers, ſaid he, the worſt "part of our labour is now paſt. To-day we are not to "fight with hunger and want, but with men; nay, with "thoſe

Pompey prepares for battle.

(Q) He had three days before purified his army by a ſacrifice, according to cuſtom, when the augur, upon the death of the firſt victim, told him, that within three days he ſhould come to a deciſive action. Cæſar asked him, whether he ſaw any thing in the entrails, which promiſed an happy event? "That, anſwered the "augur, you can beſt tell yourſelf; for the gods promiſe a great "alteration from the preſent poſture of affairs; if therefore you "think yourſelf happy now, expect worſe fortune; if unhappy, "hope for better." The night before the battle, as he went the rounds about midnight, he ſaw a light in the heaven very bright and flaming, which ſeemed to paſs over his camp and fall into Pompey's; and when Cæſar's men came to relieve the guard in the morning, they perceived a panic among the enemy (30).

(30) Plut. in Pomp. & Cæſare.

" thoſe very men who left Italy, becauſe they could not ſtand " before us, and who would deprive us of the honours that " are due to us for a long courſe of victories. If therefore " you have any grateful ſenſe of my benevolence and bounty, " let it now exert itſelf; and remember your promiſes at " Dyrrachium. You there vowed, that you would conquer " or die; and it is no difficult matter for veterans to conquer " raw ſoldiers, eſpecially when they fight under a general, " who, I know, is driven to a battle contrary to his own " judgment. This I ſay of the Italians only; as for the A- " ſiatics, give yourſelves no concern about them; their own " fears will diſperſe them. Exert therefore all your valour " againſt the Roman legions and Italian cohorts. I have " levelled your trenches, that you may have no reſourſe but " in victory, and that the enemy may ſee, we are determined " to lodge in their camp by our deſtroying our own." This ſaid, he marched into the plain, and obſerving the diſpoſition of the enemy, as he drew near them, regulated his own by it. (R) Pompey was on the left wing, with the two legions which Cæſar had returned to him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements ſent by ſeveral kings and ſtates of Aſia. The Cicilian legion and ſome cohorts, which had ſerved in Spain, were in the right under the command of Afranius (S). As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he ſtrengthened the left with his ſlingers, archers, and the ſeven thouſand Roman horſe, on whom chiefly his party founded their hopes of victory. The whole army was drawn up in three lines with very little ſpaces between them. In conformity to this diſpoſition, Cæſar's army was drawn up in the following order: The tenth legion, which had on all occaſions ſignalized themſelves above all the reſt, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been conſiderably weakened in the action at Dyrrachium, the eighth legion was poſted ſo near it, as to be able to ſupport and reinforce it upon occaſion.

The diſpoſition of the two armies

(R) Cæſar and Appian agree, that Pompey poſted himſelf in his left wing; but Plutarch places him in the right.

(S) Here again Plutarch differs from Cæſar, and gives Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus the command of the right wing, without ſo much as mentioning Afranius. It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the account which Cæſar himſelf has left us of this memorable battle, ſhould meet with contradiction. Surely his evidence muſt be of the greateſt authority.

occaſion. The reſt of Cæſar's forces filled up the ſpace between the two wings. Marc Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvinus the main body. As for Cæſar, he poſted himſelf on the right over-againſt Pompey, that he might have him always in ſight. His army was likewiſe drawn up in three lines, but with larger ſpaces between the corps. Pompey, as we have hinted above, placed his whole body of horſe in his left wing, in order to diſtreſs and cut of the tenth legion, at the head of which Cæſar always fought in perſon. Hereupon Cæſar, who had only a thouſand horſe to oppoſe the enemy's ſeven thouſand, ſupplied that defect with a body of choice infantry, which he picked out of the legionaries of the third line, and formed into ſix cohorts. Theſe he placed behind the tenth legion, commanding them to advance to the front as ſoon as the enemy's cavalry ſhould charge, and together with the legionaries ſuſtain the firſt onſet of the cavalry. He likewiſe commanded them not to diſcharge their javelins at a diſtance, but firſt to cloſe with the enemy, and then aim only at the faces of the horſemen, who were for the moſt part young patricians, and therefore, as he rightly imagined, would be more ſolicitous about preſerving their beauty than gaining a victory. Thus was the whole plain covered from Pharſalia to the Enipeus with two armies, dreſſed and armed after the ſame manner, and bearing the ſame enſigns, the Roman eagles. Pompey obſerving how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the ſignal of battle; and on the contrary how impatient and unſteady his own men were, running up and down in great diſorder for want of experience, began to be afraid, leſt his ranks ſhould be broke upon the firſt onſet; and therefore commanded the foot in the front to keep their ground, and quietly wait for the enemy (T). The two armies, though within

(T) Cæſar in his third book of the civil war blames this conduct. We ſhall give the reader a tranſlation of the whole paſſage from his own words; for every thing ſpoken by ſuch a man as Cæſar ought to be kept entire: "There was juſt as much ſpace between "the two armies, ſays he, as was ſufficient for both to meet and "charge. But Pompey had ordered his men to receive the "enemy's onſet without ſtirring, and keep their poſts, till Cæſar's "army by charging firſt ſhould be diſordered. This he is ſaid to "have done by the advice of Triarius, to the end, that the firſt "force and impetuoſity of thoſe troops might abate and be weak-"ened, and their ranks thinned; and that then thoſe, who had "remained firm in their poſts, might attack them with better "ſucceſs

within reach of each other, kept for ſome time a mournful ſilence, which might poſſibly proceed from the melancholy reflections of both parties. For what could be more affecting, than to conſider, that the ſon had taken arms againſt the father, brother againſt brother, citizen againſt citizen, and friend againſt friend? At length the trumpets ſounded the charge, and Cæſar's army advanced in good order to begin the attack, being encouraged by the example of one Caius Craſtinus, a centurion, who at the head of an hundred and twenty men, threw himſelf upon the enemy's firſt line with incredible fury. This he did to acquit himſelf of a promiſe he had ſolemnly made to Cæſar, who, meeting him as he was going out of his tent in the morning, aſked him after ſome diſcourſe, What his opinion was touching the event of the battle? To which, he, ſtretching out his hand, replied aloud, "Thine is the victory, Cæſar; thou ſhalt conquer glorioufly, "and I myſelf this day will be the ſubject of thy praiſe, either "dead or alive." In purſuance of this promiſe he broke out of his rank, as ſoon as the trumpet ſounded, and at the head of his company ran in upon the enemy, and made a great ſlaughter of them. But while he was ſtill preſſing forward, forcing his way through the firſt line, one of Pompey's men ran him in at the mouth with ſuch violence, that the point of the ſword came out at the hind part of his neck. Upon his death Pompey's ſoldiers took courage, and with great bravery ſtood the enemy's onſet. While the foot was thus ſharply engaged

The battle of Pharſalia. Year after the flood 2956. Before Chriſt 48. Of Rome 705.

"ſucceſs, when they were thus broken and diſperſed. Beſides, "he was in hopes that their javelins would do leſs execution, if "they received them in their poſts, than if they advanced to meet "them, and that Cæſar's ſoldiers, running the whole void or "ſpace, inſtead of meeting them in the middle of it, would come "up out of breath and wearied. But, in my opinion, this was "founded upon no manner of reaſon, becauſe there is a natural "vehemence and alacrity implanted in every man, which is kin-"dled in the mind by an eagerneſs and impatience to begin the "onſet, which ſhould not be checked, but rather encouraged, by "the general. Our anceſtors therefore wiſely ordained, that "trumpets ſhould ſound on every ſide, and all the ſoldiers raiſe a "ſhout, conceiving that thoſe were the moſt proper means to "animate and encourage their own troops, and daunt the enemy "(31)." Thus far Cæſar. However, it is certain, that generals of great fame and experience have ſometimes done as Pompey did.

(31) Cæſar. bell. civil. l. iii.

engaged in the centre, Pompey's horſe in the left wing marched up confidently, and, having firſt widened their ranks with a deſign to ſurround Cæſar's right wing, charged his cavalry, and forced them to give ground (U). Hereupon Cæſar ordered his horſe to retreat a little, and give way to the ſix cohorts, which he had poſted in the rear as a body of reſerve. Theſe, upon a ſignal given coming up, charged the enemy's horſe with that reſolution and good order, which is peculiar to men who have ſpent all their lives in camps. They remembered their inſtructions, not ſtriking at the legs or thighs of the enemy, but aiming only at their faces. This unexpected and new manner of fighting had the deſired effect. For the young patricians, whom Cæſar contemptuouſly calls the pretty young dancers, not being able to bear the thoughts of having their faces deformed with ſcars, turned their backs, and, covering their faces with their hands, fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving the foot at the mercy of the enemy. Cæſar's men did not purſue the fugitives, but charging the foot of that wing now naked and unguarded, ſurrounded them, and cut moſt of them in pieces. Pompey was ſo tranſported with rage in ſeeing the flower of his forces thus put to flight, or cut in pieces, that he left his army, and retired ſlowly towards his camp, looking more like a man diſtracted and beſide himſelf, than one who by his exploits had acquired the ſurname of The Great (W). When he had reached the camp, he retired to his tent, without ſpeaking a word to any, and continued there, like one whom the gods had deprived of his ſenſes, till his whole army was defeated. Cæſar no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of the field, than he marched to attack the

Pompey retires to his camp, and his army is defeated.

(U) Cæſar himſelf owns, that his cavalry gave way and were in danger of being cut in pieces, when the ſix cohorts advanced to ſupport them. Plutarch therefore muſt be miſtaken, when he ſays, that theſe cohorts attacked Pompey's cavalry before they had time to charge that of Cæſar. The memoirs he followed in his account of this battle ſeem not to have been the moſt exact.

(W) Plutarch applies to Pompey, as he is retiring before Cæſar, a paſſage in the eleventh Iliad, where Homer ſpeaks in a lofty manner of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

" But partial Jove eſpouſing Hector's part,
" Shot heav'n-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;
" Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's preſence grown,
" Amaz'd he ſtood, with terrors not his own.
" O'er his broad back his moony ſhield he threw,
" And glaring round with tardy ſteps withdrew." Pope.

he enemy's intrenchments, that Pompey might not have time o recollect himself. When Pompey was informed that his ival was advancing to attack his intrenchments, he then first eemed to have recovered his senses, and cried out, "What! nto my camp too?" He said no more; but immediately laying side the marks of his dignity, and putting on such a garment as night best favour his flight, he stole out at the decuman gate, nd took the road to Lariſſa, which city had hitherto shewn great attachment to him. In the mean time, Cæsar began the ttack on the enemy's camp, which was vigorously defended by he cohorts Pompey had left to guard it; but they were at length orced to yield (X). Cæsar was not a little surprised, when, after having forced the intrenchments, he found the enemy's ents and pavilions richly adorned with carpets and hangings, heir couches strewed with flowers, their tables ready spread, and side-boards set out with abundance of plate, bowls, and glasses, and some of them even filled with wine. So great was the confidence of Pompey's party, that they made preparations before-hand for pleasures to be enjoyed after the victory, which they thought certain. In Pompey's tent Cæsar found the box in which he kept his letters; but, with a moderation and magnanimity worthy of himself, he burnt them all without reading one, saying, that he had rather be ignorant of crimes, than obliged to punish them [d].

Cæsar makes himself master of Pompey's camp.

[d] Plut in Pomp. & Cæsar. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Dio. Cass. l. xli. Cæsar. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 60.---91.

(X) Cæsar tells us, that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Lariſſa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of the fourth legion, and after six miles march came up with them. But they, not caring to engage a victorious legion led on by Cæsar, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and fatigue of the whole day, yet by his obliging manner he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. This obliged the unfortunate fugitives to come to a capitulation, throw down their arms, and implore the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. Cæsar received those who surrendered with all the clemency and kindness imaginable, forbidding his soldiers to offer them the least insult, or even to plunder their baggage.

THE next day, when the dead were numbered, it appeared that Cæſar had ſcarce loſt two hundred men, among whom were about thirty centurions, whom Cæſar cauſed to be buried with great ſolemnity. He did particular honours to the body of Craſtinus, who had begun the battle, and ordered his aſhes to be depoſited in a tomb, which he erected to his memory. On Pompey's ſide the number of the dead amounted to fifteen thouſand according to ſome, and to twenty-five thouſand according to others (Y). Aſinius Pollio, as quoted by Plutarch, tells us, that Cæſar when he ſaw the field of battle covered with many dead bodies, cried out with a deep ſigh; "This they would have; they "brought me, by their obſtinacy, to the ſad neceſſity of "conquering them to ſecure myſelf." Among the dead were found the bodies of ten ſenators and forty knights. One of the ſenators was Domitius Ahenobarbus, who fled from the camp when Cæſar attacked it; but being exhauſted with fatigue, a body of horſe came up with him, and left him dead on the plain of Pharſalia. Cæſar took twenty-four thouſand priſoners, eight eagles, and a hundred and eighty enſigns. All the Roman citizens were immediately by his orders ſet at liberty; and it muſt be owned, that no conqueror ever took more pleaſure than Cæſar in acts of clemency. Some writers aſcribe his moderation to policy; but it is manifeſt from his whole conduct before, as well as after, the battle of Pharſalia, that he was endowed with a great fund of good-nature and humanity. He had always ſhewn a particular affection for young Marcus Brutus, whom he believed to be his ſon (Z); and therefore, as he had ſided with Pompey and fought under his banners, he was under the utmoſt concern in not ſeeing him appear after the battle; nor was his pleaſure leſs when he ſaw him ſafe, ſurrendering himſelf to him, and imploring his clemency. He received him with inexpreſſible joy and marks of the moſt tender and ſincere friendſhip, not ſuſpecting then, that he would one day become an accomplice of his death.

His clemency and moderation.

CÆSAR

(Y) Appian quotes ſome writers, who made Cæſar's loſs amount to twelve hundred legionaries. Aſinius Pollio, who was preſent in this action and fought in Cæſar's army, reduces the number of the ſlain on Pompey's ſide to ſix thouſand men. But he is contradicted by all the antients.

(Z) Cæſar was paſſionately in love with Servilia the mother of Brutus, who gave herſelf up entirely to him; whence Cæſar, as Plutarch obſerves, had reaſon to believe that Brutus was his ſon.

Cæsar resolves to pursue Pompey

CÆSAR, though victorious, could not think the work complete so long as his rival lived. His fleets were still masters of the sea. Lælius, who commanded one of them had lately besieged Vatinius, Cæsar's lieutenant, in Brundusium, and Caius Cassius had burnt above forty of his galleys in the streights of Messana. Besides, the remains of his troops might unite again, and, by the help of new levies and auxiliaries from foreign kings, make as formidable an army as the former; since Egypt, Africa, Numidia, Pontus, Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, seemed to have espoused his cause with great zeal. Cato, whom Pompey had left at Dyrrachium with fifteen cohorts and three hundred galleys, might follow him, and renew the war in some other country. So that Pompey's party, though weakened, was not entirely destroyed. Cæsar therefore, in order to complete the work, either by the death or captivity of his competitor, resolved to set all other things aside, and pursue Pompey into what part soever of the world he should retire. Pursuant to this resolution, after he had stayed two days at Pharsalia, to return thanks to the gods for the victory he had gained, and to refresh his soldiers, he set out on the third with his cavalry, advancing every day as far as he possibly could, while one legion followed him by more easy marches [e].

Pompey's flight and adventures.

As for Pompey, he took the rout, as we have hinted above, to Larissa. When he had got a little way from the camp, he dismounted, and finding the enemy did not pursue him, walked on leisurely with his small retinue, wholly taken up with such thoughts as were natural to a person of his condition and circumstances. He had been for the space of thirty-four years together accustomed to conquest and victory, and was then at last in his old age beginning to know the calamities of war in slaughter and flight. He considered, with the greatest concern imaginable, that he had lost in one hour all the glory and power, which he had been gaining for so many years in innumerable battles; and that he, who a little before was guarded by a mighty army and attended by kings, was now flying in so mean a condition, and with so small a retinue, that his very enemies could not know him. Thus he came to Larissa, but would not enter the city, notwithstanding the pressing invitations of the inhabitants, lest their kindness to him should provoke Cæsar and bring them into trouble; nay, he exhorted them to submit to the conqueror, and have timely recourse to his clemency.

[e] Cæsar bell. civil. l. iii. Appian. l. ii.

From Lariſſa he purſued his rout with L. Lentulus, the laſt year's conſul, P. Lentulus, and the ſenator Favonius, and in the evening reached the vale of Tempe in Theſſaly, greatly fatigued and deſtitute of all neceſſaries of life. There, as he was very thirſty, he kneeled down, and drank out of a river, which watered that fruitful plain. Then riſing up, he croſſed the valley, and, coming to the ſea-ſide, betook himſelf to a poor fiſherman's cottage, where he paſſed the remainder of the night. How dreadful this night muſt have been, not ſo much on account of the inconveniencies of the place, as of his own tormenting reflections, we leave the reader to judge. The next morning by break of day, he went into a ſmall boat on the river Peneus, and, taking his freemen along with him, diſmiſſed his ſlaves, adviſing them to go boldly to Cæſar, and not be afraid. As he was going in the boat along the ſhore, he happened to ſpy a great ſhip of burden, riding at anchor and juſt ready to ſet ſail. The maſter of the ſhip, by name Peticius, a Roman citizen (A), knowing Pompey, took him into his ſhip, together with the two Lentuli, Favonius, and ſuch of his attendants as he thought fit. Soon after they had got aboard, they diſcovered Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, who had ſerved under Pompey and made his eſcape after the battle, flying full ſpeed towards the ſhore. At the requeſt of Pompey, Peticius ſtayed and took him in likewiſe. Cicero tells us, that this prince had joined Pompey before the battle, depending on the flight of birds, which he thought, promiſed his arms good ſucceſs. As the illuſtrious Roman had diſmiſſed his attendants, Favonius performed the meaneſt offices about him, not ſcruppling to wait upon him at table and help to undreſs him. The ſhip

Pompey arrives in Mitylene.

(A) Plutarch tells us, that Peticius had dreamt the night before, that he ſaw Pompey in a deſpicable condition, and that, while he was telling his dream to the paſſengers, one of the mariners acquainted him, that he ſaw a little boat putting off from the ſhore, and that the perſons in it held out their hands, as if they deſired to be taken into his veſſel. Hereupon Peticius ſtanding up, obſerved a man in the ſame dreſs, in which Pompey had appeared to him in his dream; and not doubting but it was he, he expreſſed with tears his concern for him; and ordering the mariners to let down the ſhip's boat, he called him by his name, as he drew near, and took him in with all his attendants, ready to convey him to what part of the world he pleaſed (32).

(32) Plut. in Pomp.

ſhip purſued her courſe, touched at Amphipolis, on the confines of Thrace and Macedon, where Pompey took ſome money of his friends for his neceſſary expences, and in a few days made one of the ports of the iſland of Leſbos, with a deſign to take in Cornelia, Pompey's wife, and his ſon Sextus, whom in the beginning of the war he had ſent to Mitylene, the capital of the iſland. He no ſooner arrived in the port, than he ſent a meſſenger into the city, not caring to come himſelf aſhore, with news very different from what Cornelia expected. For ſhe, having heard no news from her huſband ſince his ſucceſs near Dyrrhacium, believed that the war was near ended, and that there was nothing more remaining for Pompey, than to purſue Cæſar and diſperſe the few troops he had ſtill with him. The meſſenger, finding her ſtill in this perſuaſion, informed her of the misfortune of her huſband with his tears, before he could deliver her any meſſage; and the unfortunate Cornelia no ſooner heard of his defeat and forlorn condition, than ſhe fell down in a ſwoon, and continued a long time ſenſeleſs. When ſhe came to herſelf, ſhe ſtarted up and haſtened to the ſea-ſide, where the ſight of Pompey renewed her grief. She fainted away a ſecond time in his arms, and, as ſoon as ſhe recovered her ſpeech, ſhe vented her paſſion in the following words; "It "is the effect of my cruel deſtiny, not of yours, that I ſee "you thus dejected and reduced to one poor veſſel, who, "before your marriage with the unfortunate Cornelia, were "attended by a fleet of five hundred ſail. Why therefore "ſhould you come to ſee me, or why rather ſhould you "not have left her to a ſeverer fate, who has been the cauſe "of all your misfortune? How happy a woman had I been, "if I had breathed out my laſt, before I received the fatal "news from Parthia of the death of Craſſus? Or how "prudent, if I had followed his deſtiny as I deſigned? But "I was reſerved for a greater miſchief, for the ruin of Pom-"pey the Great." Pompey is ſaid to have anſwered her thus: "Dear Cornelia, you have been hitherto accuſtomed "only to the ſmiles of fortune, which perhaps has deceived "you in this, that ſhe has been conſtant to me beyond her "cuſtom; but it behoves us, who are mortals, to bear with "theſe afflictions, and try our fortune once again: neither "ought we to deſpond; for it is as poſſible for us to "retrieve our former happineſs, as it was to fall from "it into our preſent calamity." All the Mitylenians, who ran to the port to pay their homage to their old protector, were witneſſes of this interview, and, being touched with

Pompey arrives at Mitylene.

The meeting of Pompey and his wife Cornelia.

compaſſion, invited Pompey into their city. But he returning them thanks for their kind invitation, anſwered, that he would by no means enter their gates, leſt he ſhould draw upon them the reſentment of the conqueror, to whom he adviſed them to ſubmit, ſince he was a man of great goodneſs and clemency. Then turning to Cratippus the philoſopher, who then lived at Mitylene and came among the reſt to pay his reſpects to his old friend, he began to repine and argue with him, touching the diſpenſations of providence. But Cratippus modeſtly declined the diſpute for fear of heightening his ſorrow, and only encouraged him to bear with conſtancy his preſent misfortunes. Plutarch obſerves here, that the philoſopher might have eaſily anſwered his objections, by ſhewing, it was neceſſary, on account of the diſorders which reigned in the republic, that the government ſhould be lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon, and by aſking him, what grounds men had to believe that he, if conqueror, would have uſed his good fortune better than Cæſar. But the diſpenſations of providence, adds Plutarch, are in the hands of the Supreme Being, and there we muſt leave them [f].

He arrives at Attalia.

POMPEY, having taken his wife and friends aboard, ſailed from Mitylene, ſteering his courſe towards Cilicia. The firſt place he touched at was Attalia, a city of Pamphylia, where he found ſixty ſenators of his party, ſeven or eight ſhips of his fleet, and ſome bands of ſoldiers. Here he was informed, that Cato had rallied a conſiderable body of troops, and was paſſed with them over into Africa. From Pamphylia he ſailed with his ſmall fleet for the iſland of Cyprus, where he received advice, that the Rhodians had refuſed to admit into their ports one of the Lentuli and his attendants, and that Antioch, the capital of Syria, had, at the inſtigation of the Roman citizens who traded there, declared for Cæſar. Hereupon being at a loſs whither he ſhould ſteer his courſe next, he ſummoned a council of the few faithful friends who followed him, to conſider with them what place would yield him the ſafeſt refuge and retreat, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. Some adviſed him to paſs over into Africa, and there join Juba king of Mauritania, who had eſpouſed his cauſe and exerted himſelf in it with great zeal. Pompey himſelf was for retiring into Parthia, as the only country that was fit to protect him in his preſent diſtreſs, and ſupply him with a ſufficient force to make head againſt his competitor.

He deſigns to retire into Parthia.

[f] Plut. in Pomp. Dio, l. xlii.

petitor. But this was looked upon by all his friends as the project of a man overwhelmed with grief and reduced to deſpair: they repreſented to him, that the Parthians were the moſt inveterate enemies of the Roman name; that they had hitherto ſtood neuter, and declared, that they would not eſpouſe either party; that they were overjoyed to ſee the republic weakening herſelf by her own forces, and laſtly, that it was dangerous to expoſe the young and beautiful Cornelia to the brutalities of a diſſolute court. This laſt motive, which was of more weight with him than all the reſt, induced him to drop the deſign of ſeeking protection among the enemies of Rome, though he was much perplexed where to find a ſafe retreat among her friends and allies. Among thoſe who attended the the illuſtrious Roman in his flight was Theophanes, a native of Mitylene, who, as he was famous for the extent of his knowledge, had a great influence over Pompey; and this he made uſe of on the preſent occaſion, perſuading him to retire to Egypt, which was but a voyage of three days ſailing, where he had reaſon to expect from young Ptolemy, his pupil, all poſſible aſſiſtance, ſince he had lately reſtored his father to his kingdom, which favour the young prince had gratefully acknowledged, by ſending him a fleet to be employed againſt Cæſar. As ſoon as the advice of Theophanes prevailed, Pompey and Cornelia with their attendants weighed anchor, and, leaving Cyprus, ſteered towards Egypt, ſome in gallies, others in ſhips of burden [g].

Theophanes perſuades him to fly into Egypt.

In the mean time, Cæſar wholly intent on purſuing his rival, arrived at the Helleſpont, which he ventured to croſs with a ſmall number of galleys, but was met in his paſſage by Pompey's fleet under the command of Caius Caſſius. Cæſar did not avoid him, though the fleet he commanded conſiſted, according to Appian, of ſeventy ſhips; but boldly making towards him, ſummoned him to ſurrender. Caſſius was ſo ſtruck with the boldneſs of Cæſar, and ſurpriſed at his intrepidity and good fortune, that he readily obeyed the ſummons, and joined Cæſar with his numerous fleet [h]. Cicero ſeems to inſinuate [i], that Caſſius did not join Cæſar, till after the war of Alexandria, when the conqueror was ſailing from Egypt to Pontus, to make war upon Pharnaces who had declared for Pompey. Cæſar on his arrival in Aſia, to gratify

Cæſar purſues him.

[g] Plut. ibid. Vell. Paturcul. l. ii. c. 53. Appian. ibid. p. 480. Dio, l. xlii. & Lucan. l. viii.

[h] Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 63. Appian. p. 482, 483.

[i] Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epiſt. 15.

tify Theopompus, who had made a collection of fables, enfranchiſed the Cnidians his country-men, and remitted one third of the taxes of all the Aſiatics. He likewiſe received under his protection the Ionians, Æolians, and other nations of Aſia Minor, who came to ſubmit to him and implore his protection. As he could have no certain account of the rout Pompey had taken, he reſolved to make what haſte he could to Egypt, fearing his rival ſhould get poſſeſſion of that rich and wealthy kingdom, rally his forces there, and, with the aſſiſtance of young Ptolemy, a prince highly obliged to him, renew the war. With this deſign he ſailed for Rhodes, ſtayed there till he was joined by two legions from the continent, and then ſet ſail for Egypt, without communicating his reſolution to any but M. Brutus, in whom he repoſed an entire confidence [k].

Pompey arrives on the coaſt of Egypt.

But Pompey arrived in Egypt before Cæſar; and being informed, that Ptolemy was at war with his ſiſter and encamped in the neighbourhood of Peluſium, he ſteered his courſe that way, and ſent a meſſenger before to acquaint the king with his arrival, and implore his protection. The king himſelf, who was very young, returned no anſwer to the meſſenger; but Photinus, Achillas, and Theodotus, who were the young prince's chief counſellors and had the greateſt influence over him, conſulted among themſelves about the reception of Pompey. Photinus was the chief miniſter of ſtate, Achillas the general of the armies, and Theodotus a mercenary teacher of rhetoric, but one who was in great eſteem with the king, as being his preceptor. While theſe three were conſulting, Pompey, riding at anchor at a great diſtance from the ſhore, was forced to wait the reſult of their deliberations; that Pompey, as Plutarch obſerves, who thought it beneath him to owe his ſafety to Cæſar, a Roman and his father-in-law, ſtooped ſo low as to lie at the diſcretion of three unworthy favourites. Photinus and Achillas were for receiving Pompey, thinking it would be a reproach to the Egyptian nation to abandon one in his diſtreſs, who had been guardian, friend, and zealous benefactor to their king; but Theodotus undertook to prove, that it was equally dangerous in that juncture of affairs to admit and refuſe him admittance.

The Egyptians conſult about the receiving of Pompey.

The advice of Theodotus.

"If we receive him, ſaid he, we ſhall make Cæſar our "enemy, and Pompey our maſter: if we diſmiſs him, we "ſhall render ourſelves obnoxious to Pompey for that in-"hoſpitable expulſion, and to Cæſar for letting him eſcape." He concluded, "that the ſafeſt expedient was to ſend for "him

[k] Plut. in Bruto. Appian, p. 483. Cæſ. ibid.

" him and put him to death; for by that means they would " ingratiate themſelves with the one, and have no reaſon to " fear the other;" adding with a ſmile, " a dead man cannot " bite." This cruel advice was approved of, and the execution of it committed to Achillas, who, taking with him L. Septimius and Salvius, the former once a tribune and the latter a centurion in the Roman armies, and three or four officers more, went on board a ſmall veſſel, and made up towards Pompey's galley, while the whole Egyptian army ſtood in battle array on the ſhore. The chief men, who attended Pompey, alarmed at the meanneſs of this reception, adviſed him to weigh anchor without delay and launch into the main; but the hero encouraged them, and in the mean time the Egyptian boat drawing near, Septimius, ſtanding up firſt, ſaluted Pompey in Latin, giving him the title of imperator. Achillas complimented him in Greek, and invited him on board his veſſel, telling him, that the ſea was ſo ſhallow near the ſhore, that his galley could not avoid ſtriking upon ſome ſhelve. Pompey, obſerving ſeveral of the king's galleys well manned, and the ſhore covered with ſoldiers, began to ſuſpect ſome treachery; but nevertheleſs, without betraying the leaſt diſtruſt, he took his leave of Cornelia, who already bewailed his death, and commanding two centurions, with Philip one of his freed-men and a ſlave called Scenes, to go on board the Egyptian boat before him, he himſelf followed, repeating to his wife and ſon as he went into the boat, the following iambics of Sophocles: Pompey's reception.

He that once falls into a tyrant's power,
Becomes a ſlave tho' he was free before.

As thoſe who were in the boat kept a profound ſilence, without paying the leaſt civility or ſpeaking a kind word to him all the way, in order to begin a converſation with Septimius, Pompey, looking earneſtly upon him, addreſſed him thus. " Methinks I ſhould know you " friend; have we not been formerly fellow-ſoldiers? But Septimius anſwered with a nod only, without ſhewing any manner of civility. Since therefore they all continued ſilent, Pompey took a little book in his hand, wherein he had wrote a Greek oration, which he intended to ſpeak to Ptolemy, and began to read it. When the boat drew near the ſhore, Cornelia, who never loſt ſight of her husband, and was very impatient to ſee the event, obſerved ſeveral perſons of diſtinction running to the ſea-ſide to meet him. Upon this the diſconſolate Cornelia took courage, imagining they were coming to wait upon Pompey and conduct him to the king; but

but in that inſtant, as Philip his freed-man lent him his hand to help him out of the boat, Septimius coming behind him, ran him through with his ſword: at the ſame time Achillas and Salvius falling upon him with their drawn ſwords, the unfortunate Roman, having no means of defending himſelf or making his eſcape, took up his gown with both hands, and covering his face, neither ſpoke or did any thing unworthy of himſelf; but giving a groan, patiently received, without ſtirring, all their thruſts. Cornelia, who had kept her eyes fixed on her husband the whole time, ſeeing the ſwords of the aſſaſſins glitter about him, gave ſuch a ſhriek as was heard on the ſhore; but the mariners on board her galley ſeeing the Egyptian fleet under ſail, immediately weighed anchor, and being favoured by a brisk gale, ſaved the virtuous Cornelia and her ſon Sextus, from captivity and the cruel outrages they had reaſon to fear from ſuch barbarous and inhuman aſſaſſins. Cornelia and her ſon were conveyed ſafe to Cyprus; but ſome of the other veſſels were taken by the Egyptians, and all thoſe who were on board moſt cruelly murdered [1].

Pompey the Great cruelly murdered, &c.

THE head of Pompey was cut off, in order to be embalmed for a preſent to Cæſar; but the body was thrown naked upon the ſhore, and there expoſed to public view. Philip the freed-man ſtayed by it, watching it till the multitude had ſatisfied their curioſity; and then waſhing it with ſea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding ſome rotten planks of a little fiſher-boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. While he was laying them together, an old Roman, who had ſerved from his youth under Pompey, came and helped him to perform the funeral rites (B). Such was

[1] Plut. in Pomp. Liv. l. cxii. Appian. p. 481. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 53. Dio, l. xlii.

(B) The poet Lucan tells us, that Pompey's body was thrown into the ſea, and that Servius Codrus, who had been formerly Pompey's quæſtor and had following him from Cyprus, brought it aſhore, and buried it. His words are:

" E latebris pavidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus,
" Quæſtor ab Idalio Cynereæ littore Cypri;
" Infauſtus Magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras
" Auſus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem
" Compulit, ut mediis quæſitum corpus in undis
" Duceret ad terram, traheretque ad littora Magnum.

Aureiius

was the end of an hero, who in his youth had acquired the ſurname of Great, and had triumphed over three parts of the world; but having unfortunately embarqued in a civil war, more out of a deſire of becoming ſole maſter of the republic, than a zeal for her preſervation when on the brink of ruin, he periſhed in it through his own ill conduct (C). The next day Lucius Lentulus, the laſt year's conſul, who had left the iſland of Cyprus, and was ſailing along the coaſt, obſerving a funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not know, ſtanding by it, from ſome ſecret apprehenſion of Pompey's misfortune, came aſhore, and being told by Philip, that his apprehenſions were too true, he ſaid ſighing, "Alas! is this the fate of "Pompey the Great!" and continuing immoveable, expreſſed his grief with a flood of tears. While he was thus bewailing the death of Pompey, he himſelf was ſeized by the king's guards and thrown into a dark priſon, where he was ſoon after put to death. [m]

Cæſar arrives in Egypt.

In the mean time Cæſar, purſuing Pompey the ſame way he fled, ſteered his courſe towards Egypt, and arrived at Alexandria juſt as the news was brought thither of his death. Soon after he landed and entered the city, when the head of his rival was preſented to him, ſome ſay by Theodotus, others by Achillas, wrapt up in a veil, together with his ſeal, on which was engraved a lion holding a ſword in his paw; but Cæſar with the utmoſt horror, turned his eyes from ſo diſmal an object; and, reflecting on his former friendſhip with the deceaſed, the inconſtancy of fortune, and the calamities which often attend the greateſt men, burſt into tears, and with a thundering voice ordered the meſſenger immediately to be gone. He kept the ſeal; but ordered the head

[m] Plut. in Pomp. Cæſ. bell. civil. l. iii.

Aurelius Victor adds, that Codrus, having burnt the body, buried the aſhes, and on the tomb wrote the following words: "Here "lies Pompey the Great."

(C) Had he continued in his camp at Dyrrachium, and near the ſea, of which he was maſter, he might have forced his rival to wander from province to province in ſearch of proviſions, and deſtroyed his army either by gradual loſſes, or uſeleſs conqueſts; but he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into Theſſaly, and engaged his rival, when he might have conquered him without ſtriking a blow, Cæſar's army being then reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of neceſſaries. 'Tis true indeed, that his army forced him, in a manner, to quit his firſt camp; but this want of authority over his troops is juſt matter of blame in a general, who bore the ſurname of the Great.

Causes Pompey's head to be buried.

head to be buried with great solemnity in the suburbs of Alexandria, where he erected a temple to Nemesis the goddess of revenge. At the same time he prevailed upon Ptolemy to set at liberty all the friends of the illustrious deceased, who had been taken as they were straggling in those parts, and by his orders thrown into prison. These all joined their benefactor, who received them with marks of the most sincere friendship, signifying in all the letters he wrote to his friends at Rome, that the greatest advantage and pleasure he reaped from his victory was his saving every day the lives of some Roman citizens, who had taken arms against him [n].

Cæsar being detained at Alexandria by the Etesian winds (D), which continue in those parts during the dog-days, in the beginning of which he entered that port, spent his time in demanding the money which the present king's father owed him, and in hearing and deciding the controversy between young Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra. Auletes, as we have related in the history of Egypt, had engaged Cæsar, during his first consulate, by a promise of ten thousand talents, to get him confirmed in his kingdom by the Roman senate and people, and accounted among the friends and allies of that powerful state. Part only of this sum was then paid; and Cæsar, wanting money to maintain his army, exacted the rest with rigour; which Photinus, who was Ptolemy's prime minister, by several artifices made appear to the people to be greater than it was: for he stripped the temples of all their silver and gold vessels, and ordered the king's table to be served in wooden and earthen dishes, giving out, in order to stir up the mutinous populace of Alexandria

Photinus endeavours to stir up the Alexandrians against Cæsar.

[n] Plut. Appian. Cæs. ibid.

(D) By Etesian winds are meant such as blow at stated times of the year, from what part soever of the compass they come. They are so called from the Greek word ετος a year, being yearly or anniversary winds, such as our sea-men call monsoons and trade-winds, which, in some parts of the world, continue constantly blowing for certain stated seasons of the year. Thus the north winds, which during the dog-days, constantly blow upon the coasts of Egypt, and hinder all ships from sailing out of Alexandria for that season, are called Etesiæ, in Cæsar's commentaries. In other authors the west and east winds are called Etesiæ, when they continue blowing for certain seasons of the year (33).

(33) Vid. Salmasii exercit. in Solin. p. 421, &c.

andria againſt Cæſar, that he had ſeized all the ſilver and gold belonging to the temples of the gods and to the king. He alſo meaſured out to Cæſar's ſoldiers, with a deſign to pick a quarrel with him before he was joined by the reſt of his troops, muſty and unwholſome corn, telling him, when he complained, that he muſt take it and be contented, ſince his army was maintained at the coſt of another. This contemptuous treatment made Cæſar, tho' he had then only three thouſand two hundred foot and eight hundred horſe with him, exact with more rigour the ſum owing him; but Photinus, inſtead of paying it, preſſed him every day to be gone, adviſing him to look after his other affairs, which were of greater conſequence than ſuch a paltry debt. Cæſar anſwered, That he was not come into Egypt to aſk counſel, but to exact the money which the late king owed him, and to compoſe the differences between the preſent king and his ſiſter Cleopatra, who were then at war. Accordingly ſoon after he iſſued out a peremptory order, injoining each of them to diſband their armies, and bring the cauſe to his tribunal for a final deciſion. This was looked upon by the Egyptian as highly injurious to the ſovereign majeſty of their king, who, being an independent prince, acknowledged no ſuperior, and therefore was not to be judged by any man. To this Cæſar anſwered, That he did not take upon him to judge as a ſuperior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of the late king, who had put his children under the tuition of the Roman people. This quieting all for the preſent, the cauſe was brought before Cæſar, and advocates were appointed on both ſides to plead at his tribunal; but, in the mean time, Cæſar, being greatly taken with the charms and graceful behaviour of Cleopatra, from an impartial judge became her advocate, and betrayed a great inclination to favour her. This provoked Ptolemy, who thereupon ſtirred up the whole city of Alexandria againſt Cæſar. The Roman ſoldiers, who were near the king, ſeized him, while he was encouraging the inraged multitude to take up arms in defence of their ſovereign, and ſecured him in the houſe where their general lodged; but nevertheleſs, as the reſt of his forces were diſperſed all over the city in their quarters, he would have been overpowered, and tore in pieces by the populace, had he not from a balcony ſpoke to them, and aſſured them, that the difference between Ptolemy and his ſiſter ſhould be ſoon made up to the ſatisfaction of both. Accordingly the next day, having aſſembled the people, he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra to them, and then cauſing their father's

Cæſar ſummons Ptolemy and Cleopatra before him.

A tumult in Alexandria.

Appeaſed by Cæſar's decree.

ther's will publickly to be read, wherein it was ordered that his eldeſt ſon and eldeſt daughter ſhould, according to the cuſtom of the country, be joined in marriage and reign together, under the guardianſhip of the Roman people, he decreed, in virtue of that guardianſhip, which, he ſaid, was veſted in him, that Ptolemy, as being the eldeſt ſon, and Cleopatra, as being the eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed king, ſhould, according to the tenor of the ſaid will, reign jointly; and that Ptolemy, the younger ſon of Auletes, and his other daughter, named Arſinoe, ſhould reign in Cyprus. This laſt he added by way of gift to appeaſe the people; for Cyprus had been ſome time before ſubdued by the Romans, and was then governed, like the other Roman provinces, by a prætor ſent annually from Rome. Photinus was the only perſon in the aſſembly, who did not applaud this decree. As that miniſter had been the chief cauſe of the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and alſo of her expulſion out of the kingdom, he was well appriſed, that both his life and authority would be brought into danger by her return, and therefore exerted his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the execution of the decree. In order to this, he not only ſowed new diſcontents among the people, but prevailed upon Achillas to bring his army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, from Peluſium to Alexandria, in order to drive Cæſar out of the city.

The Alexandrian War.

This gave riſe to the Alexandrian war, ſo famous in hiſtory, of which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of Egypt °. King Ptolemy periſhing, in this war, Alexandria and all Egypt ſubmitted to the conqueror, who thereupon ſettled Cleopatraand the ſurviving Ptolemy, her younger brother, on the throne, as king and queen; which was putting the whole power into her hands, Ptolemy being then only eleven years old; but as he had engaged in ſo dangerous a war only for the ſake of that lewd woman, he made it turn the moſt he could to her advantage. In this war periſhed not only the king, but likewiſe Achillas and Photinus, with all the accomplices of Pompey's murder, except Theodotus, who, abandoning Egypt for fear of Cæſar, wandered up and down, deſpiſed and hated by all men, till M. Brutus, after Cæſar's death, finding him in Aſia, which was his province, cauſed him to be put to death, after he had made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments he could invent.

° Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. ix. p. 277. & ſeq.

invent. The ashes of Pompey were some time after conveyed to Rome, and delivered to his wife Cornelia, who buried them at his country-house in the neighbourhood of Alba [p].

[p] Plut. in Pomp. Dio. Paterc. ibid.

CHAP. XIII.

The History of Rome, from the death of Pompey to the death of Cæsar.

WHEN the news of Pompey's death reached Rome, the senate and people strove who should heap most honours on the conqueror, now become absolute master of their liberties, lives, and fortunes. He was by the unanimous consent of all the orders of the republic, proclaimed consul for five years, named dictator, contrary to the antient custom, not for six months only, but for a whole year, declared tribune of the people, and head of that college for his life; impowered to make peace and war with whom he pleased, to levy what forces he thought fit, &c. so that all the dignities and power of the republic now centered in Cæsar alone, who, without any violence or proscriptions, was raised to a higher pitch of power and authority, than Sylla had acquired, by the death and banishment of innumerable citizens. As the new dictator could not then go in person to Rome, to take possession of the many dignities conferred upon him, he appointed Marc Antony his general of the horse, and sent him with a detachment of troops to the capital, committing to him the government of Italy, during his absence. As for the dictator himself, after he had put an end to the war of Alexandria, and settled his favourite Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt, he was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of Asia against Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, son of Mithridates the Great, who finding the Romans engaged in a civil war, had laid hold of that opportunity to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in Asia. In the very beginning of the troubles, he raised a powerful army,

Honours heaped upon Cæsar at Rome.

Cæsar marches against Pharnaces.

and, appointing Aſander governor of Boſphorus in his abſence, paſſed the Euxine ſea, and made himſelf maſter of Colchis, Armenia Minor, and ſeveral places in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. After the battle of Pharſalia, Cæſar had ſent Domitius Calvinus with part of his army againſt him, committing to his care the government of all the provinces of Aſia Minor; but Pharnaces, having overcome Domitius in a pitched battle, made himſelf maſter of all the remaining parts of Pontus and Cappadocia. Puffed up with this ſucceſs, he treated the Roman merchants and publicans, who reſided at Amiſus the capital of Pontus, with great cruelty; and having ſeized all Bithynia, was preparing to paſs from thence into the province of Aſia properly ſo called. This extraordinary progreſs at length rouſed Cæſar, who was ſpending his time in wonton dalliances with Cleopatra, and put him again upon action. Having left part of his forces in Egypt to protect Cleopatra, he haſtened with the reſt into Syria; and, having appointed Sextus Cæſar, his relation, governor of that province, he purſued his march northward againſt Pharnaces. As he paſſed through Galatia, Dejotarus, who had ſided with Pompey and attended him in his flight, appeared before the dictator, in the habit of a ſuppliant and ſtripped of his royal robes, begging, he would extend to him the effects of the clemency, which had gained him greater glory than all his victories. The dictator was not much affected either with his ſubmiſſion or praiſes; but, nevertheleſs, as he was naturally inclined to mercy, he freely pardoned him, and reſtored to him the enſigns of royalty; but at the ſame time ordered him to ſend forthwith to his aſſiſtance the legion, which he had trained up in the Roman diſcipline, and all his cavalry, to be employed againſt Pharnaces. With this reinforcement he entered the kingdom of Pontus, which Pharnaces had reconquered, and, without giving any reſpite either to himſelf or his troops, or hearkening to the propoſals of peace, which the king made, with no other view but to gain time, he advanced againſt him, attacked him, and gained a complete victory, an account of which he wrote to his friend Aminitius or Anitius in the following words "Veni, vidi, vici, I came, I ſaw, I conquered;" which, being all diſſyllables and having the ſame cadence, happily expreſs the diſpatch of it. This victory, which was gained near the place where Triarius had been formerly defeated by Mithridates, repaired the honour of the Roman arms. After this defeat, Pharnaces fled with a thouſand horſe, the only remains of his vanquiſhed army, to Sinope, where he cauſed the horſes to be killed, and

Pardons Dejotarus.

Defeats Pharnaces.

putting

putting the men on board his ships in that port, he sailed with them back to Bosphorus; but he was no sooner landed, than Asander, whom he had left his lieutenant in that kingdom, and who, in his absence, had set up for himself, seized him, and, having put him to death, reigned in his stead. Hereupon Cæsar gave Mithridates the Pergamenian that kingdom, as a reward for the eminent services he had done him in Egypt, as we have related in the history of that kingdom. But Cæsar, in declaring him king of Bosphorus, gave him only an empty title; for Asander being in possession of it, he was to recover it by force of arms, in which attempt he lost his life, instead of gaining the crown, being overcome and slain in battle by Asander, who held the kingdom without any further opposition, the Romans not being at leisure, on account of the intestine broils that still continued among them, to give him any disturbance [q].

And now Cæsar, having settled affairs in Asia in the best manner he could, and left Cælius Vinicianus in Pontus, to keep that kingdom in awe, set out for Rome, attended only with one legion. He passed through Asia, and from thence crossed over into Greece, obliging every-where the publicans to bring to him the money, which, according to their engagments with the republic, they were to remit to the quæstors at Rome. His sudden arrival in Italy filled some with joy, others with fear, and kept the minds both of the senate and people in suspence. They were well acquainted with the humanity of his temper; but, as he had been greatly provoked by the blind and inconsiderate zeal of some rigid republicans, they were afraid he might rather follow the examples of Sylla and his uncle Marius, than the dictates of his own good-nature. Cicero was one of the first who felt the effects of his clemency. That great orator had declared for Pompey, and, after his defeat, returned to Italy, where he had lived at some distance from the capital, not caring to appear there, till he had obtained his pardon of Cæsar. He therefore no sooner heard, that the dictator was landed at Tarentum and was marching from thence to Brundusium, than he went to meet him, with an air of confidence mixed with fear and respect. Cæsar, who knew him while he was yet at some distance, in order to save him confusion of making submissions, not suitable to the rank he had held in the republic, dismounted, ran to meet him, and, having tenderly embraced him walked a great while

Sets out for Rome.

How he received Cicero.

[q] Dio. l. xlii. Plut. in Cæs. Appian. Mithridat. p. 254. Suet in Jul. Hirt. de bell. Alexand.

while with him alone, without ſhewing the leaſt diſſatisfaction, or taking any notice of his paſt behavour. Cicero was greatly taken with this kind reception; but nevertheleſs thought it adviſeable to keep at a diſtance from the capital, whither he repaired very ſeldom, and then only to make his court to the dictator. In his retirement he employed his time in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and compoſed moſt of thoſe books, which will be the admiration of all ages. Quintus Cicero, the orator's brother, who had formerly ſerved under the dictator in Gaul as one of his lieutenants, and had received innumerable favours at his hands, had, in the very beginning of the war, abandoned him to follow Pompey; but notwithſtanding his ingratitude, Cæſar pardoned him, at the earneſt entreaties of Aulus Hirtius, Caius Trebonius, and the famous Titus Pomponius Atticus, the orator's inſeparable friend, even in his greateſt misfortunes. Many others, who had borne arms againſt him, were not only pardoned, but received with great kindneſs, and even admitted to his confidence. This obliging behaviour, ſo different from that of Sylla and Marius, gained him the affections of the people, and drew over great numbers of ſenators to his party, who had looked upon him before as a tyrant and uſurper. He entered Rome without the leaſt pomp or ſhew, being attended only by a ſmall number of legionaries; and finding great diſturbances in the city, occaſioned by a miſunderſtanding between Marc Antony, his general of the horſe, and P. Cornelius Dolabella, one of the tribunes of the people, who was no leſs attached to Cæſar's intereſt than Antony himſelf, he reſtored Rome to its former tranquillity, and eaſily prevailed upon the people to reject the law, which Dolabella had promiſed, containing an abolition of all debts. This law had occaſioned the miſunderſtanding between Antony and Dolabella, the former oppoſing it to the utmoſt of his power, and the latter ſtirring up the poor and meaner ſort of citizens to get it paſſed by force. Matters were carried ſo far, that Antony was ordered by the ſenate to bring his troops into the city; and then a battle was fought in the very forum, between Antony and his legionaries on one ſide, and Dolabella at the head of the inſolvent debtors on the other; but the latter paid dear for their boldneſs, eight hundred of them being killed upon the ſpot; whereas the general of the horſe loſt only a very ſmall number of his men in the fray. Cæſar's preſence put an end to all diſturbances. As he ſeemed to diſapprove the law, it was immediately rejected. Tho' he affected to govern according to the antient laws of the republic,

His clemency.

Enters Rome.

Appeaſes the diſturbances he found in the city.

public, and pretended to leave both the ſenate and people in the full poſſeſſion of their former privileges, yet no one dared to oppoſe or contradict him. Thus no change, as to outward appearance, was viſible in Rome, and at the ſame time all orders of men were ſubordinate to the ſovereign will of the dictator. During his ſhort ſtay in the capital, he entertained the people with magnificent ſhews, and remitted them the rents of the houſes which they hired of the public. Afterwards he confiſcated the eſtates of thoſe who ſtill continued in arms againſt him, and cauſed them to be ſold publicly by auction. The lands, houſes, and moveables of Pompey, whoſe children ſtill diſturbed the public tranquillity, were, together with the effects of many others, expoſed in the forum to public ſale; but no-body bidding for thoſe of Pompey out of reſpect to the memory of ſo great a man, Marc Antony purchaſed them at a very low price, and immediately took poſſeſſion of his houſe, where he ſpent his time, as is plain from Cicero's ſecond Philippic, in a continued ſcene of debauchery. When Cæſar's officers demanded the ſmall ſum he had agreed to pay for Pompey's houſe and moveables, he was highly offended, and treated them with great contempt, ſaying, He did not expect Cæſar would exact ſo paltry a debt of one who had done him ſo great ſervices. This provoked Cæſar, and occaſioned ſome coldneſs between him and his general of the horſe. As to Cæſar's other friends, none of them had occaſion to complain of him, or repent their having embraced his party. As pontifiex maximus, he appointed ſome of them augurs, others pontifices, others decemvirs, to whoſe care the Sibylline books were committed, and for their ſake increaſed the number of prætors to ten, filling that college with his friends and partizans. As the number of ſenators was greately diminiſhed by the death of ſome and flight of others, he raiſed to the ſenatorial dignity the chief officers of his army, and ſuch of the knights as had followed his ſtandards. Tho' a few days only were wanting to the end of the conſular year, with which his dictatorſhip expired, he aſſembled the tribes in the Campus Martius, and propoſed to them two of his lieutenants, Q. Fuſius Calenus and P. Vatinius, to be choſen conſuls for the current year. This he did with no other view, but to honour with the conſular dignity thoſe two officers, who had ſerved, with great fidelity, under him in all his wars. The ſhortneſs of their conſulate made Cicero ſay by way of raillery, That the year, in which Vatinius and Fuſius were conſuls, had

Pompey's houſe purchaſed by Marc Antony.

Cæſar's ſecond conſulſhip.

neither ſpring, ſummer, nor autumn. The next year Cæſar cauſed himſelf to be created conſul; but did not part with the dictatorſhip. As conſul, he took for his collegue M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was juſt then returned from Hither Spain, which he had governed with great prudence and moderation. This was a great diſappointment to Marc Antony, who aſpired at the conſular dignity; but his late behaviour and ſcandalous debaucheries had alienated the dictator's mind from him; the more, becauſe he was hated by the people, on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, while he diſcharged the office of general of the horſe [r].

And now Cæſar, having ſettled affairs in Italy, and taken the moſt proper meaſures to prevent any new diſturbances in the capital, was wholly intent on carrying the war into Africa, where Pompey's party was ſtill very powerful, being headed by the famous Cato and many officers of great diſtinction. When Pompey followed Cæſar into Theſſaly, he left in his camp at Dyrrachium, as we have obſerved above, fifteen cohorts, under the command of Cato. When news of Pompey's overthrow was firſt brought to Dyrrachium, Cato reſolved with himſelf, if Pompey were killed, to lead the fifteen cohorts into Italy, there diſband them, and retire from the tyranny of Cæſar, as far as he could, and live in exile; but, if Pompey were ſafe, to keep the troops together for him. With this deſign he left Dyrrachium, which was too near Theſſaly, where Pompey had been defeated, and croſſed over to the iſland of Corcyra, where the fleet lay. There he found Cicero, to whom, as he was a ſcrupulous obſerver of the laws, he offered the command of the troops he had with him, ſince Cicero had a right to the firſt poſt, as having been conſul; whereas he had only been prætor. But Cicero, who already repented his having declared for Pompey, and was then returning to Italy, under various pretences declined the offer, which ſo provoked Cneius, Pompey's ſon, that he reproached him with treachery and cowardice, and drawing his ſword, in the tranſport of his paſſion would have killed him on the ſpot, had not Cato, ſtarting up, laid hold of his arm, and held him, till the frightened orator was out of reach. The ſame night Cato conveyed him privately out of the camp, and by that means ſaved his life. Cicero immediately went on board a ſmall veſſel.

Cato's behaviour after the battle of Pharſalia.

Cicero in great danger.

[r] Plut. in Cæſ. & Anton. Cic. Philip. ii. Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 3. Epit. Liv. Cic. ad Attic. & paſſim alibi.

veſſel, and ſet ſail for Brunduſium, where he wrote to Oppius and Balbus (E), two of Cæſar's moſt zealous partizans, conjuring them to uſe their good offices in his behalf, and excuſe him with the conqueror, for having inconſiderately followed Pompey's party. While Cicero was ſailing towards Italy, many illuſtrious Romans, who had eſcaped from the battle of Pharſalia, arrived in the iſland of Corcyra, not knowing what rout Pompey had taken; ſo that Cato ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden at the head of a conſiderable army, and ſurrounded by many officers of diſtinction. That zealous republican did not doubt, but Pompey was fled either towards Egypt, where young Ptolemy, his pupil, reigned, or to the province of Africa, which P. Accius Varus had ſeized before the battle of Pharſalia, after having killed Curio, whom

(E) Caius Oppius was one of Cæſar's chief favourites. Chariſius Aulus, Gellius, and Pliny tell us, that he was a man of great learning, and the author of ſeveral works much eſteemed by the antients, among the reſt, of the lives of Scipio Africanus and of Pompey the Great. Plutarch reproaches him with leſſening the exploits and glory of Pompey, and magnifying thoſe of Cæſar. In Suetonius's time he was deemed the true author of the hiſtory of the Alexandrian, African and Spaniſh wars, which paſſed then, and have been tranſmitted to us, under the name of Hirtius. The ſame writer aſcribes to Oppius ſeveral other works, none of which have reached our times. As for Balbus, he was a native of Gades, or, according to others, of Carteia. He ſerved firſt in the armies of Quintus Metellus and of Pompey againſt Sertorius. Several years after he became acquainted with Cæſar, while he governed Spain, in quality of prætor, and was, at his recommendation, honoured with the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen. Theſe were afterwards called in queſtion; but Balbus found a zealous advocate in the perſon of Cicero, and was ſolemnly acknowledged by the ſenate and people for a citizen of Rome. It was cuſtomary for foreigners honoured with this diſtinction, to aſſume the name of the perſon they choſe for their patron; and agreable to this cuſtom Balbus took the name of Cornelius, having choſen Lentulus, who was one of the Cornelian family, for his patron. Before the war broke out between Cæſar and Pompey, one Theophanes, a great favourite of the latter, adopted Balbus and appointed him his heir. Sidonius Apollinaris commends ſome memoirs written by Balbus after the manner of a journal: "Quis "Balbi ephemeridem," ſays he, "fando adæquaverit (34)?"

(34) Sidonius Apollin. l. ix. epiſt. 24. Plin. l. viii. Dio Caſſ. l. xlviii. Cic. ad Attic. iii. epiſt. 7.

Cæſar had ſent againſt him, and cut his army in pieces. He therefore reſolved to haſten after him, and, having taken all his men on board, ſet ſail, ſteering his courſe towards Africa. Before he embarqued, he gave thoſe, who were not willing to follow him, free liberty to depart and return to Italy. On his arrival in Africa, he found there Sextus, Pompey's younger ſon, who gave him an account of his father's tragical death in Egypt. This news occaſioned a general conſternation among the troops; but nevertheleſs they all declared with one voice, that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their common liberties, and that, after Pompey, they would follow no other leader but Cato. Out of compaſſion therefore to ſo many brave men, who had given ſuch proofs of a ſincere love for their country, and whom he was aſhamed to abandon, in a ſtrange country amidſt ſo many difficulties, he took upon him the command, and, without delay, marched towards the city of Cyrene, which received him, tho' the inhabitants had a few days before ſhut their gates againſt Labienus. Here he was informed, that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, had landed before him in Africa, and taken refuge in the dominions of Juba king of Mauritania, where he had found Accius, or, as Plutarch calls him, Appius Varus, at the head of a conſiderable army. Hereupon Cato reſolved to go and join them; and accordingly, having loaded a great many beaſts of burden with water and other neceſſary proviſions, he ſet out on his march, which was attended with inexpreſſible difficulties. His troops travelled for ſeveral days together through inhoſpitable deſerts, covered with burning ſands, and infeſted by lions, tigers, ſerpents of a monſtrous ſize, &c. (F); ſo that they

Cato retires to Africa.

Cato's march thro' the deſerts of Africa.

(F) Plutarch tells us, that Cato took with him on his march ſome of thoſe who were called Pſilli, and made it their buſineſs to cure the biting of ſerpents, by ſucking out the poiſon. This is no extraordinary matter; for we read in Homer, that, in antient times, wounds were cured by ſucking. But theſe Pſilli pretended, as we read in Plutarch, to a power of inchanting the ſerpents, and diſarming them of their fury, by ſtupifying them and laying them aſleep. We find in holy ſcripture inſtances of perſons, who pretended to that power, which they vaunted as miraculous. Upon this is founded, what we read in Jeremiah; *For, behold, I will ſend ſerpents, cockatrices among you, which will not be charmed* (35). But theſe wretched inchanters often paid dear for their preſumption.

(35) Jerem. c. viii. ver. 17.

they were obliged to be conſtantly on their guard night and day. Thus they marched ſeven days together, Cato himſelf being always the foremoſt, to encourage his men, who were quite exhauſted, by his example. Plutarch tells, that ſince the battle of Pharſalia, he had never mounted on horſeback, nor rid in a chariot; and that, to ſhew his concern, he had, ever ſince that fatal day, uſed to ſit at table, ſaying, That he never lay down but to ſleep (G). The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, chearfully ſurmounted all difficulties, and arrived at length, to the number of ten thouſand men, at Utica. There a warm diſpute aroſe among the chief officers about the command of the army. Varus, who immediately joined Cato, together with Scipio and other ſenators of diſtinction, claimed the command as governor of Africa; which province had been allotted him by Pompey himſelf. On the other hand, the whole army demanded Cato for their leader; and even Varus and Scipio were willing to comply with their deſire: but Cato himſelf oppoſed his own promotion, ſaying, That he would not tranſgreſs thoſe laws, which he had taken arms to defend; and that he, who was only proprætor, ought not to command in the preſence of Scipio, who was proconſul. He added, that every one would look upon it as a good omen, to ſee a Scipio at the head of a Roman army in Africa, and that the very name would inſpire the ſoldiers with courage. Cato's words decided the diſpute; all readily yielded to Scipio, who, being declared commander in chief of all the forces of the republic in Africa, appointed Labienus, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral wars under Cæſar, his firſt lieutenant. Juba, king of Mauritania, no ſooner heard of Cato's arrival, than he came to Utica, to confer with him and the other officers. That prince had always ſhewn a great attachment to Pompey and his party; but, as he now thought they could not well do without him, he aſſumed an air of grandeur and pride, which gave great offence to Cato. The firſt time he had an interview with Cato and Scipio, he ordered his own ſeat to be placed in the middle; which Cato obſerving, he took up his own chair, and placed himſelf on the other ſide of Scipio,

Cato declines the command of the army, which is conferred on Scipio.

to

(G) This was a token of mourning, which we know not what to make of now-a-days. On the contrary, we ſhould think a lying poſture at our meals very inconvenient; but this ſingle example of Cato inconteſtably proves, that it was preferred in thoſe days, and that ſitting at table was looked upon as a very incommodious poſture.

to whom he thus gave the moſt honourable place. Such was the pride and haughtineſs of thoſe republicans, even at the time their republic was was ready to ſink, if not ſupported by foreign ſtates and princes. Under Scipio were ſeveral officers of great diſtinction and experience in war, namely, Labienus, Afranius, Petreius, the two ſons of Pompey, Cneius and Sextus, Fauſtus Sylla, who had married their ſiſter, beſides a great number of ſenators and knights, all reſolved to prefer death to the loſs of their liberty, and either ſave the republic, or fall with it. King Juba promiſed to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power, and join them with all his forces, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would allow him to take the field [s].

Cæſar reſolves to carry the war into Africa.

CÆSAR, now maſter of all Aſia, Greece, Egypt and Italy, reſolved to carry the war forthwith into Africa, and there cruſh the remains of Pompey's party; but while he was making the neceſſary preparations for that expedition, news was brought him, that the tenth legion, which he had always favoured in a particular manner, had openly revolted, and killed Galba and Coſconius, two officers of the ſenatorial order, who had endeavoured to appeaſe them. Cæſar, ſurpriſed at this unexpected attempt of his favourite legion, immediately diſpatched Criſpus Salluſtius, the famous hiſtorian, to quell the ſedition with his eloquence, and bring back the mutinous legion to their duty. Salluſt had great obligations to Cæſar, who had cauſed him to be appointed one of the ten prætors in the late election, after having reſtored him to his place in the ſenate, which he had forfeited by his infamous debaucheries. He therefore flew to Capua, where the mutineers were then encamped: but found it a more difficult taſk to appeaſe a ſeditious ſoldiery, than to harangue a diſarmed multitude. He was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from their fury, and haſten back to Rome, to acquaint Cæſar, that the rebellious legion, without hearkening to any terms, were in full march towards the capital. The dictator, amazed at their boldneſs, placed guards at the gates of the city, on the ramparts, and in all open places; and then as they drew near, ſent ſome truſty officers to aſk them what they wanted. Their ring-leaders anſwered, that they wanted to ſpeak with Cæſar himſelf. "Let them come into the city then, replied Cæſar, "and appear in the field of Mars, without any other arms "but their ſwords." Upon this, being admitted within the walls, they marched in good order to the appointed place, and

The tenth legion mutinies.

[s] Plut. in Cat. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Hirt. de bell. Afric. Dio. l. xliii.

and there waited for Cæsar, who, without hearkening to the advice of his friends, went immediately to hear their complaints. The presence of a general, famous for so many victories, inspired them with such awe and respect, that even the boldest among them could not utter a single word. Then Cæsar, mounting his tribunal, encouraged them to speak and lay their complaints before him. Hereupon they took courage, and begged him to discharge them, alledging their age, their wounds, and their long service. As Cæsar was entering on a new war, they expected he would have courted them, and with large presents inticed them to follow him. They were therefore thunder-struck, when he answered, without shewing the least surprise or concern, "Your demand is just; "I do discharge you, and you may be gone." Cæsar, perceiving the consternation and surprise these words occasioned among them, after having kept silence for some time, added, "I do not, however, design to rob you of your rewards; these "I will give you, when I shall have triumphed over the rest "of my enemies." At these words they crouded round his tribunal, begging, that since he intended to reward them, he would suffer them to deserve the promised rewards with further services. But Cæsar, without seeming to take notice of their demand, "Go, fellow-citizens, said he, return to your "houses and families." The word fellow-citizens, instead of fellow-soldiers, was like a clap of thunder in their ears. They all cried out, that they were soldiers, that they had not accepted of their discharge, and that they would follow him into Africa. But Cæsar, pretending to despise both their offers and submissions, turned his back upon them, and came down from his tribunal. Then the legionaries, throwing themselves at his feet, conjured him rather to inflict such punishments upon them as their insolence deserved, than to disband them in so shameful a manner. He continued long inflexible; but at length, pretending to be overcome by the importunity of his friends, he ascended the tribunal once more, and, addressing himself to them, told them, that the revolt surprised him so much the more, as it came from a legion, which he had always distinguished above the rest; that nevertheless he could not prevail upon himself to punish those, whom he had once so tenderly loved; that, on his return from Africa, he would give them the rewards he had promised, and lands too for their subsistence; but that he would not by any means suffer them to attend him in the expedition he was now undertaking, in order to convince them that he could conquer without them. This speech made so deep an impression on their minds, that,

Cæsar's address in appeasing the mutiny.

with

with tears in their eyes, they begged he would rather decimate them than debar them from ſharing with him the glory of his victories. "We will follow you as volunteers," they all cried out with one voice, "if you refuſe to admit us in the number of your legions." Theſe words, which were manifeſtly ſpoken from a true ſenſe of their crime, and a ſincere repentance, touched Cæſar; he could no longer diſſemble, but ſtyling them again fellow-ſoldiers, he not only freely forgave them, but declared, that they ſhould ſhare with him both the glory and advantages of all his victories [t]. Having thus by his intrepidity, reſolution and addreſs, regained the affections and confidence of the rebellious legion, he purſued with great ardour the neceſſary preparations of the new war in Africa, ordering his legions in the mean time to aſſemble at Rhegium, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither he repaired ſoon after himſelf, and finding there but one legion of new levies and ſix hundred horſe, with them he croſſed over into Sicily, leaving orders for the other legions to follow him with all poſſible expedition. On his arrival in Sicily, he encamped on the ſhore, declaring, that he was determined to ſet ſail, as ſoon as the wind proved favourable, without waiting for the five legions and a body of two thouſand horſe, who were in full march to join him. Accordingly on the ſixth of the calends of January, that is, on the thirteenth of September, according to the computation which then obtained, the wind blowing fair, he embarqued the troops he had with him, and in the evening weighed anchor, leaving orders with Alienus prætor of Sicily, to convey over to him the other legions, as ſoon as they came up. In four days he arrived off Adrumetum on the coaſt of Africa; and having landed his troops at a ſmall diſtance from that city, by the advice of Plancus, one of his lieutenants, he ſent to ſummon Conſidius, who commanded in the place, to deliver it up to him; but Conſidius, truſting in his numerous garriſon, which conſiſted of two legions and three thouſand Mauritanian horſe, killed with his own hand the meſſenger, and then marched out at the head of all his troops to attack Cæſar in the camp he had formed in great haſte, and conſequently but very indifferently fortified. Cæſar thought it adviſeable to abandon his camp, and retire in good order, marching along the coaſt towards Ruſpina, at a ſmall diſtance from Adrumetum. Conſidius purſued him, and greatly haraſſed his troops on their march. On this occaſion it was that thirty Gauliſh horſe, who marched in the rear, put to flight two thouſand Mauritanian horſe, and drove them back to

Cæſar pardons the mutineers.

He paſſes over into Sicily.

And from thence into Africa.

[t] Appian. Hirt. Liv. Dio. ibid.

to the very gates of Adrumetum. Cæsar with much-ado reached Ruspina, being continually harassed by the enemy's parties; but not finding sufficient provisions in that neighbourhood to subsist his army, he turned towards Leptis, situate on the coast between the two Syrtes. As Leptis was a free city, the inhabitants opened their gates to him, and supplyed his army in the best manner they could. He had not been long here, before part of the troops he expected from Sicily arrived on board some galleys and a small number of transports. These informed him, that the rest of the fleet were steering their course towards Utica; which gave Cæsar great uneasiness, that city being in the hands of the enemy. He therefore immediately dispatched Rabirius Posthumius, with orders to sail along the coast, and direct to Leptis such of his vessels as he should meet on his course. In the mean time, as the enemy were masters of the country, and Cæsar in a manner besieged in Leptis, his army was reduced to great streights for want of provisions; forage especially was become so scarce, that he was forced to feed his horses with a sea-weed, which he mixed with grass, to take off its saltness. He sent out indeed several parties to bring in provisions; but they had always the misfortune to fall in with the enemy, who narrowly watched their motions, and return with great loss. One day a party of horse, whom he sent out to forage, meeting an African, who played with great art on the flute, dismounted to hear him, leaving the care of their horses to their servants; but, in the mean time, the enemy falling upon them unexpectedly, cut most of them in pieces, and pursued the rest to their camp; which they would have entered with the fugitives, had not Cæsar and Asinius Pollio, at the head of a few cohorts, put a stop to their flight, by placing themselves in the gate of the camp, and by that means obliging the horse to face the enemy. In another encounter which happened a few days after, the best part of Cæsar's foot was put to flight by a strong detachment from Scipio's army. On this occasion, Cæsar, seeing one of the standard-bearers flying with the rest, taking hold of him by the collar, forced him to face about, saying, "Look that "way; the enemy is there." However, he could not prevail upon his frightened troops to stand their ground; but was forced himself to give way, and retire with them in no small disorder to his camp. As he was daily more and more streightened for want of provisions, and durst not venture out of his camp with the few forces he had with him, he resolved to go himself in quest of his fleet; and accordingly embarquing in the dead of the night, he set sail, attended only with a small number

Is admitted into Leptis.

Is greatly distressed for want of provisions.

Several of his parties defeated.

number of officers. The next day, when the ſoldiery miſſed him, they gave all up for loſt and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the lieutenants, tribunes, and centurions kept them from abandoning their camp and deſerting to Scipio, who with ten legions and twenty elephants, was advancing againſt them. But their fears were ſoon calmed; for Cæſar, the next day meeting by good fortune the reſt of his fleet, returned with them to Leptis, and decamped as ſoon as they were landed, with a deſign to advance farther into the country.

Meets Labienus.

He had ſcarce marched three miles, when his ſcouts brought him word, that the enemy appeared; and ſoon after he diſcovered a very numerous army, which covered the whole plain, advancing in good order towards him. Cæſar immediately ordered his men to halt, and having drawn them up in one line, to prevent their being ſurrounded, waited in order of battle to receive the enemy's firſt onſet. This numerous body of Roman and Mauritanian forces was commanded by Labienus, who attacked Cæſar with ſuch fury, that he had need of all his courage and experience, to prevent his troops from flying back to their camp, and leaving the enemy maſter of the field.

His army in danger of being cut in pieces.

He was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut in pieces with all his men, had not a ſoldier of the tenth legion, by killing Labienus's horſe, occaſioned ſome confuſion among the enemy's battalions. Thoſe who were next to the general, ſeeing him fall and believing him dead, gave ground, and began to retire. Cæſar, obſerving the conſternation they were in, advanced at the head of a choice body of legionaries, and attacking with great intrepidity and reſolution the enemy's firſt line, put them to

Retires in good order to his camp.

flight, before Labienus, who was ſtunned with his fall, recovered himſelf; but as Labienus's ſecond line ſtill kept their ground, Cæſar thought it adviſeable not to attack them, but march back in good order to his camp, before the firſt line could rally, which they were attempting to do, being commanded by officers of great experience and conduct. As Cæſar was retreating, M. Petreius and Cneius Piſo, two zealous partizans of Pompey, appeared unexpectedly at the head of eleven hundred Numidian horſe and a numerous body of light-armed infantry, and fell upon his rear. We are told, that Petreius on this occaſion, remembering the favours he had formerly received at Cæſar's hands, ſpared his benefactor, under the pretence that he ought not to rob his general of the glory of completing the victory. Be that as it will, Cæſar got ſafe to his camp at Leptis, and from thence marched the ſame night to Ruſpina. In the mean time, Scipio joined his

lieutenant

lieutenant Labienus with eight legions and four thouſand horſe; and then Cæſar, intrenching himſelf under the walls of Ruſpina, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to Italy and Sicily, acquainting his friends with the danger he was in and entreating them to ſend him ſpeedy ſuccours, without which he ſhould be obliged to abandon Africa, and return with ſhame and diſgrace to Italy. Alienus, prætor of Sicily, upon the firſt notice of his danger, ſent him powerful ſuccours; which were no ſooner arrived, than he reſolved to march out of his camp and offer Scipio battle, who, with an army twice as numerous as his, was encamped at a ſmall diſtance, to prevent his drawing any forage or proviſions from the neighbouring country. Cato, who commanded in Utica, being informed of the enemy's motions, wrote a letter to Scipio, adviſing him, as he had before done Pompey, by no means to hazard a battle, with a commander experienced in war and encouraged with ſucceſs; but to uſe delay, which, he ſaid, would cool the heats and paſſions of men, which are the chief ſupport and ſtrength of uſurpers. But Scipio, fluſhed with his late ſucceſs, not only rejected his advice, but wrote a letter to him, wherein he reproached him with cowardice, ſince he was not content himſelf to lie ſecure within walls and trenches, but muſt hinder others from making uſe of their courage, and laying hold of the opportunities of conquering which offered. Then Cato openly declared, that he was ſorry he had yielded the command to Scipio, who, ſaid he, will not uſe his power wiſely in war, and if he ſhould, contrary to all appearance, ſucceed, will, without all doubt, uſe his ſucceſs as unjuſtly at home; nay, he even told his friends, That, if Scipio ſhould conquer, he did not doubt, but he would prove as cruel and arbitrary a tyrant as Cæſar himſelf [u].

Receives reinforcements from Sicily.

But, to return to Cæſar: being informed that the enemy laid great ſtreſs on an oracle, importing, that the family of the Scipio's ſhould be always victorious in Africa, and having in his army a mean and contemptible man of that family, known by the name of Scipio Salutio, he gave him the title of general, either in raillery, as Plutarch obſerves, to ridicule Scipio, who commanded the enemy's army, or ſeriouſly, to bring over the omen to his ſide. After this, he quitted his camp at Ruſpina, and marched ſtrait to Utica, with a deſign to draw the enemy to a general engagement, by threatening to lay ſiege to that city, which was the great magazine of their proviſions and ammunition. He encamped before

Cæſar marches to Utica.

[u] Plut. in Cat. & Cæſ. Appian. Hirt. ibid.

fore the place, without being in the leaſt diſturbed by the enemy, who were unwilling to engage before the arrival of Juba king of Mauritania, whom they daily expected with eighteen thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, and thirty elephants. At length the king arrived with the expected ſuccours, and, together with Scipio and Labienus, formed three different camps, which in a manner blocked up that of Cæſar, who was again greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the enemy having laid waſte all the neighbouring country. While he was thus beſieged, news was brought him, that the ninth and tenth legions were at length arrived from Sicily, and in full march to join him. Hereupon Cæſar, leaving in his camp a ſufficient number of troops to defend his works, marched out with the reſt to meet them, and brought them ſafe to his camp before Utica. As he now thought himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with the enemy, he drew out his forces in order of battle for ſeveral days together; but the enemy not accepting the challenge, he reſolved to decamp, and, leaving Utica, which was in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege, to attack Thapſus, a place of great importance, but not ſo well provided and fortified. Juba, Scipio, and Labienus followed him, and encamped ſeparately about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. Cæſar was no ſooner informed that they were intrenching themſelves, than he marched out of his camp, and making his way with incredible expedition, through thick woods and a country almoſt impaſſable, fell upon Scipio's men, before they had completed their works, put them to flight, and then attacking firſt Labienus's camp, and afterwards Juba's, made himſelf maſter of them, and killed fifty thouſand of the enemy in the three camps, with the loſs only of fifty of his own men. After this battle, Thapſus, Adrumetum, and Zama immediately ſubmitted; and the heads of the party, giving all up for loſt, either laid violent hands on themſelves, or were taken and put to death by the enemy. Scipio endeavoured to ſave himſelf by ſea; but his veſſel being taken, he choſe rather to die, than owe his life to the conqueror. Juba and Petreius ſought death in a ſingle combat, in which Juba being killed, Petreius ordered one of his ſlaves to diſpatch him. Afranius and Sylla, with a ſmall body of troops, took their rout along the coaſt of Africa, with a deſign to join the two ſons of Pompey, whom Cato had ſent into Spain; but were met, defeated, and taken by Sitius, one of Cæſar's lieutenants, who would have ſaved them; but his ſoldiers in a mutiny cut them in pieces. Of all the heads of Pompey's party, Labienus alone found means

Is in a manner blocked up by the enemy.

Marches to attack the enemy and defeats them.

The chief men of Scipio's army either killed or taken.

means to make his escape, and convey himself safe into Spain.

All Africa, except Utica, submits.

And now the enemy's forces being dispersed, and their leaders either fled or killed, all Africa submitted, except the city of Utica, where Cato commanded, and had formed a kind of senate, composed of three hundred Romans, who had repaired to him from different parts. The news of the victory gained by Cæsar at Thapsus threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. Some of the citizens betook themselves to their arms; others thought of nothing but how to save themselves from falling into the hands of the conqueror.

Cato encourages the Romans in Utica to stand a siege.

But Cato endeavoured to calm their fears, representing to them, that perhaps things were not so bad in truth, but more than half increased by fame, as is usual in war. Thus he quelled the tumult for some time; and having called together his senate or council, consisting of three hundred Roman citizens he first commended their courage and fidelity, and then entreated them by no means to separate, since, while they kept together, Cæsar would have less reason to despise them, if they fought against him, and be more ready to pardon them, if they submitted to him. Consult among yourselves, said he; if you think fit to submit, I will impute your resolution to necessity; but if you resolve to stand up in defence of your rights and liberties, I will be your companion, and, if you think fit, your leader. We are to fight against one, whose affairs are not in so good a condition as is generally believed. Spain has already declared for the sons of Pompey; Rome, unaccustomed to slavery and oppression, will be ready to shake off the yoke upon every turn of affairs; Italy will never submit to a sovereign, who acknowledges no other law but his own caprice; Utica is well furnished with all sorts of provisions and military engines, and in a condition to stem the course of this mighty conqueror's victories. Let us therefore defend to the last what ought to be more dear to us than our lives and fortunes. Notwithstanding the uncertainty of war, we shall lead a most happy life, if we succeed, or die a most glorious death, if we miscarry. Cato's words inspired even the most cowardly with courage. They forgot the present danger, and declared with one voice, that they would stand a siege, protesting they would rather die with Cato, than save themselves by abandoning a person of such exalted virtue. When they came to deliberate about the proper measures for the defence of the place, some were for setting the slaves at liberty; but this Cato opposed, saying, That no slave ought to be set at liberty without the consent of his master. We ought not, said

he, even in our preſent circumſtances, to make free with the property of others; but let every one diſpoſe as he pleaſes of what is his own. Some of the ſenators immediately ſet their ſlaves at liberty, and furniſhed them with arms; but the greater part of them, forgetting their former reſolution, ſhewed great backwardneſs in parting with their ſlaves, from whoſe labour they drew great advantages. Why ſhould we riſque all, ſaid they among themſelves, to preſerve Utica? Have we forgot what enemy we have to deal with? Is it not that Cæſar, to whom all the power of Rome has ſubmitted? and which of us is a Pompey, a Scipio, or a Cato? Now that all men give way to Cæſar's fortune, ſhall we alone engage for the liberty of Rome, and in Utica declare war againſt one, who has driven Pompey the Great and Cato himſelf out of Italy? No, let us know ourſelves, ſubmit to the conqueror, and ſend deputies to implore his mercy. Cato, tho' he perceived the change, took no notice of it; but wrote to Juba, who, with a ſmall body of men, was retired to a neighbouring mountain, and to Scipio, who lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica; adviſing them not to come near the place, ſince he ſuſpected the fidelity both of the inhabitants and of the ſenators who formed his council. Not long after, a conſiderable body of horſe, who had eſcaped from the battle, appearing at ſome diſtance from Utica, ſent a meſſenger to acquaint Cato with the different ſentiments that prevailed among them, and to aſk his advice; for ſome were for joining him; others, not caring to lock themſelves up in the city, were for going to Juba. Cato haſtened out to confer with their leaders, whom he entreated not to abandon ſo many worthy ſenators, but to ſeek the mutual ſafety of one another, and to come into the city, which was impregnable and well furniſhed with corn and other proviſions for many years. The ſenators likewiſe, who attended Cato, with tears in their eyes beſought them to ſtay. Hereupon the officers went to conſult the ſoldiers; but, in the mean time, news was brought to Cato, that the greater part of his ſenators were raiſing a tumult in the city, and ſtirring up the inhabitants to exclude Cato and ſend deputies to Cæſar. This news being immediately divulged among the horſe, they deſired their officers to return to Cato with this anſwer, That they ſhould not be afraid of Cæſar, while they followed Cato, whom they were ready to join, provided he would either drive out of the city, or cut in pieces, all the Uticans, who would not fail to betray them and plot their ruin, as ſoon as Cæſar appeared. This condition ſeemed too cruel to the virtuous Cato, who therefore

The ſenate at Utica reſolves to ſubmit.

Cato's humanity.

therefore chose rather to deprive himself of so powerful and necessary a supply, than consent to it. Upon his return to the city, the senators of his council openly declared, that they were neither able nor willing to withstand Cæsar; nay, they even threatened to seize those senators, who were for standing a siege, and to deliver them up to Cæsar. Hereupon Cato with much-ado prevailed upon the horse to stay, at least one night, in the city, in order to facilitate the escape of those worthy senators, who were thus threatened by the rest. While they were preparing to set out, news was brought, that Cæsar was drawing near with his whole army; and then Cato, ordering all the gates to be shut, except one towards the sea, attended his friends to the port, and putting them on board some vessels he had prepared for that purpose, he returned to the city, and dismissed the body of horse, advising several of his friends to join them, and abandon a city, which would soon fall into the enemy's hands. Plutarch observes, that tho' he was very pressing with his other friends to save themselves by flight, yet he gave no such advice to his son, not thinking fit to persuade him to abandon his father. As Cæsar drew near, the senators, who remained in Utica, appointed Lucius Cæsar, a relation of the conqueror, who had followed Pompey's party, to intercede for them and make their submissions to the dictator. Cato approved of their choice, and even composed the speech, with which he was to address Cæsar. Lucius, in taking his leave of Cato, told him, That he should not scruple to kiss the hands and fall at the knees of Cæsar in his behalf; but Cato would by no means give him leave so much as to mention his name. "I will not, said he, be indebted to a tyrant, for those very "things which are marks of tyranny: to save men is an "instance of his tyranny, as if he were lord of their lives." However, as Lucius was departing, he recommended to him his son and the rest of his friends, and, tenderly embracing him, bid him farewel. While the rest were preparing to attend Lucius in the habit of suppliants, Cato was greatly surprised at the constancy of a young Roman, named Statilius, who, tho' in the flower of his age and a noted enemy to Cæsar, declared, That he would rather die, than be indebted to an usurper for his life. Cato, having attempted in vain to persuade him to yield to fortune and join the other suppliants, recommended him to Apollonides and Demetrius, two celebrated philosophers, saying, "It belongs to you to bring "down this young man's spirit, and to make him know

Cato's constancy.

Statilius a follower of Cato.

" what is good for him (H)." Towards the evening, he ordered the gates of the city to be opened, exhorting both the Romans and inhabitants to go out, and meeting the conqueror, throw themſelves upon his mercy. As for himſelf, he went, according to his cuſtom, to bathe before ſupper; and while he was in the bath, remembering Statilius, he cried out aloud to the philoſopher Apollonides, who always attended him, " Well, Apollonides, have you brought down the high ſpi-" rit of Statilius? Is he gone without bidding us farewel?" No, anſwered the philoſopher, " I have diſcourſed much with " him, but to little purpoſe; he is ſtill unalterable, and de-" termined to follow your example." This, anſwered Cato with a ſmile, " will ſoon be tried." He then called his ſon, and adviſed him, among other things, never to intermeddle in affairs of ſtate; telling him, " That to act therein as be-" came him was now impoſſible, and to do otherwiſe diſ-honourable."

AFTER he had bathed, he went to ſupper, at which he ſat, as he had always uſed to do ever ſince the battle of Pharſalia, contrary to the Roman cuſtom. Several of his particular friends, and ſome of the principle citizens of Utica, ſupped with him. Among the former were Apollonides the ſtoic philoſopher and Demetrius the peripatetic. After ſupper, many philoſophical queſtions were diſcuſſed, and, among the reſt, thoſe fundamental principles, which were called the paradoxes of the ſtoics; and this in particular, " that the " good man only is free, and that all wicked men are ſlaves." The moment this was propoſed, the peripatetic took up the argument againſt it (I); but Cato, raiſing his voice, maintained the inconteſtable truth of that maxim with more than ordinary warmth; and, in the heat of the diſpute, let ſome words drop, which plainly ſhewed, that he deſigned to put an end to his life, and by that means ſet himſelf at liberty. Hereupon,

Cato maintains the principles of the ſtoics.

(H) By theſe words Cato implied, that the diſpoſition of mind, in which Statilius fancied himſelf to be, was rather the effect of vain-glory, than true conſtancy; and that what became Cato, who had always made a profeſſion of ſevere virtue and was Cæſar's equal, did not become ſuch a young man as Statilius. Epictetus obſerves, that it is only for " an extraordinary perſon to imitate " an extraordinary virtue." It is not fitting for a perſon of common ſize to attempt ſo high a flight.

(I) The peripatetics maintained, that neither virtue nor vice had any relation to freedom or ſervitude, taking theſe words in a ſenſe too conſtrained and literal.

Hereupon, when he had done ſpeaking, the whole company kept ſilence and ſeemed much dejected; but Cato, to divert them from any ſuſpicion of his deſign, turned the diſcourſe, and began again to talk of the preſent affairs, ſhewing great concern for his friends who were at ſea, and for thoſe who were travelling by land, ſince they were to paſs through a dry deſert, which afforded nothing for their ſupport.

WHEN the company broke up, he walked with his friends, as he uſed to do after ſupper, gave the neceſſary orders to the officers of the guard, and then withdrew, having firſt embraced his ſon and every one of his friends, with more than uſual tenderneſs. As this renewed their ſuſpicion of his deſign, his ſon, entering his room unknown to him, ſtole away his ſword, which he uſed to have always by him. Cato, now alone, lay down, and taking up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the ſoul, began to read it with great attention. After he had read ſome time, in a tranſport of joy, which the hope of a happy immortality raiſed in his breaſt, he looked up for his ſword, and miſſing it, called one of his ſlaves; and, without ſhewing the leaſt eagerneſs or concern, only aſked him, Who had taken away his ſword? As the ſlave made no anſwer, he continued reading; and a little while after, not ſeeming importunate or haſty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he ordered it to be brought to him. He then took up the book again, and having finiſhed the whole dialogue without any tidings of his ſword, he called all his ſervants one by one, and in an angry tone demanded it of them, crying out, That he was betrayed and delivered into his enemy's hands, naked and diſarmed. One of his ſlaves attempted to appeaſe him; but he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when Cato gave him ſuch a blow in the mouth, that he hurt his own hand. At this noiſe his ſon and the reſt of his friends came running into his room, and, falling at his feet, endeavoured, with tears and entreaties, to divert him from any deſign he might have on his own life; but Cato, raiſing himſelf up, "Why does no body perſuade me by reaſon," ſaid he, "or teach me what is better, if I have deſigned any thing "that is ill? Muſt I be thus diſarmed, and hindered from "making uſe of my own reaſon?" Then turning to his ſon, "And you, young man," ſaid he, "why do not you tie "your father's hands behind his back, that when Cæſar "comes, I may not be able to hurt him? for againſt myſelf "I ſtand in no want of a ſword; to end my days I need but hold "my breath a little while, or ſtrike my head againſt the wall." Having thus ſpoke, he diſmiſſed his ſon and the reſt of his friends,

Reads Plato's Phædo.

His ſon and friends endeavour to divert him from laying violent hands upon himſelf.

friends, except the two philoſophers Demetrius and Apollonides, to whom he addreſſed himſelf more calmly thus: "Can "you bring any reaſon to prove, that it is not baſe and un- "worthy of Cato to beg his life of his enemy? I have not yet "determined any thing on this ſubject, but I would have it "in my power to perform what I ſhall think fit to reſolve on." As the philoſophers made no reply, which indeed they could not without contradicting their own principles, Cato told them, That he would not fail to aſk their advice, when he ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of what their philoſophy taught; "but, in the mean time," ſaid he, "go tell my ſon, that "he ſhould not compel his father to what he cannot per- "ſuade him." Upon this they both withdrew, and ſent him his ſword by a young ſlave. Cato took it up with great pleaſure, and, having drawn it and examined the point, ſaid in putting it up, "Now I am maſter of myſelf." He then took the book again, and having read it twice over (K), he lay down, and fell into a ſound ſleep. About midnight he called up two of his freed-men, Cleanthes, his phyſician, and Butas, whom he chiefly employed in public affairs. The latter he ſent to the port,

His whole concern is about his friends.

(K) And yet this dialogue ſeems too long to be read twice over in ſo ſhort a ſpace; but that which ſeems moſt incomprehenſible is, that Cato, before he laid violent hands on himſelf, ſhould read over that dialogue, which proves in the ſtrongeſt terms, that what he was going to do was not lawful. "A philoſopher," ſays Plato in that dialogue, "will never lay violent hands on himſelf, that not "being lawful even to thoſe to whom death is more deſireable than "life. They are not allowed to procure that remedy to themſelves, "tho' it be never ſo neceſſary; for God has placed us in this life as "in a poſt, which we are never to quit without his permiſſion. The "gods take care of us, and we muſt conſider ourſelves as their pe- "culiar property. If one of your ſlaves ſhould diſpatch himſelf "without your command, you would think he had done you an in- "jury, and would puniſh him, if it lay in your power." How could Cato perſiſt in his reſolution againſt ſuch ſtrong arguments? He might poſſibly juſtify himſelf from what is added by Socrates; "We muſt wait with patience till it pleaſes God to ſend us an ex- "preſs to remove out of this life." He looked perhaps on the condition he was then in as ſuch an order; and thus has Cicero commented upon it in the firſt book of his Tuſculan queſtions: "Cato "autem ſic abiit e vita, ut cauſam moriendi nactum ſe eſſe gauderet. "Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus injuſſu hinc nos ſuo de- "migrare; cum vero cauſam juſtam deus ipſe dederit, ut tunc So- "crati, nunc Catoni, ſæpe multis, næ ille, medius fidius, vir ſapi- "ens lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam exceſſerit; nec tamen ille

"vincula

port, to see whether his friends had set sail, and ordered the former to apply some remedy to his hand that was hurt by the blow he gave his slave. At this they were all overjoyed, hoping he had laid aside all thoughts of putting an end to his life. Butas soon came back, and brought him word, that all his friends were embarqued, except Crassus, who had staid on account of some business, but was just ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high, and the sea very rough. At this he sighed, shewing a great deal of compassion for those who were at sea, and sent again Butas to see, whether any of them were driven back and wanted his assistance. In the mean time, he again fell asleep, and did not wake till day began to appear; when Butas returning, acquainted him that the storm was allayed, and that no noise was heard in the port. Then Cato, laying himself down again, as if he intended to sleep, desired Butas to withdraw and shut the door after him. He was no sooner gone, than the zealous republican, as if he had waited till those of his party were out of danger, taking his sword, ran it into his body; but not being able to use his hand so well which had been hurt, he did not die immediately of the wound, but fell upon his bed, and threw down a table on which he had drawn some figures of geometry. The noise of this alarmed his son and his friends, who, breaking into the room, found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels in

Stabs himself with his sword.

" vincula carceris ruperit, leges enim vetant; sed tanquam a ma-
" gistratu, aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a deo evocatus at-
" que emissus exierit." But this trifling distinction destroys the very end and design of the dialogue. If it was left to every one to explain, as he thought fit, the state he is in, and interpret it as an express order from God to quit his station, the prohibition of self-murder would be unnecessary, since a reason would never be wanting upon occasion to justify it; therefore this action in Cato is not by any means warrantable. However, it must be allowed that it was less criminal in him, than it can be in those, who destroy themselves for some private reasons when overwhelmed with grief, pinched with poverty, overcome with fear, or some other passion; for there is a wide difference, in our opinion, between the pusillanimity of such and the despair of a brave man, who kills himself, not for any private reason, but if the expression may be allowed, for some reason of state; for tho' the action carries in it a brutal fury and the blind impulse of an ungovernable passion; yet, as Plutarch has well observed on another subject, where he compares Romulus and Theseus, " he is more excuseable, who is transported by a
" stronger cause, as by a more severe stroke." And what stroke can be more severe than the ruin of our country?

great part out of his body. Such a dreadful ſight and his ghaſtly looks, his eyes being yet open, ſtruck them all with ſo great terror, that they ſtood ſome time motionleſs, without being able, in that ſurpriſe and confuſion, to lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance. At length Butas accoſting him, put in his bowels, which were not hurt, and ſewed up the wound; but Cato, after ſome time, coming to himſelf, thruſt away the phyſician, rent open his wound again, and, tearing his bowels, expired immediately, in the forty-eighth, or, as others will have it, in the fifty-fifth, year of his age. He was one of the moſt virtuous citizens Rome ever produced, had all the virtues, and none of the faults, of Cato the cenſor, one of his illuſtrious anceſtors, and would, with his invincible conſtancy and reſolution, have ſupported the ſinking republic, had not the gods themſelves, as Plutarch obſerves, decreed her deſtruction. His death was no ſooner known, than the inhabitants of Utica flocked to his houſe, calling him their benefactor, their deliverer, the only free, the only invincible, Roman. Tho' at that very inſtant word was brought them, that Cæſar was drawing near, yet neither fear of the preſent danger, nor the commotions and diſcord which reigned among them, nor even the eagerneſs each of them had of making their court to the conqueror, could divert them from burying his body with the utmoſt pomp, and paying all the funeral honours that were due to a perſon of his merit and rank. How ſtrong muſt the impreſſions have been, which the virtue of Cato left in their minds, ſince they thus openly honoured his memory at the approach of his enemy, who was victorious, and upon whoſe mercy they were that moment to throw themſelves! When Cæſar, who was now at the very gates of Utica with all his forces, heard of Cato's death, he is ſaid to have uttered theſe words; "Cato, I envy "thee thy death, ſince thou haſt envyed me the glory of ſaving "thy life"(L). Upon Cato's death, the city of Utica was by Lucius

Puts an end to his life.

The concern of the inhabitants of Utica at his death.

Utica ſubmits to Cæſar.

(L) Plutarch ſeems to queſtion whether Cæſar would have pardoned Cato or no. The diſcourſe, ſays that writer, which Cæſar wrote againſt Cato, is no great ſign of his kindneſs, or that he was inclined to ſhew him any favour. Is it probable, adds he, that Cæſar would have been tender of his life, when he was ſo bitter againſt his memory? But, with Plutarch's leave, we are of opinion, that Cæſar would have ſpared him, as he did Cicero, Brutus, Marcellus, his moſt inveterate enemy, and many others, not indeed out of any friendſhip he had for him, but out of vanity, and perhaps policy. As for the book mentioned by Plutarch, Cæſar wrote it not out of hatred to Cato, but in his own vindication. Cicero had written an encomium

JULIUS CÆSAR.



TIBERIUS CÆSAR.



AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.



CAIUS CALIGULA.



Lucius Cæsar delivered up to the conqueror, who pardoned some, and caused others to be privately put to death. Among the latter was Lucius Cæsar himself, who had treated with great cruelty such of Cæsar's adherents, as he had got into his power during the war; among the former were Cato's son, his daughter, Statilius, and most of his friends. His son was afterwards slain in the battle of Philippi, with more glory than he had lived; for we are told, that he led a debauched life, and that being lodged, while he stayed in Cappadocia, in the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, he maintained a criminal conversation with his wife, by name Psyche, which in Greek signifies "soul." This gave the Romans occasion to say by way of raillery, "That Cato and Marphadates were good "friends; for they had but one soul; that Cato was noble "and generous, and had a royal soul, &c." Cato's daughter was married to Brutus, one of the conspirators, and ended her life as became one of her birth and family, as we shall relate in a more proper place. As for Statilius, who affected to imitate Cato, he was prevented by the philosophers from putting an end to his life; but he afterwards followed Brutus, to whom he proved very faithful and serviceable, and at length died, with many other illustrious Romans, in the battle of Philippi [w].

Cæsar reduces Mauritania and Numidia.

Cæsar, now master of Utica, and of the whole Roman province in Africa, marched into Numidia and Mauritania, and reduced both those kingdoms to Roman provinces, appointing Crispus Sallustius to govern them in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and by that means put it out of their power ever to shake off the yoke. The fruitful plains of Numidia he divided among the soldiers of P. Sitius, who had reduced great part of that country. Sitius, being driven out of Rome, we know not on what account, had taken refuge in Mauritania, and there assembled a considerable number of Roman exiles,

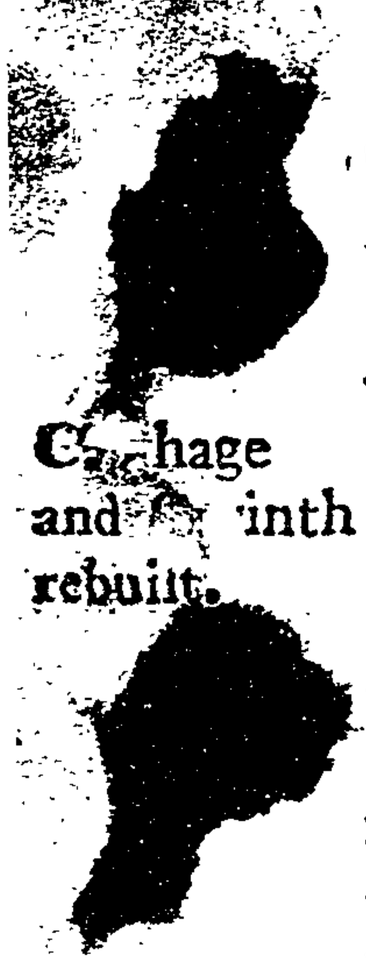
[w] Plut. in Cat. & Cæs. Dio Cass. ibid.

mium on Cato, and called it by his name. A discourse composed by so great a master, upon such an excellent subject, was immediately in every body's hands. This touched Cæsar to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyric on his enemy, who chose rather to kill himself than fall into his hands, as no better than a satire against himself. He therefore published an answer to it, containing a collection of charges and accusations against that great man, which he styled Anticato.

exiles, with whom he entered into the ſervice of Bogud, a petty king of Mauritania, then at war with Juba. Bogud appointed him commander in chief of all his forces; which truſt he diſcharged with great fidelity, invading Juba's dominions, and making himſelf maſter even of Cirta his capital. This diverſion was of great uſe to Cæſar; for it obliged Juba to leave great part of his forces at home, under the command of Sabura, one of his beſt generals, to defend his own kingdom; but, during his abſence, Sitius, having defeated and killed Sabura, made himſelf maſter of the whole country, and then marched with his victorious army to join Cæſar, whom he ſcarce knew. On his march he met a body of Romans, who had ſaved themſelves from the battle of Thapſus, under the command of Afranius and Fauſtus Sylla, defeated them, and took their leaders priſoners, together with Sylla's wife the daughter of Pompey, whom he delivered up to Cæſar, who not only pardoned her, but ſent her into Spain to her brothers. Soon after Sitius's fleet ſurpriſed in the port of Hippo the ſquadron which was conveying into Italy Scipio and other Romans, who had left Utica, and took moſt of them priſoners. Scipio laid violent hands on himſelf; but the reſt were brought to Sitius, who conſigned them to Cæſar. Theſe ſervices the dictator rewarded with a fruitful country bordering on Numidia, which he beſtowed on Sitius, appointing him ſovereign of that diſtrict, after having driven out a Numidian prince named Manaſſes, who had declared for Juba, and ſerved in his army againſt Cæſar [x].

P. Sitius renders Cæſar important ſervices.

How rewarded.



Carthage and Corinth rebuilt.

And now Cæſar, having brought all Africa under ſubjection and ſettled the affairs of that province, repaired to Utica, where his fleet waited for him. There he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did ſoon after his return to Italy for the rebuilding of Corinth; ſo that theſe two famous cities were deſtroyed in the ſame year, and in the ſame year raiſed out of their ruins, in which they had lain about a hundred years. Two years after they were both re-peopled with Roman colonies; and from theſe new inhabitants of Corinth were deſcended thoſe Corinthians, to whom St. Paul wrote his two epiſtles. As the dictator had now no enemy to contend with in Africa, he left that country, loaded with glory and ſpoils, and ſet ſail for Italy on the ides of June, that is, on the fourteenth of the Julian April; and arriving three days after at Caralos, now Cagliari, ſailed from

[x] Hirt. de bell. Africano.

from thence, on the third of the calends of July, for Oſtia, which he did not reach, the weather proving very ſtormy, till the twenty-ſixth of the Julian May, that is, twenty-eight days after. As he drew near Rome, the whole city went out to meet him, and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to Jupiter for the ſucceſs of his arms. The ſenate and people ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in heaping honours upon him. Supplications were appointed, and ſacrifices ordered to be offered daily in the temples for forty days together in thankſgiving to the gods for the victories he had gained in Africa. His uſual guard was by a decree of the ſenate trebled, and the number of the lictors, who attended him as dictator, doubled. His dictatorſhip was prolonged for ten years, and the dignity of cenſor, which had been hitherto divided between two magiſtrates, conferred on him alone, under the title of "prefect," or "reformer, of "manners," that of cenſor ſeeming too vulgar. His perſon was declared ſacred and inviolable; and, to raiſe him above the level of his fellow-citizens, it was decreed, that he ſhould ſit, during his life, next to the conſuls; that he ſhould give his opinion the firſt in all public deliberations; that he ſhould ſit at all public ſhews in a curule chair, and that, even after his death, the chair ſhould be placed as uſual at the ſhews, to render his memory immortal; nay, they went ſo far as to place his ſtatue in the capitol next to that of Jupiter, with this inſcription on the pedeſtal, "to Cæſar a demi-god." Cæſar had too much penetration not to know, that this profuſion of honours was the effect of fear, and not of any ſincere kindneſs or affection for him; and therefore, in accepting ſuch marks of diſtinction, he declared, That he would make no other uſe of the authority, with which they were pleaſed to truſt him, than to prevent any further diſturbances in the republic, and to render, as far as in him lay, all the members of it happy. I ſhall not, ſaid he, renew the maſſacres of Sylla and Marius, which I cannot reflect on without horror. I wiſh I had been able to ſave the republic without ſhedding a drop of blood, and without depriving Rome of one ſingle citizen; but, ſince that was not in my power, now that my enemies are ſubdued, I will make no further uſe of the ſword; but endeavour to gain by good offices thoſe who ſtill continue obſtinate. You ſhall all find in me not a Marius or a Sylla, but an indulgent father and zealous protector. As for my troops, I ſhall keep them together, not ſo much for my own defence, as for that of the republic. They ſhall not, however, be any charge to you; the ſpoils I have brought with

Cæſar returns to Rome.

Honours beſtowed on him by the ſenate and people.

with me from Africa, will be ſufficient to maintain them, and likewiſe to defray for ſome time the expences of the government. This ſpeech and the pardon he granted a few days after to M. Claudius Marcellus, one of his moſt inveterate enemies, calmed the fears both of the ſenate and people. Marcellus had been conſul five years before, and, during his conſulate, employed all his intereſt and authority againſt Cæſar. He had fought under Pompey's banners at Pharſalia; but, retiring after that fatal action from public affairs, he had choſen the city of Mitylene in the iſland of Leſbos for the place of his reſidence, and there led a quiet life, being entirely taken up with the ſtudy of philoſophy. Cicero, who had always profeſſed a ſtrict friendſhip for Marcellus, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to intercede for him all in a body. Accordingly, the firſt time Cæſar appeared in the ſenate, Lucius Piſo having addreſſed him with an affecting ſpeech in favour of the illuſtrious exile, all the conſcript fathers ſeconded him, and, quitting their places, ſurrounded the dictator's tribunal, imploring his clemency in behalf of one of the moſt worthy members of their body. Cæſar heard them with great attention, and, as ſoon as they had done ſpeaking, "I willingly pardon Marcellus," ſaid he, "out "of regard to your interceſſion, conſcript fathers, and to "his own merit. Let him return and take his place in the "ſenate. I ſhall not for the future look upon him as an "enemy, but rank him among my friends, to convince the "world of the deference I pay to this venerable body." The conſcript fathers returned him thanks, and Cicero in particular, in that famous ſpeech, which is ſtill admired by all the learned. But Cæſar's clemency did not avail the unfortunate exile. Upon the firſt notice of what had paſſed at Rome, he left Mitylene, and came to Athens, with a deſign to paſs from thence over into Italy; but when he was ready to embarque, he was ſtabbed by one Magius Chilon, a no leſs zealous follower of Pompey than himſelf. What prompted him to this murder is not well known; ſome ſuſpected Cæſar of being privy to it; but that ſuſpicion ſeemed quite groundleſs to Cicero, ſince Magius with the ſame dagger put an end to his own life, and died on the ſpot with Marcellus (M).

Cæſar pardons Marcellus.

(M) Cicero writes on this ſubject to Atticus thus: "We "can by no means ſuſpect Cæſar of having any hand in the death "of Marcellus, ſince Magius ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame dag-

The

THE dictator having, by his clemency and the extraordinary civility he ſhewed to all without diſtinction, delivered the ſenators from their fears, in the next place ſummoned the people, and, appearing in the aſſembly more like a common citizen, than a victorious general, returned them thanks, in a moſt obliging manner, for their inviolable attachment to his perſon. He then entertained them with a very particular account of his victories, telling them, That he had, by his laſt victory, ſubdued a country ſo rich, and of ſuch extent, that it would yearly ſupply the city with two hundred thouſand buſhels of corn, and three millions of meaſures of oil. In conſideration of the many conqueſts he had made, four triumphs were decreed him both by the ſenate and people. Accordingly he triumphed four times the ſame month, viz. over the Gauls, over Egypt, over Pharnaces, and over Juba. In the firſt triumph were carried before his chariot the names of three hundred nations and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies. Among the priſoners appeared Vercingetorix, who had ſtirred up all Gaul againſt Cæſar, and attempted to relieve Aleſia at the head of three hundred thouſand men. His ſoldiers followed him, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations; but, in the midſt of the public rejoicings, the axletree of the triumphal chariot breaking near the temple of Fortune, the victor narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed by the wheels. The ſuperſtitious Romans drew from thence preſages no-ways favourable to the conqueror; but the only inconvenience that unforeſeen accident occaſioned then, was the retarding of the triumph till it was night; and then Cæſar, to prevent all diſturbances in the dark, embelliſhed his triumphal proceſſion with a new ornament, cauſing forty elephants to be ranged, twenty on each ſide of his chariot, with a prodigious number of flambeaux on their backs, diſpoſed in the ſhape of ſo many pyramids, which in a manner turned night into day, and

His triumphs.

" ger, which he had plunged into Marcellus's breaſt. I am at a
" loſs to know what could prompt him to ſo black an attempt.
" Marcellus had been bail for him a little time before at Sunium.
" Perhaps, as Magius was not in a condition to ſatisfy his credi-
" tors, he had recourſe to Marcellus, who refuſed to ſupply him
" with the neceſſary ſums in a rough and uncivil manner, which
" was natural to him; and hence their quarrel (35)."

(35) Cic. ad Attic. l. xiii. epiſt. 10.

and conducted, without the leaſt confuſion, the numerous crowd to the capitol. There Cæſar, to ſet the people an example of religion, mounted the ſteps of the temple on his knees. After he had offered the uſual ſacrifice to Jupiter, he viewed the ſtatue, which the ſenate and people had erected to himſelf near that of the god; and being offended at the inſcription, "To Cæſar a demi-god," ordered the fulſome title of demi-god to be immediately cancelled. The ſecond triumph was over Egypt, when the pictures of Ptolemy, Photinus, and Achillas were carried before the triumphal chariot, with repreſentations of the cities of Peluſium and Alexandria, of the palace of the Egyptian kings, of the tower of Pharos, &c. Before the chariot walked many priſoners of diſtinction; among the reſt Arſinoe, the ſiſter of Cleopatra, loaded with chains; but, after the ſhew, ſhe was ſet at liberty, and only baniſhed from Egypt, that ſhe might not create new diſturbances in that kingdom to the prejudice of Cleopatra (N). The third triumph ſhewed the defeat of Pharnaces king of Pontus. In the midſt of the ſpoils, which the conqueror had brought from Pontus, Bithynia, and Galatia, the famous words Veni, vidi, vici, were carried on a table in large characters, to ſhew rather the diſpatch, than the difficulty or importance, of that victory. The ſubject of the fourth triumph was the conqueſt of Africa and Numidia, with the defeat of Juba and his allies. In this triumph Juba, the ſon of king Juba, who was then very young, walked among the other captives before the triumphal chariot; but when the ſhew was over, Cæſar ſet him at liberty, and gave him an education ſuitable to his rank, appointing maſters to teach him the Greek and Latin tongues, and ſuch ſciences as the young noblemen of Rome ſtudied in thoſe days. By this means he became one of the moſt learned men of the age he lived in; inſomuch, that the emperor Auguſtus, in conſideration of his great knowledge and abilities, afterwards beſtowed on him the kingdom of Getulia in Africa, and gave him in marriage Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of queen Cleopatra by Marc Antony (O). The Romans

Juba, the ſon of king Juba, led in triumph.

(N) This young princeſs took up her reſidence in Aſia Proper; for there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and, at the requeſt of Cleopatra, cauſed her to be put to death (36).

(O) He was the author of ſeveral works, and, among the reſt of the hiſtory of Rome, which he wrote in Greek, and which is often

(36) Hirt. de bell. Alexand. Joſeph. antiq. l. xv. c. 4.

Romans were not ſo well pleaſed with this triumph as with the other three, Cæſar having cauſed the ſtatues of Scipio, Petreius, and Cato to be carried before him among thoſe of the ſovereign kings and princes whom he had ſubdued. They could not behold Cato tearing his bowels, as the ſtatue repreſented him, without expreſſing their concern with loud ſighs and tears for the death of ſo great a man. The veſſels of gold and ſilver, which in theſe triumphs were carried before the conqueror, amounted to the value of ſixty-five thouſand talents, that is, above twelve millions of our money, beſides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thouſand and thirty-three pounds, which were preſents made him, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, by princes and cities after his victories. Out of theſe ſums he paid his ſoldiers their arrears, and beſides, an hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, as much more to each centurion, and thrice that ſum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry. As to the Roman people, whoſe favour he courted, he gave to each particular perſon ten buſhels of corn, ten meaſures of oil, and added a hundred denarii, by way of intereſt, to the three hundred he had promiſed them before he ſet out for Africa. After this he entertained the people at twenty-two thouſand tables with ſix thouſand murenas, and an incredible profuſion of other dainties and rich wines, which moſt of them had never taſted before; and that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of theſe feaſts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thouſand gladiators, with repreſentations of ſea and land fights, in which were ſometimes three, ſometimes four thouſand combatants on a ſide, and with all ſorts of plays, farces, and mimic performances (P). Theſe entertainments laſted ſeveral days, and

His liberality towards the ſoldiers and the Roman people.

often quoted, and with great approbation, by the antients, but is now entirely loſt, as are alſo all his other works. One of them was of the affairs of Aſſyria, and chiefly collected from the writings of Beroſus.

(P) The two famous mimics, or, they were then called, pantomimes, Laberius and Publius, acted on this occaſion. Laberius was by birth a Roman knight, but nevertheleſs acted on the ſtage mimic pieces of his own compoſing. Cæſar rewarded him for acting in the plays, with which he preſented the people, giving him, when they were over, five hundred ſeſterces, and a golden ring, which was reſtoring him to the equeſtrian dignity he had forfeited by performing on the ſtage. Macrobius has given

and drew such multitudes of people to Rome, that the greatest part of them were forced to lie in the open air, and many were stifled in the croud, among the rest two senators [y].

Reforms the government.

CÆSAR, having by his largesses, entertainments, and shews, secured the affections of the soldiery and people, made it his whole business to reform the government, and establish good order in the city. In order to this he published many wholesome laws. In the first place, as many of the inhabitants had lost their lives in the civil war, and many had abandoned their native country; he appointed great privileges and exemptions for such as had numerous families, recalled all those who had settled in foreign countries, and invited to Rome from all parts

[y] Dio, l. xlii. Plin. l. xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii. Suet. in Cæs. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 56.

given us part of a prologue of this author (37), which may serve for a taste of his wit and style. Horace indeed taxes his compositures with want of elegance (38). But Scaliger thinks the censure very unjust, and the verses cited by Macrobius more elegant than those in which Horace finds fault with them (39). When Laberius, was going, after he had received the golden ring of Cæsar, to resume his place among the knights, Cicero told him, as he passed by the orchestra, where the senators sat, that he would with all his heart make room for him there, but that he was already squeezed up himself; this he said in allusion to the many senators Cæsar had lately created, No wonder, replied Laberius, that you, who commonly make use of two seats at once, fancy yourself squeezed up, when you sit like other people. This was a severe wipe on the inconstancy and double-dealing of the orator (40).

Publius was a Syrian by birth, but received his education at Rome in the condition of a slave. Having by several specimens of wit obtained his freedom, he undertook the writing of mimic pieces, and acted them with uncommon applause in the towns of Italy. At last being brought to Rome to bear a part in Cæsar's plays, he challenged all the dramatic writers and actors, and carried the prize from every one of them, even from Laberius himself (41). A collection of sentences taken out of his works is still extant, which Joseph Scaliger highly commends, and even thought it worth his while to translate them into Greek.

(37) Macrob. Satur. l. ii. c. 7. (38) Horat. satyr. l. i. satyr. 10. v. 5. 6. (39) Scaliger de re Poet. l. i. c. 10. (40) Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 7. (41) Idem ibid.

parts of the world ſuch perſons as were in any repute for their learning and knowledge, granting them for their encouragement all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. At the ſame time he publiſhed a law, forbidding all citizens, above twenty years of age and under forty, to abſent themſelves from the capital more than three years, under any pretence whatſoever (Q). By other laws he reſtrained the profuſe way of living, which at that time prevailed in Rome and all over Italy; he confined the uſe of litters, of embroidered robes and jewels to perſons only of the firſt rank or of over-grown eſtates; he limited the expence of feaſts by many ſumptuary laws, which he cauſed to be put in execution with the utmoſt rigour, his officers often breaking into the houſes of the rich citizens, and ſnatching from off their tables ſuch meats as had been ſerved up contrary to his prohibition. All the markets ſwarmed with informers, ſo that nothing could be brought thither, or ſold, without his knowledge; and he never failed to puniſh with heavy fines ſuch as he found guilty of the leaſt breach of the laws he had enacted for the reſtraining of luxury. As for the management of the public money he reſerved that entirely to himſelf, but committed the adminiſtration of juſtice to the ſenators and knights, chuſing from among them ſuch perſons as were noted for their integrity and probity. As his long command in Gaul had given him an opportunity

Sumptuary laws.

(Q) Plutarch tells us, that Cæſar took a cenſus of the people, who from three hundred and twenty thouſand were now reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand; ſo great a waſte, ſays he, had the civil war made in Rome alone; not to mention what the other parts of Italy and the provinces had ſuffered. But there are no fewer than three notorious miſtakes in this paſſage, as the learned Rualdus obſerves. The firſt is, where it is ſaid, that Cæſar took a cenſus of the people; Suetonius does not mention it, and Auguſtus himſelf in his Marmora Ancyriana ſays, that in the ſixth conſulate he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The ſecond is, that before the civil wars broke out between Cæſar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thouſand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the encreaſe. The laſt is, where it is aſſerted, that in leſs than three years thoſe three hundred and twenty thouſand citizens were reduced by that war to an hundred and fifty thouſand; the falſity of which aſſertion is evident from this, that a little while after Cæſar made a draught of eighty thouſand to be ſent to foreign colonies. Is it probable, that he would have left

Cæſar's

Diſpoſes of all employments.

portunity of uſurping an abſolute power, to prevent others from treading in his footſteps, he ordained by a law, that no prætor ſhould be continued in his government above a year, and no conſular above two. All the magiſtrates in Rome, as well as in the provinces, were appointed by him, the people, whom he ſuffered to aſſemble in the comitium, to maintain at leaſt ſome appearance of a republican ſtate, not daring to chuſe any but ſuch as he propoſed, or recommended; by which means all the places and governments were filled with his creatures. The tribunes, the prætors, the quæſtors, and even the conſuls, were all perſons who had ſerved under him, and were inviolably attached to his intereſt. The government of the countries ſubject to the republic was committed to ſuch only as the dictator thought he could confide in. Thus Sicily was allotted to A. Allienus, Ciſalpine Gaul to M. Junius Brutus, Tranſalpine Gaul to another Junius Brutus, ſurnamed Albinus, Achaia to Servius Sulpicius, Numidia to Criſpus Salluſtius, Illyricum to P. Vatinius, Syria to Q. Cornificius, and Spain to Q. Caſſius Longinus; ſo that the abſolute authority of Cæſar ſeemed to be equally eſtabliſhed in the capital and in the moſt diſtant provinces. In Syria indeed his power was diſputed by one Cæcilius Baſſus, who created great diſorders in that province. He was a Roman knight, and had fought on Pompey's ſide in the battle of Pharſalia. After that overthrow he fled to Tyre, and there, pretending to be a merchant, underhand engaged in his party many who had been favourers of Pompey, and even ſome of

Cæcilius Baſſus raiſes diſturbances in Syria.

left no more than ſeventy thouſand ſouls in Rome? But what is ſtill ſtronger, eighteen years after, Auguſtus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and ſixty-three thouſand, "cenſere civium Romanorum capita quadragies cen- "tum millia, & ſexaginta tria millia," ſays Suetonius. Such an encreaſe in ſo ſhort a time muſt be prodigious, if not impoſſible Rualdus has not only diſcovered theſe miſtakes, but the ſource o them; he makes it appear, that Plutarch, for want of a thorough underſtanding of the latin tongue, has been miſled by the following paſſage in Suetonius, who ſays of Cæſar "recenſum populi ne "more, nec loco ſolito, ſed vicatim per dominos inſularum egit "atque ex viginti trecentiſque millibus accipientium frumentum "publico ad centum quinquginta retraxit (42)." Suetonius ſpeak there of the review taken by Cæſar of the nedy citizens, wh ſhared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hun dred and twenty thouſand, and reduced to an hundred and twent thouſand. Plutarch miſtook recenſum for cenſum the muſter take by the cenſors, and this error led him into the other miſtakes.

(42) Sueton. in Jul. c. 4.

of the Roman ſoldiers who were ſent thither to garriſon the city. Whereupon being at length taken notice of by Sextus Cæſar, whom the dictator had appointed governor of that province, as he haſtened northward againſt Pharnaces, he was ſummoned to appear before him, and give an account of his proceedings. Baſſus, without betraying the leaſt fear, told the governor, that he was raiſing volunteers, and making other preparations with no other deſign but to aſſiſt Mithridates of Pergamus in the reduction of the kingdom of Pergamus, which had been given him by Cæſar. Sextus believing him, he was diſmiſſed, and no more taken notice of, till having got together a conſiderable number of conſpirators, he ſeized on the city of Tyre, giving out, that Cæſar was killed in Africa, and that thereupon he was appointed by the ſenate preſident of Syria. By this impoſture he encreaſed his forces ſo as to be able to take the field, and engage Cæſar; but he was entirely defeated, and forced to take ſhelter in Tyre. There he continued inactive, till the many wounds he had received in the battle were cured; and then by his emiſſaries ſtirred up the troops under the command of Cæſar, who was given to all manner of lewdneſs, to rebel againſt their leader and murder him. Upon his death, the troops he commanded joined Baſſus, excepting a ſmall body that retired into Cilicia. Baſſus ſeeing himſelf again at the head of a conſiderable army, marched ſtrait to Apamea, and ſeizing that city, fortified it, and made it the place of his reſidence, there taking on him the government of the whole province. But Antiſtius Verus putting himſelf at the head of thoſe who had retreated into Cilicia, and drawing to him ſeveral others of the Cæſarean party in that country, marched back with them into Syria. There he was joined by the ſons of Antipater with auxiliaries from Judæa, and by ſeveral of the neighbouring princes, who were glad of an opportunity to ſhew their attachment to the dictator, and by that means gain his favour. Thus Antiſtius was enabled to make head againſt Baſſus, and even to drive him quite out of the field. He retreated to Apamea, where he was cloſely beſieged by Antiſtius; but, as he was a brave ſoldier and experienced commander, his adverſary, having ſpent the whole ſummer before the place without being able to gain any advantage over him, was forced towards the end of the campaign to raiſe the ſiege and forbear all hoſtilities, till he received new ſupplies both of men and proviſions [z].

Sextus Cæſar governor of Syria murdered by his own men.

The various ſucceſs of Baſſus.

[z] Dio. l. xlvii. Libo apud Appian. de bell. civil. l. iii. Epit. Liv. l. cxiv. Joſeph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 17. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 8.

CÆSAR, being informed of what paſſed in Syria, immediately diſpatched Statius Murcus, whom Joſephus through miſtake names Marcus, to ſucceed Sextus in the government of Syria, appointing him three legions to put an end to that unexpected war. Theſe, with the troops which Antiſtius commanded, formed a very conſiderable army; ſo that Baſſus was again obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Apamea, the ſiege of which place was renewed by the united forces of Murcus and Antiſtius. During the ſiege, both ſides ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the neigbouring princes and ſtates. Alcaudonius an Arabian king, being on this occaſion ſent to both by Baſſus and Murcus, came with all his forces, and placing himſelf between Apamea and the camp of the Cæſareans that covered the ſiege, offered his aſſiſtance, by way of auction, to that ſide which ſhould give moſt for it; and Baſſus having bid higheſt, he immediately joined him. At the ſame time Pacorus came to his aſſiſtanceat the head of a numerous body of Parthians; which two reinforcements added ſuch ſtrength to the beſieged, that the Cæſareans were again forced to raiſe the ſiege, and leave Baſſus maſter of the field [a]. Hereupon the dictator ſent orders to Q. Martius Criſpus, governor of Bithynia, to march with the three legions he had under his command, to the aſſiſtance of Murcus, and at his approach Baſſus retired to Apamea, where he was cloſely beſieged the third time, but held out till the death of Cæſar, when he was relieved by Caſſius, who ſeized on the province of Syria, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Cæſar reforms the kalendar.

WHILE the dictator's lieutenants were thus employed in the eaſt, the dictator himſelf, to ſhew that nothing eſcaped his care, undertook at Rome the reformation of the Roman kalendar, which it belonged to him to rectify as pontifex maximus, an office he had bore long before he was either conſul or dictator. This reformation was at this time much wanted; for by reaſon of the faults of the former kalendar the feſtivals of the Romans and their ſolemn days were removed by degrees, and put out of due time, till at laſt they came to fall in with ſeaſons quite oppoſite to thoſe of their primitive inſtitution. The year which the Romans made uſe of till this time conſiſted of twelve lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days ſhort of a ſolar year, it was the office of the pontifex maximus with the college of the pontifices to add ſuch intercalations as ſhould make all even. This they uſually did by caſting in an intercalary month every two years, which alternatively conſiſted of twenty-two and twenty-three

[a] Dio. l. xlvii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian. ibid. l. iii & iv. Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epiſt. 9.

three days. This ſhort month is called by Plutarch in one place Mercidinus [b], and in another Mercidonius [c]. The place it was allotted in the Roman kalendar was between the 23d and 24th of February. But the care of this intercalation being left to the pontifices, they put in or left out the intercalary month according as they had a mind to prolong or ſhorten the time of the annual magiſtrates then in office; by which means great diſorders crept into the political as well as the aſtronomical year; to prevent which Cæſar undertook that reformation, of which the world has had the benefit ever ſince, and happily completed it (R).

[b] Plut. in Numa. [c] Idem in Cæſ.

(R) This he did by the following methods: 1ſt, He aboliſhed the lunar year, conſiſting of twelve lunar months, or three hundred and fifty-five days, by which the Romans had hitherto computed their time; and introduced the uſe of the ſolar year, conſiſting of the time in which the ſun goes through the Zodiac, and comes about again to the ſame point, whence his courſe began. 2dly, having, according to the beſt obſervations of thoſe times, concluded this revolution to be made in three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſix hours; of theſe he made his ſolar year to conſiſt. 3dly, Theſe three hundred and ſixty-five days he diſtributed into twelve artificial, inſtead of lunar, months before in uſe, ſome of them conſiſting of thirty-one days, ſome of thirty, and one, that is, February, of twenty eight. 4thly, The ſix hours over and above in four years making a day, he made every fifth year to conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty-ſix days, and this is what we call the "Leap year." 5thly, This day he added between the 23d and 24th day of February, in the ſame place in the Roman kalendar, where formerly the intercalary month Mercidinus had been inſerted. As this addition was made by putting the latter of thoſe days, which was called Sextus Kalendas, twice in the kalendar, the year was thence called by the Latins Annus Biſſextilis, the Biſſextile Year. But we, inſtead of putting the 24th day of February twice in the biſſextile or leap year, number on the days, ſo as to make the month conſiſt of twenty-nine. 6thly, Cæſar began this year on the kalends or firſt day of January, becauſe on that day the annual magiſtrates of Rome entered on their offices. 7thly, The firſt of January he then fixed to the winter ſolſtice; but it has now over-run that time ſeveral days, by reaſon that the Julian ſolar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural ſolar year. 8thly, To bring this reformation into practice, beſides the month Mercidinus, which was inſerted in February, as uſual, Cæſar added to this preſent year two months more, which he put

YET ſo commendable and uſeful a work gave offence to ſome, who envied his grandeur, and were weary of his power. They took occaſion from thence to ſay, that after he had triumphed over the earth, he had a mind to govern likewiſe in heaven. It is no ſtrange thing to hear ignorant people talk at that rate; but that Cicero, who had long before tranſlated Aratus, and conſequently ought to have been better acquainted than any with the diſorders of the former calculation, could be guilty of ſuch a weakneſs, is ſurpriſing. Yet the orator made the reformation of the kalendar the ſubject of ſeveral ſevere jeſts. As one chanced to ſay in his company, that the next morning the Lyra would riſe, "Yes," replied Cicero, "by Cæſar's order," inſinuating thereby, that the dictator pretended to ſubject even the celeſtial bodies to his power. But Cæſar, who knew better than Cicero, what advantages would accrue to poſterity from ſo uſeful an undertaking, in between the months of November aud December; ſo that this year, thereby conſiſts of four hundred and forty-five days, viz. three hundred and fifty-five days for the common Roman year, twenty-three for the month Mercidinus, and ſixty ſeven for the other months added between November and December; ſo that this year, which was the longeſt the Romans had ever had, putting their affairs out of their uſual order, was called by them the year of confuſion. In the ſettling of this point Cæſar made uſe of the aſſiſtance of Soſigenes, an aſtronomer of Alexandria, for the aſtronomical calculations, and of Flavius a ſcribe, for the forming and digeſting of them into a kalendar, according to the Roman manner, that is, in diſtributing the days of each month into their Kalends, Ides, and Nones, and fixing the feſtivals, and other ſolemn times, to the days on which they were to be obſerved. But the pontifices, who had been the authors of the old confuſion, not well underſtanding the new computation, inſtead of interpoſing the leap day after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, put it in after the third in the beginning of the fourth, which diſorder was continued for thirty-ſix years following; by which means twelve years having been made leap years inſtead of nine, the error was at length perceived. Hereupon Auguſtus, who ſucceeded Julius Cælar, to bring matters into the right courſe again, ordered, that for the twelve years next enſuing no leap year ſhould be made: whereby the three ſupernumerary days, which had been erroneouſly caſt in, being again dropped, this way of computing has been obſerved ever ſince without any alteration, except that made by Gregory XIII. which we have mentioned above.

taking, and what glory to himself, thought it beneath him to take any notice of such low jests [c].

WHILE Cæsar was thus employed at Rome in works of peace, the two sons of Pompey, having assembled beyond the Pyrenees such of their father's party as had escaped from the battles of Pharsalia and Thapsus, made themselves masters of great part of Spain. The Spaniards, who had formerly served under their father, flocked to them from all parts; insomuch, that they soon saw themselves at the head of a very numerous army, composed partly of Romans, and partly of the natives of the country. They had likewise experienced officers, and among the rest Labienus, who had learnt the art of war under Cæsar himself, and had on many occasions given signal proofs both of his courage and the wisdom of his conduct. Cæsar had indeed after the conquest of Africa dispatched first Caius Didius into Spain, to oppose the progress of the two young generals in that country, and after him Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pædius, two of his lieutenants, with such a body of troops, as he thought sufficient to keep the Spaniards in awe. But the republican party, being favoured by the natives, had gained the ascendant over them, made themselves masters of several cities, and obliged the Cæsareans to shut themselves up in their strong-holds. The dictator's presence was therefore necessary; and accordingly he resolved to go in person, and put a stop to their further progress. But, before he left Rome, he assembled the comitia, and having caused himself to be chosen consul the fourth time, as dictator he appointed M. Æmilius Lepidus, whom the tribes had given him for his collegue, his general of the horse. All the inferior offices were filled with his friends and creatures, no one daring to oppose the election of such as he thought fit to recommend to the assembled tribes; for though he pretended to allow them the liberty of chusing whom they pleased, yet to each tribe in particular he wrote in the following terms; "Cæsar recommends such a person to such a tribe, and begs "they would oblige him so far as to chuse him." This recommendation from Cæsar was in reality an order, which no one had courage enough to dispute or oppose; so that all the power and authority of the republic being lodged in the hands of such persons as were entirely addicted to him, he had no reason to apprehend the least disturbance in the capital during his absence. Having thus settled matters, Cæsar took his leave of Cleopatra, whom he had invited to Rome, and kept

The two sons of Pompey in Spain.

Cæsar chosen consul the fourth time.

[c] Plut. in Cic. & Cæsare.

He ſets out for Spain.

In his own houſe during her abode in that city, and ſetting out for Spain about the beginning of this year, which was the firſt Julian year, he arrived in twenty-four days in the province of Bœtica. There he aſſembled what troops were quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, and, putting himſelf at their head, marched without loſs of time towards Corduba, hoping to ſurprize Sextus, the younger of the two Pompeys, who was then quartered in that city. But he, having timely notice of Cæſar's arrival and deſign, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to his brother Cneius, who was then beſieging the city of Ulla, acquainting him with the danger that threatened him, and entreating him to break up the ſiege, and haſten with all his forces to his aſſiſtance. Cneius had reduced the place to the laſt extremity, and was then preparing for a general aſſault; but the unexpected arrival of the dictator, and the danger his brother was in, made him drop the enterpriſe and fly to Corduba. Cæſar, having upon his arrival attempted in vain to draw him to a battle, de-

Inveſts the city of Ategua.

camped in the night, and went to inveſt the city of Ategua, about ſixteen miles from Corduba, which the republican party had made their place of arms. Thither Cneius followed him, and encamped on ſome hills at a ſmall diſtance from Cæſar's intrenchments, with a deſign to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him tc raiſe the ſiege. But the dictator, notwitſtanding the many and almoſt unſurmountable difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, purſued his point with a conſtancy and reſolu ion peculiar to himſelf. The beſieged defended themſelves with incredible bravery; but being at length reduced to the utmoſt extremity, the garriſon, which conſiſted moſtly of Romans, reſolved to cut the throats of all the inhabitants, ſet fire to the city, and attempt by a general ſally to force the enemy's lines, and retire to Cneius's camp which was in ſight of the city. The cruel maſſacre was put in execution; but the garriſon, after having attempted in vain to make their way through Cæſar's camp, were driven back into the town with great ſlaughter. At length L. Minutius Flaccus, who commanded in the city and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, during the ſiege, in a moſt eminent manner, ſurrendered the place upon honourable terms, and put Cæſar in poſſeſſion

And makes himſelf maſter of it and other places.

of the few magazines which the flames had ſpared. From Ategue Cæſar marched to Buriavolis, which he ſurprized, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, for having cruelly maſſacred ſuch of their countrymen as had adviſed them to ſurrender. After the reduction of theſe two

places,

places, Cæſar marched to find out the enemy, and force them to a general engagement. They were encamped in the neighbourhood of Ucubis, now Lucubi, according to Mariana, in the kingdom of Grenade. Cæſar poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp, which gave occaſion to daily ſkirmiſhes, in one of which Cæſar's cavalry was put to the rout, and defeated with great ſlaughter. Pompey was ſo elated with this advantage, that he reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general action. He even wrote to his friends, that Cæſar had with him only raw and unexperienced ſoldiers, that he apprehended he would never venture an engagement ſo long as he could avoid it, but that he would find means to force him to it. In order to this, he marched towards the city of Hiſpalis, now Seville, and from thence advanced into the plains of Munda (S), and encamped there. Cæſar was no ſooner informed of the enemy's motions, than he decamped, and after two days eaſy march appeared with his army in the ſame plain where Pompey was encamped. As the enemy were very impatient to come to an engagement, the very next morning they drew up their army by break of day; but had the precaution to poſt themſelves advantageouſly on a riſing ground, whereof one ſide was defended by the city of Munda, and the other by a ſmall river, which watered the plain, and by a marſh, ſo that the enemy could not attack them but in front. Cæſar likewiſe drew up his troops with great art, and, having advanced a little way from his camp, ordered his troops to halt, expecting the enemy would abandon their advantageous poſt and come to meet him. But, as they did not ſtir, Cæſar made as if he intended to fortify himſelf in that poſt, which induced the young general, who looked upon this as a ſign of fear, to advance into the plain, and attack the enemy before they could ſecure themſelves with any works. Pompey's army was by far the moſt numerous; for it conſiſted of thirteen legions, ſix thouſand horſe, and an incredible number of auxiliaries, amongſt whom were all the forces of Bocchus king of Mauritania, commanded by his two ſons, both youths of great valour and bravery. Cæſar had eighty cohorts,

Pompey encamps in the plain of Munda.

Cæſar follows him thither.

(S) The city of Munda is placed by the antient geographers in the province of Bœtica, about twenty miles from Malaga in an agreeable and fruitful plain watered by a ſmall river, or rather a rivulet. It was in former times a place of great note, but is at preſent, as Mariana informs us, a ſorry village known by its antient name.

horts, three legions, viz. the third, the fifth, and the tenth, and a body of eight thouſand horſe. As the enemy drew near, Cæſar betrayed a great deal of uneaſineſs and concern, as if he were doubtful of the ſucceſs, knowing he was to engage men no ways inferior in valour and experience to his own, and commanded by officers, who had on many occaſions given ſignal proofs of their bravery and conduct. Cneius, the elder of the two brothers, was generally looked upon as an able commander, and Labienus eſteemed ſcarce inferior to Cæſar himſelf. However, the dictator, deſirous to put an end to the civil war, either by his own death or that of his rivals, gave the ſignal for the battle, and fell upon the enemy with his uſual vigour and reſolution. At the firſt onſet, which was dreadful, the auxiliaries on both ſides betook themſelves to flight, leaving the Romans to decide their quarrel by themſelves. Then the legionaries engaged with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; Cæſar's men being encouraged by the hopes of putting an end to all their labours by this battle, and thoſe of Pompey exerting themſelves out of neceſſity and deſpair, ſince moſt of them expected no quarter, as having been formerly pardoned when defeated under Afranius and Petreius. Never was victory more obſtinately diſputed. Cæſar's men, who had been always uſed to conquer, found themſelves ſo vigorouſly charged by the enemy's legionaries, that they began to give ground; and though they did not turn their backs, yet it was manifeſt that ſhame alone kept them in their poſts. All authors agree, that Cæſar had never been in ſo great danger; and he himſelf, when he came back to his camp, told his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the firſt time he had ever fought for life. Thinking himſelf abandoned by fortune, which had hitherto favoured him, he had ſome thoughts of ſtabbing himſelf with his own ſword, and by a voluntary death preventing the diſgrace of a defeat. But returning ſoon to himſelf, and concluding it would be more to his reputation to fall by the enemy's hand at the head of his troops, than, in a fit of deſpair, by his own, he diſmounted from his horſe, and ſnatching a buckler from one of his legionaries, he threw himſelf, like a man in deſpair, into the midſt of the enemy; crying out to his men, "Are you not aſhamed to deliver your ge-
"neral into the hands of boys?" At theſe words the ſoldiers of the tenth legion, animated by the example of their general, fell upon the enemy with freſh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in ſpight of their utmoſt efforts,

The battle of Munda. Year after the flood 2959. Before Chriſt 40. Of Rome 708.

Cæſar in great diſtreſs.

forts, Pompey's men ſtill kept their ground, and, though greatly fatigued, returned the charge with equal vigour. Then the Cæſareans began to deſpair of victory, and the dictator, running through the ranks of his diſheartened legionaries, had much ado to keep them together. The battle had already laſted from the riſing to the ſetting of the ſun, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. At length a mere accident decided the diſpute in favour of the dictator. Bogud, a petty king of Mauritania, of whom we have ſpoke above, had joined Cæſar ſoon after his arrival in Spain with ſome ſquadrons of Numidian horſe; but in the very beginning of the battle, being terrified at the ſhouting of the ſoldiers intermingled with groans and the claſhing of their arms, he had abandoned his poſt, and retired with the auxiliaries under his command to a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp. There he continued the whole day an idle ſpectator of the battle that was fought in the plain. But towards the evening, partly out of ſhame, and partly out of compaſſion on his friend Cæſar, he reſolved to fall upon Pompey's camp, and accordingly flew thither with all the forces he had with him. Labienus, appriſed of his deſign, haſtened after him, to the defence of the camp; which Cæſar obſerving, cried to his legionaries, "Courage, fellow-"ſoldiers, the victory at length is ours; Labienus flies. This artifice had the deſired effect: Cæſar's men, believing that Labienus was truly fled, made a laſt effort, and charged the wing he commanded ſo briskly, that after a moſt obſtinate diſpute they put them to flight. Though the enemy's left wing was thus entirely defeated, the right, where the elder Pompey commanded, ſtill kept their ground for ſome time. Pompey, diſmounting from his horſe, fought on foot like a private man in the firſt line, till, moſt of his legionaries being killed, he was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from falling into the enemy's hands. Part of his troops fled back to their camp, and part took ſhelter in the city of Munda. The camp was immediately attacked and taken ſword in hand; and as for the city, Cæſar without loſs of time drew a line of circumvallation round it. Such was the ever-memorable battle of Munda, which gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the Roman republic, and raiſed Cæſar to the higheſt pitch of power and glory, no one daring from this time diſpute his authority. This victory was gained on the ſixteenth of the kalends of April, that is, according to our way of counting, on the ſeventeenth day of March, when the Dionyſian feſtival,

Cæſar gains the day by a ſtratagem, and forces the enemy's camp.

or

or the Liberalia, were celebrated at Rome (T), the very day, as Plutarch obſerves, in which Pompey the Great four years before had ſet out for the war. In this action Pompey loſt thirty thouſand men, among whom were the famous Labienus, Attius Varus, and three thouſand Roman knights. Seventeen officers of diſtinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and enſigns together with Pompey's faſces, which he had aſſumed as governor of Spain. On Cæſar's ſide only a thouſand men were killed, and five hundred wounded [d].

Beſieges Munda.

THE battle being over, Cæſar in the firſt place compleated his lines about Munda, uſing, inſtead of earth, the dead bodies of the enemy, which covered the plain, and raiſing them up in heaps, ſo as to equal the height of the walls. This ſight filled Cæſar with horror, who thereupon committed the carrying on of the ſiege to Fabius Maximus, one of his lieutenants, and, having cauſed the bodies of Attius Varus and Labienus to be honourably interred, abandoned the plain of Munda, and marched towards Corduba, expecting to find there the heads of the contrary party, who had diſappeared after the battle. But he was diſappointed; for the elder Pompey fled with a hundred and fifty horſe from the field

The elder Pompey flies to his fleet.

[d] Plut in Cæſ. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Auth. comment. de bell. Hiſpaniaſi.

(T) Plutarch tells us, that this battle was won on the Dionyſian feſtival, τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, ſays that writer; which paſſage, as madam Dacier rightly obſerves, moſt interpreters have groſly miſtaken. The old Latin verſion, ſays ſhe, has it thus: "hanc "victoriam obtinuit ſaturnalibus," this victory was gained on the feſtival of Saturn. The Dionyſia and Saturnalia were two very different feſtivals. Others, who have tranſlated it into the modern languages, have rendered it by the feaſt of the Bacchanals. How could Cæſar gain a victory on the day of a feſtival, which had been aboliſhed a hundred and forty-one years before, and ſuppreſſed throughout all Italy by an order of the ſenate, on account of its abominations, as we are informed by Livy (43)? Plutarch by the Dionyſia means that feaſt which is called by the Romans Liberalia, and ſtands in their kalendar againſt the 17th of March. Liberalia, ſays Feſtus, "Liberi Feſta, quæ apud Græcos dicuntur Dionyſia." As Liber and Dionyſius are two names of Bacchus, this is what has miſled thoſe interpeters, and made them believe, though very abſurdly, that the feaſt, called Liberalia, was the ſame with the Bacchanalia. Thus far the learned madam Dacier.

(43) Liv. l. xxxix.

field of battle towards his navy, which lay at Carteia, a city about a hundred and seventy miles distant from Corduba. The inhabitants opened their gates to him; but were no sooner informed of the success of the battle at Munda, than they sent deputies to Cæsar, acquainting him, that they had secured Pompey. But, as a good number of the inhabitants still remained in Pompey's interest, the place was divided into two factions, which carried their animosities so far as to engage each other in the streets, and fill the city with blood and slaughter. In one of these tumultuary actions Pompey himself received several wounds; but having nevertheless, after a warm dispute, made himself master of one of the gates, he escaped to his fleet, and, hoisting sail, put to sea with thirty galleys. But Didius, who commanded Cæsar's fleet at Gades, upon notice of his weighing anchor immediately put to sea after him, having first taken on board a considerable body of horse as well as foot, in case there should be occasion to pursue the enemy by land. After four days sail he came up with their galleys, and surprising them, while both the soldiers and mariners were employed ashore in procuring necessary provisions, which they had not had time to take in at Carteia, he burnt several of them, took the rest, and by that means cut off the enemy's retreat by sea. Pompey, seeing himself thus unexpectedly deprived of his fleet, endeavoured to save himself by flight cross the mountains. But, as he had been dangerously wounded at Carteia in his shoulder and left leg, and besides had now the misfortune, as all things seemed to conspire against him, to put his ancle out of joint, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, the enemy's horse, who had been put on board for that particular service, soon came up with him. upon their approach, the unfortunate Roman discovering a castle on a steep hill at a small distance, retired thither with the few troops that attended him. The Cæsareans, under the command of Cesennius Lento, immediately attacked the place, hoping to carry it by assault, but were repulsed by a shower of darts, and pursued in their retreat with great slaughter. Hereupon Didius began to besiege the castle in a regular manner, and to draw a line of circumvallation round it; which so terrified Pompey's men, that they resolved to quit the place and abandon their leader, who was not in a condition to follow them, to the mercy of the enemy. Accordingly they made a sally, but were for the most part cut off in their retreat. Pompey retired with the rest, but not being able to keep pace with them

Which is destroyed by Didius, Cæsar's admiral.

Pompey flies to a castle.

them by reaſon of his wounds, he concealed himſelf in a cave, where he was betrayed by ſome of his own ſoldiers, and delivered up to the Cæſareans, who immediately put him to death. Thus periſhed the elder Pompey, after having exerted his utmoſt efforts to revenge the death of his father, and ſave his country from impending ruin. He had never before commanded in chief; but nevertheleſs, in this firſt eſſay, as we may call it, performed ſuch wonders, as forced Cæſar to own, that he had never encountered a more formidable enemy. As for the younger brother, ſome writers tell us that he was not preſent at the battle of Munda, but remained in Corduba to defend that important place in caſe of any misfortune; others ſay, that he retired to Corduba after the action. However that be, he was no ſooner acquainted with the melancholy news of the defeat of his brother, than he divided what money he had among the cavalry who attended him, and giving out that he was going to meet Cæſar and treat with him about an accommodation, he left the city, fled in diſguiſe to Celtiberia, and joining the banditti of that country, concealed himſelf ſo well, that Cæſar could never diſcover him [e].

Where he is beſieged and killed.

The fate of the younger Pompey.

BUT, to return to Cæſar. The battle being over and the lines about Munda completed; he marched to Corduba, which was defended by a body of troops that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, under the command of one Scapula, a zealous republican. Upon Cæſar's approach, Scapula armed all the ſlaves and vagabonds, who were very numerous in that great city, and leaving the thirteenth legion in the place, marched out at the head of that undiſciplined multitude, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a bridge. As Cæſar's army drew near, the rabble inſulted them, aſking them, whither they deſigned to fly, as if they had been the army defeated. But Cæſar not thinking it adviſeable to force the poſt, deſpiſed their bravadoes, and taking a long compaſs, paſſed the river without oppoſition, and appeared before Corduba. Hereupon Scapula, giving all up for loſt, retired into the city, and calling together his friends, gave them a ſumptuous entertainment; which being ended, he put on his beſt apparel, diſtributed what money he had among his attendants, and then aſcending a funeral pile, which he had prepared, he ordered one of his catamites to diſpatch him, while another put fire to the pile, which ſoon reduced his body to aſhes. Upon Scapula's death the city

Cæſar marches to Corduba.

[e] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Suet. in Julio. Dio. l. xliv.

city was divided into two factions; ſome were for ſurrendering, others for ſtanding a ſiege; but the former prevailing, deputies were ſent to Cæſar, who got poſſeſſion of one of the gates. Hereupon the thirteenth legion, which had been always greatly attached to Pompey, began to ſet fire to the houſes, chuſing rather to periſh with the city, than fall into the hands of the conqueror. This occaſioned a bloody battle betwen them and the Cæſareans, in which moſt of the legionaries, with about twelve thouſand of the inhabitants were killed upon the ſpot. Cæſar, having thus made himſelf maſter of Corduba, at that time the capital of Bœtica, marched from thence to Hiſpalis, now Seville. On his march he was met by Ceſennius, who gave him an account of the tragical end of the elder Pompey, and at the ſame time preſented to him the young Roman's head, which, ſome writers ſay [f], he expoſed to public view, while the other tell us, that he cauſed it to be honourably interred [g]. As he drew near Hiſpalis, he was met by deputies from the city, who acquainted him with the diviſions that reigned in the place, and entreated him to ſend with them a detachment and an experienced commander, to keep the adverſe party in awe. Cæſar readily complied with their requeſt, and granted them Caninius Rebilius with ſome manipuli, who entered the town without oppoſition. But, in the mean time, Pompey's friends privately diſpatched one Philo, a zealous aſſerter of their party, into Luſitania, where he was well known, to beg aſſiſtance of Cæcilius Niger, who ſtill ſupported Pompey's intereſt there at the head of a conſiderable number of the natives. Philo ſoon returned with a numerous body of Luſitanians, and, being let into the city in the night, fell unexpectedly on the Cæſareans, and cut them all off to a man. Hereupon Cæſar immediately inveſted the town; but, in drawing the lines of circumvallation, left ſeveral open places for the Luſitanians to make their eſcape, leſt deſpair ſhould prompt them to ſet fire to the houſes and demoliſh the walls. At the ſame time he placed ſquadrons of horſe on all the roads that led from the city, ordering them to conceal themſelves till the Luſitanians appeared, and then, falling upon them, give them no quarter. They held out a long time with great obſtinacy and reſolution; but at length made a ſally, and got ſafe beyond Cæſar's lines through the paſſages that had been left for that purpoſe. But while they thought themſelves out of danger, they were all on a ſudden attacked by the Cæſarean cavalry, and put to the

Makes great ſlaughter of the enemy, and poſſeſſes himſelf of the place.

Hiſpalis receives a Cæſarean garriſon.

[f] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. c. 6.

[g] Appian. bell. civil. l. ii.

the ſword, not one of them eſcaping the general ſlaughter. Cæſar, having thus recovered Hiſpalis, marched towards Aſta (U), the inhabitants of which city ſent embaſſadors to meet him, and deliver him the keys of their town. There he received the malancholy news of the death of Didius his admiral, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions in a very eminent manner. After he had deſtroyed Pompey's fleet, as we have related above, he cauſed his veſſels to be hauled on ſhore to be refitted, and, in the mean time, retired to a neighbouring caſtle, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of Luſitanians, who had eſcaped from the battle of Munda. The Roman admiral defended the place with great bravery; but the Luſitanians having ſet fire to his ſhips, he made a ſally, and marched in good order to the ſea-ſide, hoping to repulſe the enemy and preſerve his navy. While his men were buſy in extinguiſhing the flames, a body of Luſitanians, who had concealed themſelves among the buſhes, ſtarting up, attacked him in the rear, and cut off his retreat to the caſtle, while two other numerous bodies fell upon him, the one in flank, and the other in front. Didius, thus inveſted on all ſides, behaved with ſingle bravery; but was, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, overpowered, and with moſt of his men cut in pieces. Cæſar's concern for the loſs of ſo brave an officer was in great meaſure allayed, by the agreeable news he received at the ſame time of the ſurrender of Munda, after a long and cloſe ſiege. When the beſieged ſaw themſelves reduced to the utmoſt extremity, they deſerted in great numbers to Cæſar, by whom they were kindly received, and incorporated among his troops. But before they came over, it was agreed between them and their friends in the city, that upon a certain ſignal the latter ſhould make a vigorous ſally, while the deſerters did what execution they could in the camp. This plot being very ſeaſonably diſcovered the night before it was to be put in execution, the private men were by Fabius's orders decimated, and all the officers executed without diſtinction. Soon after, the beſieged made a ſally with a deſign to force their way through the enemy's works;

Cæſar recovers Hiſpalis.

The fleet of Didius burnt, and he killed.

(U) Aſta, which Pliny honours with the title of Regia, was about ſixteen miles diſtance from Gades, according to Antoninus's itinerary, and ſituated on the ocean. This city is mentioned by Pomponius Mela, and alſo by Ptolemy. Martin de Roa is of opinion, that it ſtood where the preſent city of Xeres della Frontera ſtands; but others pretend to diſcover its ruins between Xeres and Tribuxena.

works; but moſt of them having loſt their lives in the attempt, Fabius at length carried the place by aſſault. From Munda he marched ſtrait to Urſaon, a place equally fortified by art and nature, laid ſiege to it, and obliged the inhabitants to receive the yoke, after they had for ſome time defended the place with incredible bravery. And now Cæſar, having reduced all the places which had declared for Pompey, and exacted immēnſe contributions from the Spaniards under pretence of puniſhing their rebellion, retired to Hiſpalis; whence, to give new marks of his eſteem for Cicero, he wrote a conſolatory letter to him on occaſion of the death of his beloved daughter Tullia, who died at Rome in childbed, while her huſband P. Cornelius Dolabella was attending Cæſar in Spain. This letter, as appears from Cicero's works, was wrote the day before the kalends of May: and a few days after Cæſar left Hiſpalis, and marched with the beſt part of his army to New Carthage; where he was met by deputies from moſt cities of Spain, with whom he ſettled the affairs of the two Spaniſh provinces, and then embarqued for Rome, having finiſhed in ſeven months an expedition, which few generals would have completed in as many years [h].

Munda taken.

And Urſaon.

CÆSAR reached Rome in the beginning of October, and entered the city in triumph, which diſpleaſed the Romans beyond any thing he had yet done. They could not brook his triumphing over the calamities of his country, and his rejoycing for an advantage, which he ought rather to have deplored, and for which no better appology could be made, than that he was abſolutely compelled to it. What made his triumph look ſtill more diſtaſteful was, that he had never before acquainted the ſenate by any letter or expreſs of the victories he had obtained in the courſe of the civil wars; but ſeemed rather to be aſhamed of the action, than to claim any glory that might ariſe to him from it. Cæſar, not contented with having triumphed himſelf, beſtowed the ſame honour on two of his lieutenants, Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pedius, but with this difference, that the repreſentations of the cities, rivers, &c. carried before Cæſar, were of ivory; whereas thoſe that were made uſe of in the triumphs of his lieutenants were of common wood; which made a humorous Greek, by name Chryſippus, ſay, by way of raillery, that the ſtatues carried before Fabius and Pedius were only the

Cæſar returns to Rome.

His triumph offends the Romans.

[h] Auth. bell. Hiſpan. Dio. Vell. Patercul. ibid. Cic. ad Atticum, l. xiii. epiſt. 20.

the caſes of thoſe which Cæſar had diſplayed in his triumph [i]. However, the Romans, taking the ſame ſide with fortune, began to heap new honours upon the conqueror, and thoſe greater than any they had yet beſtowed. Cicero indeed propoſed in the ſenate, the conferring of ſuch honours on him, as were in ſome meaſure within the bounds of modeſty; but others, ſtriving who ſhould deſerve moſt, carried them ſo high, that they made Cæſar odious even to the moſt indifferent and moderate ſort of men. They made him dictator for life, ſubjected all magiſtrates, even the tribunes of the people, to his power, decreed, that he alone ſhould levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money, and that all inferior magiſtrates ſhould oblige themſelves by oath to obſerve whatever decrees he ſhould think fit to enact. Among other titles, that of imperator was given him, not in that ſenſe in which it had been formerly beſtowed on generals after ſome ſignal victory, but as it imported the greateſt power and authority in the commonwealth. From him was derived the name of imperator or emperor, and likewiſe that of Cæſar to his ſucceſſors; and this was the beginning of the imperial ſtate of Rome, though it was not ſettled till ſome years after. His enemies are thought to have had ſome ſhare in the extraordinary honours conferred on him, as well as his flatterers, ſince they took from thence an opportunity of calumniating him, and alienating from him the minds of ſuch as were friends to the antient form of government. On the other hand, Cæſar made it his whole ſtudy to gain the affections even of his moſt inveterate enemies; he not only pardoned all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, but on ſeveral of them beſtowed honours and offices; inſomuch, that the ſenate and people, to teſtify their gratitude to him for the mild uſe he made of his power, decreed a temple to Clemency. As the people ſtill retained an affection for Pompey, he ordered all the ſtatues of that great man, which had been thrown down, to be ſet up again; upon which Cicero ſaid, that by raiſing Pompey's ſtatues he had fixed his own. To gain the confidence of the ſenate and the republican party, contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, he diſmiſſed his guards, ſaying, it was better to ſuffer death once, than to live always in fear of it. As he looked upon the affections of the people as his beſt and ſureſt guard, he did all that lay in his power to oblige them, entertaining

Created dictator for life.

And imperator or emperor.

His clemency and obliging behaviour.

[i] Dio, l. xliii. Appian. Quintilian. l. vi. c. 4. Plut. in Cæſ.

entertaining them frequently with public feaſts and ſhews, and diſtributing corn among the poorer ſort of people. To gratify his army, he ſent out colonies to ſeveral places, of which the moſt remarkable were Carthage and Corinth (W). As for the nobility, he attached moſt of them to his intereſt by raiſing them to the chief offices in the ſtate, and truſting them with the government of the many provinces that were then ſubject to Rome. In ſhort, he ingratiated himſelf with all orders of men, by his gentle deportment and winning behaviour, ſo as to work in them a chearful and willing ſubmiſſion. Though he had been inveſted with the conſular dignity for ten years, yet he named others to that eminent poſt in the republic, appointing Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius conſuls for the remaining part of that year. Nay, he carried his pretended obſervance of the antient cuſtoms and laws ſo far, that the conſul Fabius Maximus happening to die ſuddenly on the very day before the expiration of his office, he named Caninius Rebilius to be conſul for the remaining hours only, that is, till ſix in the evening, when the calends of January began. As the Romans were all haſtening to pay their compliments, as was uſual, to the new conſul, "Let "us make haſte," ſaid Cicero, by way of raillery, "leſt he "be gone out of his office before we get to his houſe (X). As the dictator had many friends to gratify, he encreaſed the prætors to ſixteen, and the quæſtors to forty; he created ſix new ædiles, and encreaſed the number of the other curule magiſtrates in proportion. But as there ſtill remained many unrewarded, who had ſerved him with great fidelity, he allotted them places in the ſenate, by which means the number of the ſenators roſe from three hundred to nine hundred. This have great offence to the conſcript fathers, the more, becauſe among thoſe, whom the dictator raiſed to that high ſtation, were many common ſoldiers, ſons of freed-men, foreigners lately admitted to the Roman citizenſhip, Gauls,

Encreaſes the number of the magiſtrates and ſenators.

(W) It may be ſaid, there was ſomething ſingular in the fate of theſe two cities; for as they had been both deſtroyed at the ſame time, ſo were they now at the ſame time rebuilt and repeopled,

(X) There was no end of Cicero's witticiſms on that occaſion; "We have had a very vigilant conſul," ſaid he; "for he has "not ſhut his eyes during the whole time of his conſulate. Ca- "ninius was a conſul of ſuch ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, that not one "among us dined, ſupped or ſlept during his conſulſhip. Cani- "nius has indeed been conſul, but we may well aſk under what "conſul he has been conſul, &c.

Spaniards, &c. Cæſar having thus debaſed the ſenate, began to look upon them with contempt, and conſider them no otherwiſe than his vaſſals and creatures. Of this he gave not long after a ſignal inſtance. The ſenate, having paſſed a decree, conferring on him ſome extravagant honours, went in a body to preſent him with it, as he was ſitting on the roſtra, adminiſtering juſtice. Though the conſuls, prætors, and all the curule magiſtrates then in Rome attended the ſenate, yet the dictator received them with all the pride and haughtineſs of a ſovereign, without ſo much as condeſcending to riſe to them. We are told by Plutarch, that he offered to ſtand up to the ſenate; but that Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him: "Remember," ſaid he, "you are Cæſar, and ſuffer them "to pay you that reſpect which is due to your dignity." However that be, his [illegible]iage offended, not only the conſcript fathers, but the people too, the latter thinking the affront on the ſenate equally reflected on the whole republic. Cæſar, ſenſible of the falſe ſtep he had taken, immediately retired home, and cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad by his emiſſaries, that his ſitting had been cauſed by the diſtemper to which he was ſubject, viz. the falling ſickneſs, which, he ſaid, diſcompoſed the ſenſes of thoſe who were affected with it, if they talked much ſtanding. Not long after he gave a freſh occaſion of reſentment by affronting the tribunes. While Cæſar was one day ſitting in a golden chair upon the roſtra, to view the ceremony of the lupercalia, Marc Antony, who was then Cæſar's collegue in the conſulſhip, after having run up and down the city naked, as was uſual during that ſolemnity (Y) came into the forum, and falling down before Cæſar, preſented him with a diadem, wreathed with laurel. Upon this a ſmall ſhout was raiſed by ſome who had been placed near the dictator for that purpoſe; but when Cæſar refuſed it, he was applauded by the whole multitude. Antony offered the crown again, and, upon the dictator's

He offends the ſenate.

ſecond

(Y) The lupercalia, were, as we have obſerved elſwhere, at their inſtitution, peculiar to the ſhepherds, and of the ſame nature with the Arcadian Lycæa. The young patricians, and ſome of the magiſtrates, uſed to run that day up and down the city naked, ſtriking all they met with leathern thongs by way of ſport. Women of the firſt rank placed themſelves in the way, and held out their hands to the laſh, out of an opinion, that it prcured an eaſy labour to thoſe who were with child, and made thoſe conceive who were barren.

ſecond refuſal, all, who were preſent, teſtified their ſatisfaction anew with loud acclamations. Then Cæſar, finding it would not take, roſe up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol, ſaying, that Jupiter alone was king of the Romans. The next morning Cæſar's ſtatues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but Flavius and Marullus, two tribunes of the people, went preſently, and not only pulled them off, but cauſed thoſe to be apprehended and committed to priſon, who the day before had applauded Antony, while he attempted to put the royal diadem on Cæſar's head. The people follow- And the people.
ed their tribunes with loud acclamations, comparing them to the famous Brutus, the founder of the republic. This Cæſar highly reſented, diſplaced the two tribunes, and while he inveighed againſt them in a public ſpeech, he abuſed and ridiculed on that occaſion the people, calling them bruti and Cumæi, that is, beaſts and fools (Z). A few days after, as he was returning from Alba to Rome, ſome of his friends ſaluted him, as he entered the city by the title of king; but he, finding the people diſreliſhed it, ſeemed to reſent it himſelf, and anſwered aloud, "My title is Cæſar, not king." This affectation of being king gave the common people the firſt occaſion to quarrel with him, and proved a ſpecious pretence, for thoſe who had been his ſecret enemies all along, to conſpire againſt him. The zealous republicans, deteſting his ambition, A conſpiracy formed againſt him.
began to form private cabals, and conſult among themſelves about the proper meaſures for delivering Rome from the yoke ſhe groaned under. The chief of the conſpirators was C. Caſſi-

(Z) The Cumæi, as madam Dacier obſerves, were noted for their ſtupidity; σκώπτεται δ' εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἡ Κυμὴ Cumæ is ſtupid to a proverb, ſays Strabo (44); and he gives us theſe reaſons for it. The firſt, that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty on merchandize imported into their harbours, and before they found that they inhabited a maritime city. The ſecond, that having mortgaged their porticoes for a certain ſum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors would not allow them to walk under them. But when the rains began to fall, thoſe creditors, being touched with compaſſion cauſed it to be publiſhed, that the Cumæans might, if they pleaſed, take ſhelter under their own porticoes; which gave occaſion to this raillery. The Cumæans "had not the ſenſe to know that they had a right to ſtand under "their own porticoes when it rained, till they were informed of "it by the voice of the crier."

(44) Strabo, l. xiii.

us, a ſincere friend to his country, and at the ſame time an enemy to Cæſar on a private account, the dictator having a few months before beſtowed the firſt and moſt honourable prætorſhip on Brutus, though he could not help owning, that Caſſius had the beſt claim to it. Caſſius therefore, partly out of zeal for the good of his country, and partly out of a ſpirit of revenge, formed firſt with himſelf the plan of the conſpiracy, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be ſecret enemies both to the tyrant and tyranny. As Brutus was highly eſteemed both by the people and ſenate, Caſſius looked upon him as the moſt proper perſon for carrying on the conſpiracy. He was thought to be deſcended by his father's ſide from the famous Junius Brutus, who drove out the Tarquins (A), and by his mother's ſide from the Servilii, one of the moſt illuſtrious families of Rome; but what, in Plutarch's opinion, was more than all the reſt, he was [illegible]n nephew and ſon-in-law to Cato of Utica. He was a moſt zealous republican, and fully convinced, that the common-wealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator. But the honours and favours he had received at Cæſar's hands reſtrained him from uſing violent meaſures. He had not only been pardoned himſelf, and obtained the ſame grace for many of his friends, after the battle of Pharſalia; but was one in whom Cæſar had a particular confidence. He had at that time the moſt honourable prætorſhip, was named for the conſulſhip four years after, and deſigned in all appearance by Cæſar for his ſucceſſor. For being once accuſed as engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him, Cæſar would not hearken to the accuſation, ſaying, that Brutus was

(A) Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus and Dion Caſſius aſſure us, that Marcus Brutus was not deſcended from the famous Junius Brutus. The Junian family was, according to them, divided into two branches, the one patrician, the other plebeian. The former ended in Brutus himſelf, after he had ſacrificed his two ſons to the ſafety of his country. The other flouriſhed many ages after, and furniſhed Rome with many heroes, among the reſt with Marcus Brutus, of whom we are ſpeaking in this place. As he bore the ſame name with the firſt conſul, and was of the ſame family, the common people believed him to be deſcended from the firſt Brutus. Plutarch himſelf, upon the authority of Poſidonius the philoſopher, was of the ſame opinion, and will have Brutus to be ſprung from a third ſon of Junius Brutus, who was but a child, when his two brothers were executed by their father's command. Some writers, the more to debaſe Brutus who acted a chief part in the conſpiracy, pretend that he was come of a mean family, which had been raiſed to honours and offices in the republic but a few years before.

was not so ambitious, but he could wait with patience till he was taken off by a natural death. Cassius therefore, who had already formed the design of assassinating Cæsar, being on one hand desirous of drawing into the plot a man of so great credit as Brutus; but on the other not daring to discourse the matter with him openly, laid in the night-time papers about his chair, where he used to sit as prætor and determine causes, with sentences to this import; "You are asleep, Brutus; you are no longer "Brutus;" and under the statue of the famous Junius Brutus he wrote the following words; "Would to heaven thou "wert alive, or some of thy descendents resembled thee." Cassius, perceiving that these sentences made a deep impression on his mind, first employed his wife Junia, who was sister to Brutus, to revive in the breast of her brother those generous sentiments, which were peculiar to their family; and afterwards resolved at all adventures to discover to him his design, not doubting but he should be able to draw one into the plot, who, though he did not hate the tyrant, was a declared enemy to tyranny. Accordingly, as the senate was to meet a few days after in order to deliberate, as was said, about giving Cæsar the title of king, Cassius took this occasion to pay a visit to Brutus, and ask him whether he designed to be present in the senate on the calends of March, when Cæsar's friends were to propose the giving him the title of king. Brutus answered, that he designed to absent himself that day. "But "suppose you are called thither," replied Cassius. "Then, said Brutus, "I should think it my duty to speak and use my "utmost endeavours against such unwarrantable proceedings, "nay, and to die rather than outlive the liberty of my country. Ah!" replyed Cassius, "what generous Roman "would suffer you to die for his liberty? You are not ac-"quainted with yourself, Brutus, if you imagine, that those "papers, which were thrown into your tribunal, came from "any but the most illustrious and bravest men of Rome. From "other prætors they demanded games, shews, gladiators, &c. "but from you, whose very name is dreadful to tyrants, they "expect the ruin and downfal of arbitrary power, being ready "to expose themselves to the utmost dangers in expectation of "your auspicious aid." These words made such a deep impression on Brutus, that, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at the dictator's hands, he entered into all Cassius's measures, and from that time took upon himself the whole management of the conspiracy. The name of Brutus soon engaged a great many illustious citizens in the conspiracy, among whom were C. Trebonius, Servius Sulpitius Galba, the two

Cassius endeavours to draw Brutus into the conspiracy.

Cassius's speech to Brutus.

Brutus takes upon him the chief management of the conspiracy.

two Servilius Caſcas, Publius Caius, Decimus Brutus Albinus, Tullius Cimber, and Lucius Minucius Bacilius. Theſe had all ſerved under Cæſar from the very beginning of the civil wars, and were looked upon by him as his moſt truſty friends. It was more eaſy to draw into the conſpiracy thoſe who had always ſhewn an utter averſion to Cæſar's uſurpation. Among theſe were M. Junius Brutus, L. Caſſius, a brother to C. Caſſius, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, P. Turullius, C. Attilius, L. Petronius, C. Cornelius Cinna, Caſſius Parmenſis, L. and C. Cæcilius, Rubrius Ruga, M. Spurius, P. Sextius Naſo, Pontius Aquila, Antiſtius Labeo, and many others, to the number of ſixty, whoſe names have not been tranſmitted to us. As for Cicero, though he was known to be at the bottom a zealous republican, yet as he was naturally timorous and greatly addicted to Cæſar, who had heaped innumerable favours upon him, Brutus did not think it adviſeable to truſt him with the ſecret. The conſpirators would fain have engaged the famous Statilius, who affected to imitate Cato, and would have laid violent hands on himſelf after the defeat of Pompey's party in Africa, had he not been prevented by Apollonides and Demetrius, as we have related above. Brutus in order to diſcover his true ſentiments, aſked him in a private converſation, which of the two evils was the greateſt? "To bear tamely the yoke "of a tyrant, or to run the riſque of a civil war by ſhaking "it off?" To this queſtion Statilius anſwered without heſitation, that he had rather patiently ſuffer the oppreſſion of an arbitrary maſter, than the cruelties and diſorders which generally attend civil diſſenſions. Brutus likewiſe endeavoured to engage in the conſpiracy Favonius, a philoſopher of great reputation, and, in order to ſound him, propoſed the ſame queſtion to him, when Favonius declared, that, in his opinion, a civil war was worſe than the moſt unjuſt tyranny. Upon this, Brutus gave over all thoughts of gaining Statilius and Favonius. In the mean time, Cæſar's enemies made it their whole buſineſs to ſtir up the common people againſt him, by ſpreading among the multitude a thouſand falſe reports, viz. that he deſigned to fix the ſeat of his empire in Egypt or Phrygia, and to tranſport thither all the riches of Italy, abandoning Rome to the mercy of his creatures and favourites. Cæſar, in hearing theſe groundleſs reports, began to ſuſpect, that ſome plot was privately carrying on againſt him; his friends believing that Marc Antony and Dolabella were concerned in it, adviſed him not to truſt them, but to be upon his guard and watch them narrowly. Cæſar anſwered, that he was not afraid of thoſe plump jolly fellows, but rather of pale lean men, ſuch as Caſſi-

Brutus endeavours in vain to engage Statilius and Favonius.

us

us and Brutus. However, as he too eaſily gave credit to his flatterers, among whom were ſome of the conſpirators, telling him, that after he had put an end to the civil war, the commonwealth was more concerned than himſelf in his preſervation, that he neglected the neceſſary precautions for his ſafety, and was more intent on making the due preparations for putting in execution the vaſt deſigns he had formed, than in guarding himſelf againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies. For he had reſolved to make war upon the Parthians, and, after having revenged the death of Craſſus and the Romans ſlain with him at the battle of Carrhæ, to paſs through Hyrcania, thence to march by the Caſpian ſea to mount Caucaſus, till he came into Scythia, then to over-run all the countries betwen Scythia and Germany, and Germany itſelf, whence he deſigned to return through Gaul into Italy, deſcribing the ſpacious circle of his intended empire, and [illegible]nding it on every ſide by the ſea. He had already ord[illegible] ſixteen legions and ten thouſand horſe to march towards Brunduſium, and was himſelf to follow them in a few days, But his friends, who were deſirous to ſee him honoured with the title of king before he left Rome, gave out, that the books of the Sibyls declared, that the Parthians could never be overcome by the Romans, unleſs they fought under the conduct of a king. Aurelius Cotta, one of Cæſar's creatures, who had the ſacred volumes in his keeping, was to make this report out of them to the ſenate, and to propoſe, that Cæſar ſhould only be ſtyled dictator in Italy; but that he ſhould be acknowledged as king, and take upon him that title, with reſpect to all foreign nations ſubject to the Roman republic. The ſenate was appointed to meet for this purpoſe on the ides of March, and that day the conſpirators fixed upon as the moſt proper for putting their deſign in execution, ſince Cæſar would not fail coming to the ſenate on ſuch an occaſion, and it was ſafer to fall upon him there, moſt of the ſenators being privately enemies to him, than in any other place, where the populace might divert the blow. All the antient hiſtorians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which, in their opinion, were manifeſt preſages of Cæſar's tragical death. They tell us, that men were ſeen in the air all on fire, encountering each other; that a prodigious [illegible] ſeemed to iſſue from the hand of a ſoldier's ſervant, inſomuch, that thoſe who ſaw it thought he muſt be burnt, but nevertheleſs he received no hurt; that as Cæſar was ſacrificing, the victim was found without a heart; that Spurina, a famous augur, bid him beware of the ides of March, for that he was then threatened with ſome great danger. They add, that when the day was come,

Cæſar's vaſt deſigns.

The conſpirators fix on the ides of March for putting their deſign in execution.

Cæſar

Cæſar, as he went to the ſenate, meeting the augur, ſaid to him by way of raillery, "The ides of March are come. They "are come," anſwered calmly the augur, "but they are not "paſt." The night before the plot was put in execution, he ſupped with M. Lepidus; and the diſcourſe turning upon the kind of death which ſeemed beſt, Cæſar, buſy as he was in ſigning ſome letters, before any of the company had time to deliver his opinion, cried out, "Of all deaths a ſudden one is "the beſt." After ſupper he retired to his own houſe, where both he and his wife Calpurnia paſſed the night in great care and uneaſineſs. He was ſcarce fallen aſleep, when the doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open. Being ſtartled at the noiſe and the light, which broke all on a ſudden into his room, he ſat up in his bed, when by the moonſhine he perceived Calpurnia faſt aſleep, but heard her utter in her dream ſome inarticulate words mixed with groans. She dreamt at that time, that the pinacle (B), which the ſenate had allowed to be raiſed on Cæſar's houſe, by way of ornament and grandeur, was fallen down; and alſo fancied, that ſhe was weeping over Cæſar, and holding him all covered over with woundsand blood in her arms. When it was day, ſhe begged of Cæſar that he would not ſtir out, but adjourn the ſenate to another time; and that, if he ſlighted her dreams, he would be pleaſed to conſult the gods by ſacrifices, and other kinds of divination. He complied with her requeſt; ſacrifices were offered early in the morning; and, according to the report of the prieſts, all the victims proved inauſpicious. Cæſar was not a man to be eaſily intimidated; he had braved death on a thouſand occaſions, and gained many victories, among the reſt that of Munda, when the auſpices threatened him with utter deſtruction. But, however, as he had never before diſcovered in Calpurnia any kind of ſuperſtition, he now began to look upon her fears and apprehenſions as inſpirations from heaven, and forebodings, which ought not always to be neglected. As Marc Antony was then

Several prodigies preceding Cæſar's death.

Cæſar is alarmed.

(B) The pinacle, as madam Dacier obſerves, was a ſort of ornament uſually placed on the top of temples. The Greek called it ἀέτὸς ἀέτωμα, and the Latins faſtigium. Private perſons were not allowed to raiſe ſuch ornaments on the tops of their houſes without the conſent of the ſenate, who had the ſuperintendency of every thing relating to the public.. Thus, as a token of honour, the ſenate accorded to Poplicola to have the doors of his houſe open towards the ſtreet inſtead of opening inwards. The pinacles were commonly adorned with ſtatues of the gods, figures of victory, and ſuch other decorations as were ſuitable to the rank and quality of thoſe to whom the privilege of erecting them was granted.

then with him, being come, according to his cuſtom, early in the morning, to attend his levee, he had ſome thoughts of ſending him with orders to the ſenate not to aſſemble that day. But as moſt of his troops were already embarqued, and he himſelf was to leave Rome in four days, he could not come to any fixed reſolution, but remained in ſuſpenſe, till the ſenate began to aſſemble in the appointed place, which was a great hall built by Pompey near his theatre [k].

The conſtancy and intrepidity of Brutus.

WHILE Cæſar was thus deliberating with himſelf, whether he ſhould ſuffer the ſenate to aſſemble that day, or adjourn their meeting to another, Brutus was buſy in adminiſtering juſtice in the forum, he being prætor urbanus for the preſent year. We are told, that he heard thoſe who pleaded before him, pronounced ſentence, and diſpatched the cauſes that were brought to his tribunal, with as much care, equity, and application as if he had no other buſineſs in hand. Though he had taken with him, when he went out of his houſe, a dagger, and had it then concealed under his robe, with a firm reſolution of plunging it into Cæſar's breaſt before he returned home; yet he did not betray on his tribunal the leaſt concern, but acquitted himſelf of his office with his uſual calmneſs and tranquillity. One, whom he had condemned in a certain ſum, refuſed to pay it, crying out, that he appealed to Cæſar; when Brutus caſting his eyes on the conſpirators, "Cæſar," ſaid he "how powerful ſoever, "ſhall not prevent me from ſeeing ſuch ſentence put in execu-"tion, as are agreeable to the laws of Rome." However, ſeveral accidents intervened, which did not a little terrify Brutus and the other conſpirators, and had almoſt defeated their beſt concerted meaſures. While Brutus was hearing cauſes in the forum with his uſual attention and patience, news was brought him, that his wife Porcia lay at the point of death. She was the daughter of Cato, and the only perſon, not concerned in the conſpiracy, to whom Brutus had revealed it. He ſtrove as much as poſſible, when abroad, to keep his uneaſineſs of mind to himſelf; but at home, and eſpecially in the night-time, he was not the ſame man, but ſometimes all on a ſudden ſtarted out of his bed, and at other times ſo taken up with unquiet thoughts, and ſo perplexed in his mind, that Porcia concluded, he had ſome dangerous and difficult enterprize in agitation. As ſhe was addicted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, fond of her husband to a great degree, and

The courage of Porcia, wife to Brutus.

[k] Plut. in Cæſ. & Bruto. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Dio, l. xliv. Suet. in Julio, &c.

and full of courage and prudence, ſhe reſolved not to enquire into Brutus's ſecrets, till ſhe had tried whether ſhe had courage and reſolution enough to conceal them even in the midſt of torments. With this view ſhe diſmiſſed all her attendants, and taking a knife, gave herſelf a deep gaſh in the thigh, which threw her into a violent fever. Brutus, who was then at home, flew immediately to her apartment, when ſhe in the height of her pain addreſſed him thus: "I am O "Brutus, the daughter of Cato, and was given to you in "marriage, not to partake only in the common civilities of "bed and board, but to bear a ſhare in your good, as well "as your evil, fortunes. When I look upon you, I find no "reaſon to repent the match; but from me, what evidence "of my love, what ſatisfaction can you receive, if I am not "allowed to ſhare with you in bearing your hidden griefs, "nor admitted to any of your counſels, that require ſecrecy "and truſt? I am well apprized, that woman are commonly thought to be of too weak a nature to be truſted with "ſecrets; but certainly, Brutus, a virtuous birth and education, and frequent converſing with men of honour, are of "ſome force to the forming of our manners, and the "ſtrengthening of our natural weakneſs. I am the daughter "of Cato and the wife of Brutus, in which two great titles "I did not place much confidence, till I tried myſelf, and "found, that even againſt grief itſelf and pain I am invincible." Having thus ſpoke, ſhe ſhewed him her wound, and related to him the trial ſhe had made of her own conſtancy. Brutus, touched with this affecting ſpeech, could not help diſcovering the whole plot to her without reſerve; which when he had done, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and begged the aſſiſtance of the gods in his enterprize, that he might live to be a huſband worthy of ſuch a wife as Porcia (C). But with all her reſolution, when the day came, on which the deſign was to be put in execution, ſhe was extremely diſturbed with the expectation of the event, and, not

Brutus diſcovers to her the conſpiracy.

(C) Valerius Maximus is the only author, who ſuppoſes, that Porcia was acquainted with her huſband's deſign before ſhe wounded herſelf. According to him, Brutus diſcovered to her the whole plot the night before it was to be put in execution. Whereupon Porcia the next morning gave herſelf a dangerous wound with a razor; at which Brutus being greatly alarmed, Porcia told him, while he was expreſſing his concern in the moſt tender terms, that ſhe had wounded herſelf to make a trial of her conſtancy and courage, being determined to lay violent hands on herſelf, in caſe the ſucceſs of his enterprize did not anſwer his expectation.

not being able to bear the greatneſs of her cares, ſhe could ſcarce keep within doors. At every little noiſe ſhe ſtarted up, and, running into the ſtreet, aſked thoſe who came from the forum, what Brutus was doing? At length, after having expected a long time, being overcome by her fears and doubts, ſhe fell into a ſwoon. Whereupon her women making a great outcry, many of the neighbours ran to Brutus's houſe to know what was the matter, and the report was ſoon ſpread abroad, that Porcia was dying, though ſhe recovered in a little time, and came to herſelf again. This news pierced Brutus's heart; yet he was not ſo carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concern. He came down immediately from his tribunal, but, inſtead of going home, went to Pompey's porch, adjoining to the hall, where the ſenators were to aſſemble, and there waited with the other conſpirators the coming of Cæſar to the ſenate. But as he did not appear, though the day was far ſpent, being detained at home by his wife and the augurs, they were all under the greateſt uneaſineſs, and aſcribed his delay to the diſcovery of the plot. They were confirmed in their ſuſpicion by ſeveral accidents, which were thrown in their way by mere chance. While they were thus waiting for Cæſar, a citizen, coming up to Caſca, one of the conſpirators, and taking him by the hand, "You con-
" cealed, ſaid he, the ſecret from me, but Brutus has told me
" the whole." At which words Caſca being greatly alarmed, the other ſaid ſmiling, " How came you, Caſca, to be ſo rich
" on a ſudden as to ſtand for the ædileſhip?" Theſe words reſtored, we may ſay, Caſca to life again; for he looked upon himſelf as loſt, and, deceived by the ambiguity of the reproach, was upon the point of diſcovering the ſecret, in hopes of gaining his friend by that means. The ſenator Popilius Lænas gave room for new ſuſpicion; for after having ſaluted Brutus and Caſſius very obligingly, he accoſted them, and whiſpered them ſoftly in the ear; " My wiſhes are with you, may you
" accompliſh what you deſign; but I adviſe you to make no
" delay, for the thing is now no ſecret." Having thus ſpoke, he left them in the utmoſt conſternation. Decimus Brutus, ſurnamed Albinus, one in whom Cæſar had ſuch confidence, that he had made him his ſecond heir, being no leſs alarmed at theſe words than the reſt of the conſpirators, reſolved to go in perſon to Cæſar's houſe, to inform himſelf there of what kept him ſo long from coming to the ſenate. Accordingly, with the approbation of Brutus and Caſſius, he flew thither, and being immediately admitted into the dictator's appartment, he aſked him with his uſual familiarity, what kept him ſo long from

Conſtancy and reſolution of Brutus.

Several accidents diſturb the conſpirators.

from appearing in the ſenate. Cæſar, who looked upon him as one of his beſt friends, imparted to him in confidence what his wife had dreamed the night before, and what the augurs had told him. Hereupon Decimus, fearing leſt he ſhould put off the ſenate to another day, and the buſineſs might in the mean time get wind, turned into ridicule both Calpurnia's dreams and the divinations of the ſoothſayers, telling Cæſar, that he would be much to blame, if he gave the ſenate ſuch juſt grounds to complain; "For they are, ſaid he, met upon "your own ſummons, and are ready to vote unanimouſly, "that you ſhould be declared king of all the provinces out of "Italy, and be allowed to wear a diadem in any other place. "Now, if any one ſhould be ſent to tell them, that they muſt "break up for the preſent, and meet again when Calpurnia "ſhall chance to have better dreams, what will your enemies "ſay? or who will with any patience hear your friends pre-"tending to juſtify you, and maintaining, that this is not an "inſtance of downright ſervitude on one ſide, and bare-faced "tyranny on the other? But if you are ſo far prepoſſeſſed "with groundleſs fears as really to think this an unlucky day, "it will be more decent for you to go to the ſenate yourſelf, "and adjourn it in perſon." Having thus ſpoke, he took Cæſar by the hand, and dragged him, in a manner, out of his houſe. He was not gone far from his door, when an unknown ſlave made towards him; but not being able to get near him by reaſon of the croud, he went into his houſe, and put himſelf into the hands of Calpurnia, begging her to ſecure him till Cæſar returned, becauſe he had matters of the utmoſt importance to communicate to him. Soon after one Artemidorus, a native of the iſland of Cnidus, by profeſſion a rhetorician, and intimately acquainted with moſt of the conſpirators, put into Cæſar's hand a paper, containing the heads of what he had to diſcover to him. Artemidorus had obſerved, that Cæſar, as he received any papers, immediately delivered them to ſome of his officers, who attended him; and therefore coming as near to him as he could, he cryed out, "Read this, Cæſar, quickly; for it contains affairs of the "greateſt importance, and ſuch as concern you nearly." Some writers tell us, that Artemidorus, not being able to come near Cæſar by reaſon of the throng, gave this note to another, who preſented it to him. However that be, Cæſar attempted ſeveral times to read it; but being diverted by the croud of thoſe who came to ſpeak to him, he kept it in his hand by itſelf, till he came into the ſenate. When he was got to the door of the great hall, where the conſcript fathers were

Decimus Brutus prevails upon Cæſar to go to the ſenate

Artemidorus delivers a paper to Cæſar, containing the diſcovery of the plot.

were assembled, Popilius Lænas, who, but a little before, had wished Brutus and Cassius good success in their undertaking, coming up to him, discoursed a great while with him in private, Cæsar standing still all the time, and seeming to be very attentive. The conspirators, not being able to hear what he said, but guessing from what they were conscious of, that this conference was a discovery of their treason, were strangely dejected; and, looking upon one another, laid their hands on the daggers they had concealed under their robes, and were drawing them with a design to stab themselves, if the plot was discovered; but judging from Lænas's looks and gestures, which they narrowly watched, and from the calmness and unconcern that appeared in Cæsar's countenance, that the conspiracy was not the subject of their conference, they took courage, and were soon after delivered from all their fears. For Lænas in retiring was observed to kiss Cæsar's hand, which was a plain indication that he had been petitioning, and not accusing. Cæsar having dismissed Lænas, entered the hall, where the senators were assembled. This was one of the many edifices which Pompey had raised for the use of the public; whence Plutarch concludes, that some deity guided the action, and brought Cæsar thither to revenge upon him the death of Pompey. Upon Cæsar's entering the hall, the senate stood up in respect to him. Of the conspirators, some stood behind the chair, which was placed for the dictator in the middle of the hall; others went to meet him, pretending to join their prayers with those of Metellus Cimber, in behalf of his brother who was banished. In the mean time, Trebonius (D) drew Marc Antony, who was faithful to Cæsar and a man of great strength and resolution,

The conspirators alarmed.

The conspirators croud round Cæsar in the senate-house.

(D) Plutarch in the life of Cæsar tells us, that Antony was detained without by Brutus Albinus; and in the life of Brutus, that he was kept in talk by C. Trebonius. How could he be guilty of so manifest a contradiction in the relation of an action so considerable and notorious? He was certainly mistaken in the life of Cæsar, and in that of Brutus hits upon the truth; since all the historians, who mention this action, agree, that Trebonius entertained Antony at the door. Cicero, who is more to be relied on than all the historians put together, says in express terms in his second Philippic, addressing his speech to Antony himself; "Cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus "sevocari;" and in the 13th. "Sceleratum Trebonium? quo "scelere? nisi quod te idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste se- "duxit;" intimating, that Antony deserved the same doom with Cæsar.

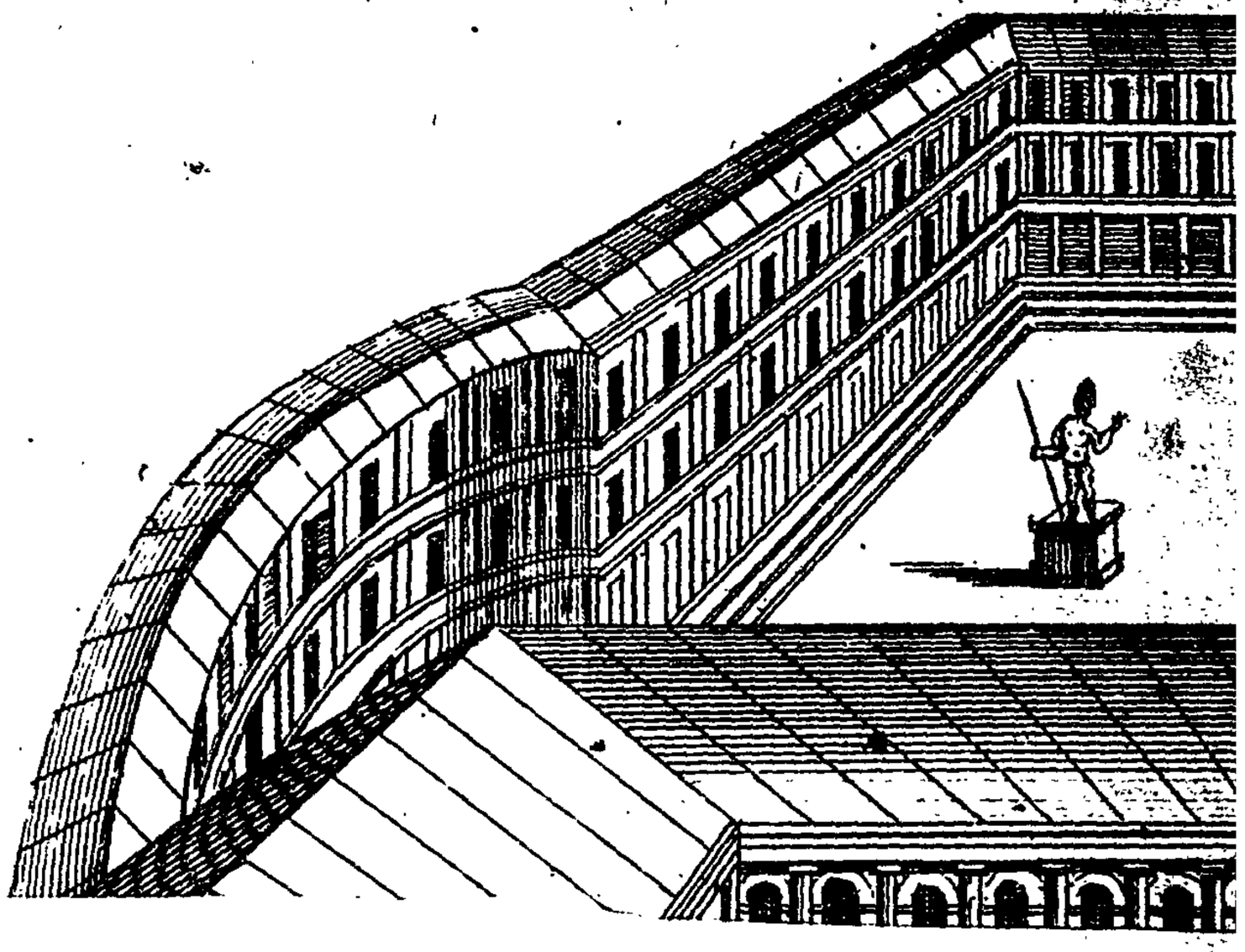
lution, towards the door, and entertained him in the porch with a long diſcourſe contrived for that purpoſe. When the dictator was ſeated, the conſpirators, crouding round him, renewed their ſupplications in favour of Cimber's brother, and taking him by the hand, kiſſed it, in appearance, with great reſpect. But the dictator rejected their petition, and upon their urging him farther and growing very importunate, he firſt reprimanded them ſeverely, and afterwards, ſtarting up, puſhed them from him. Hereupon Cimber, laying hold of the dictator's robe with both hands, pulled it off from his ſhoulders, which was the ſignal agreed on to fall upon him. In that inſtant Servilius Caſca, who ſtood behind him, drawing his dagger, gave him the firſt wound in the neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one, who at the beginning of ſuch a bold action was probably very much diſturbed; ſo that his ſtrength as well as his courage might fail him. Cæſar immediately, turning about, ſeized Caſca by the hand which held the dagger, both of them crying out at the ſame time, "Cæſar in Latin, wicked Caſca, what doſt thou mean?" and Caſca calling to his brother in Greek to come and help him. Thoſe who were not privy to the deſign were ſtruck with ſuch horror at the attempt, that they could neither fly, nor aſſiſt Cæſar, nay, nor utter a ſingle word. But the conſpirators, who came prepared, encloſed him on all ſides with their naked daggers in their hands, ſo that which way ſoever he turned, he met with blows, and ſaw their daggers levelled at his face and eyes. Caſſius, having firſt turned his face to a ſtatue, which the republic had erected to Pompey in the hall, and ſilently implored the aſſiſtance of that hero, flew at Cæſar with the rage of a madman, and gave him a deep wound on the head, encouraging the others to follow his example and rid Rome of her tyrant. Hereupon they all preſſed upon him; but, as each of them was eager to plunge his dagger in his body, and have the glory of diſpatching him, they wounded one another, Brutus in particular received a wound on the hand from Caſſius, and moſt of them were ſtained either with Cæſar's blood or their own. The Hero, though thus baited on all ſides, to uſe Plutarch's expreſſion, like a wild beaſt taken in a toil, fought and defended himſelf in the beſt manner he could, till, looking round about him to ſee if he could make his eſcape, he perceived Brutus with his dagger in his hand. This ſight ſtung him to the heart, ſo that he ſtruggled no more; but crying out, "What! my ſon, Brutus, and you "too?"

And fall upon him.

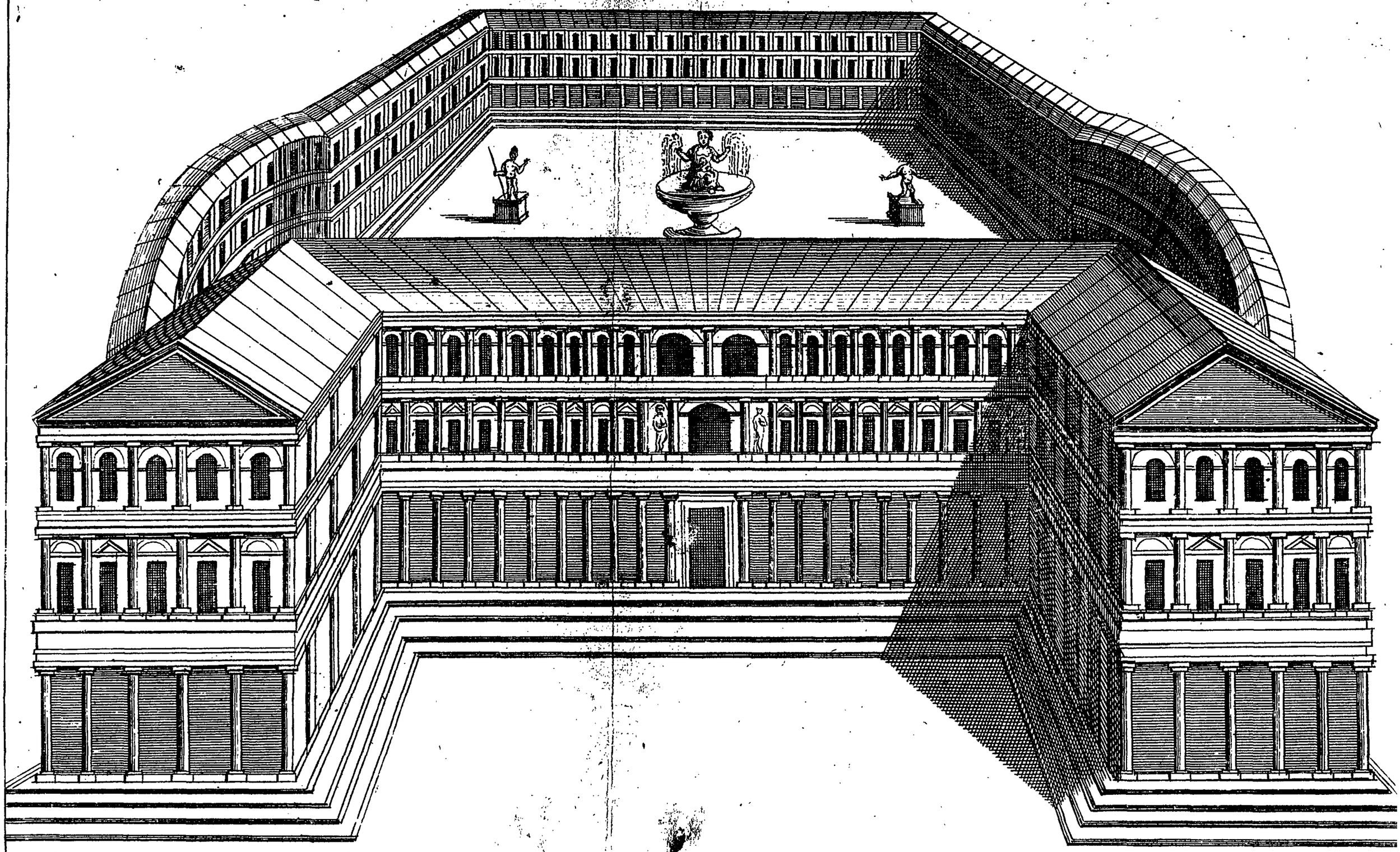
The circumſtances of his death.

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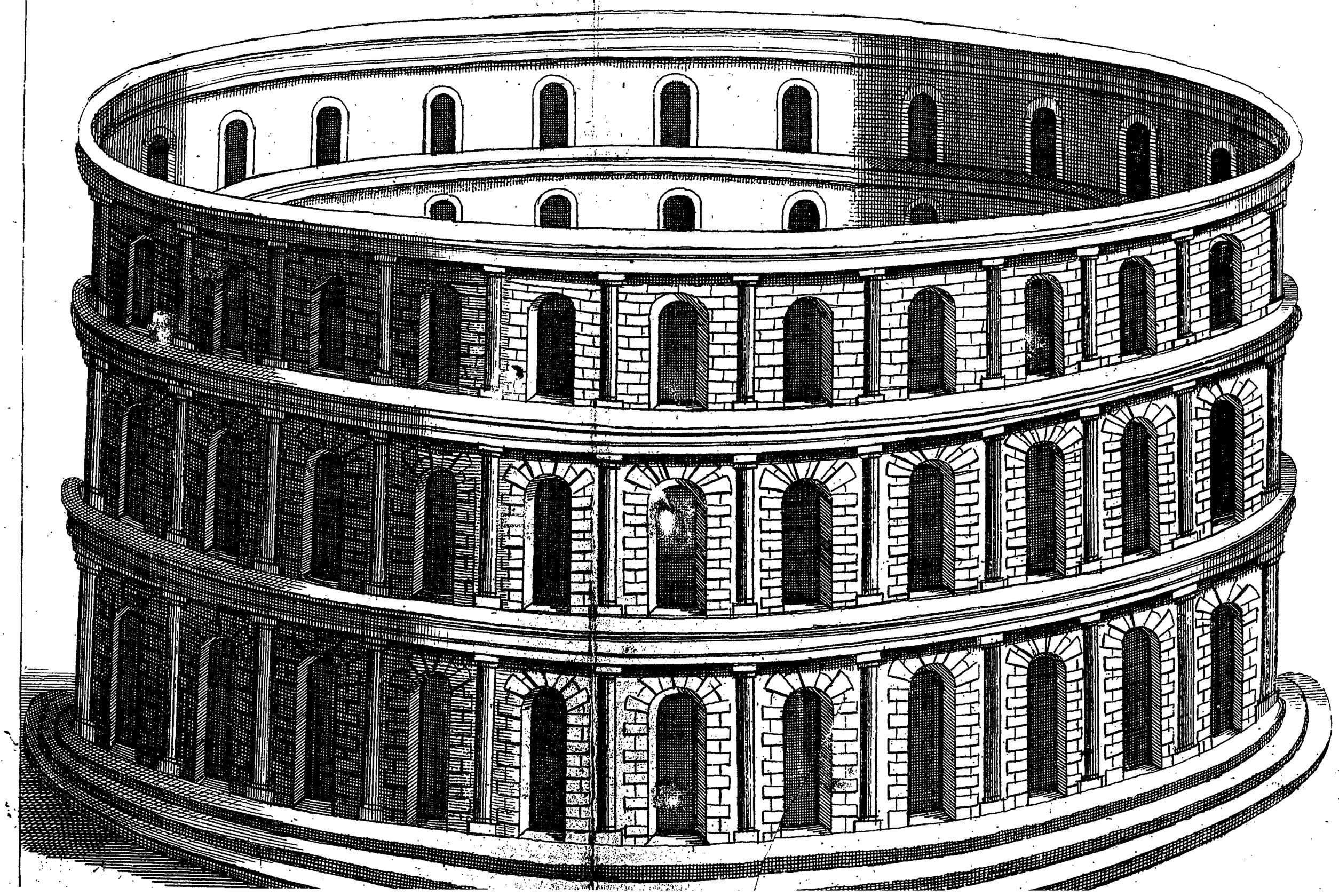
THE PALAC



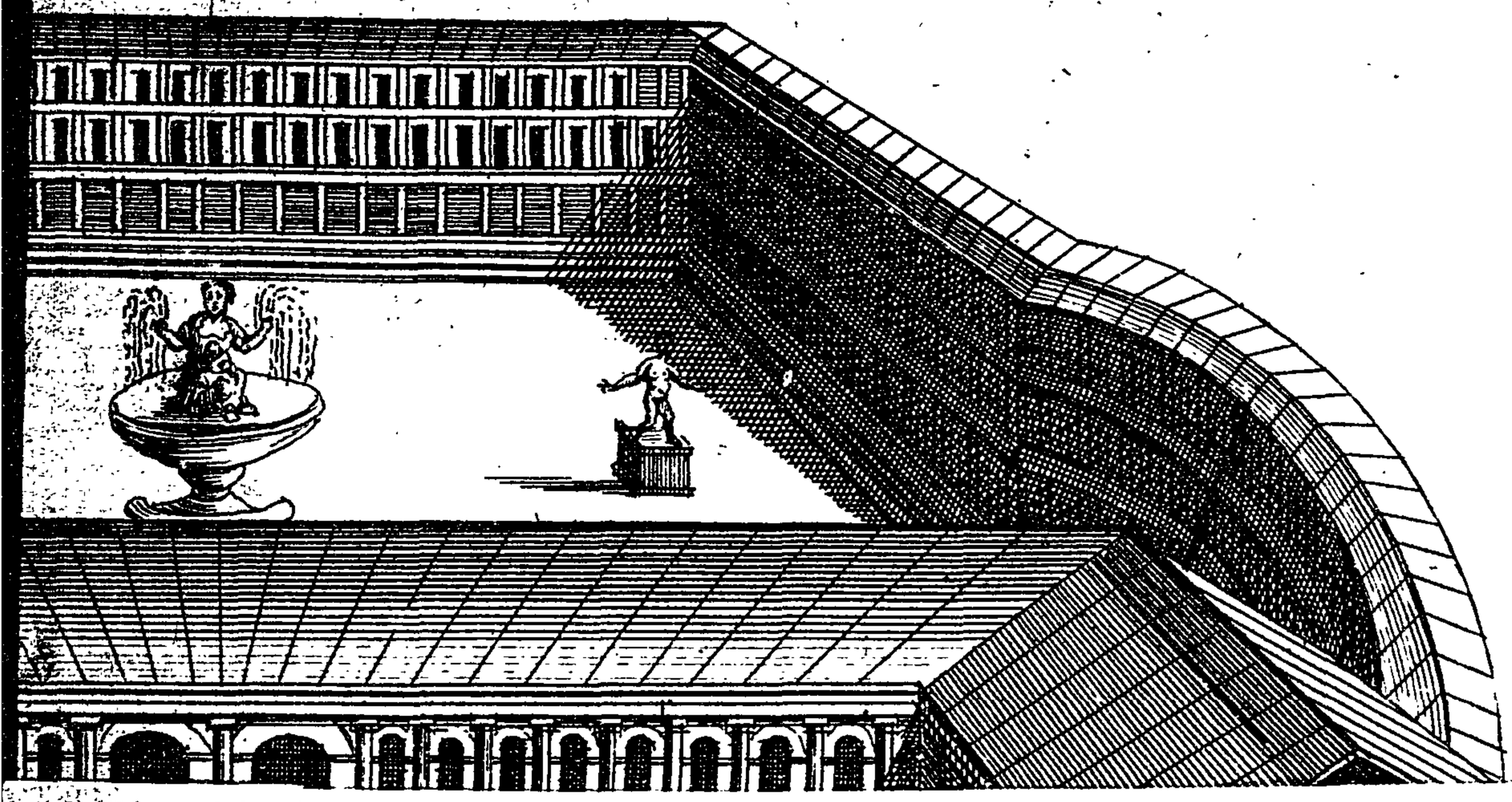
THE PALACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR



The AMPHITHEATRE of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR in the CAMPUS MARTIS



OF JULIUS CÆSAR



"too?" he covered his face with his robe, and quietly surrendered himself. Then the conspirators, pushing him either by chance, or, as some say, by design, to the pedestal, on which Pompey's statue stood, which by that means was sprinkled with his blood, dispatched him there with twenty-five wounds, the senate looking on with horror and amazement, but not one of them daring to lend him the least assistance. We are told, that as he found himself fainting away and ready to drop down, he wrapt the skirts of his garment round his knees, that he might fall with more decency [l].

He is killed. Year of the flood 2960. Before Christ 39. Of Rome 709.

THUS died in the fifty-sixth year of his age the greatest warrior that Rome, or perhaps the world, ever saw, after he had fought with success fifty pitched battles, taken by assault above a thousand towns, and slain, if Pliny is to be credited [m], eleven hundred ninety-two thousand men. He was, without doubt, a person of extraordinary parts and wonderful abilities, in all the arts both of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and esteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to inthral his country, and usurp a despotic and arbitrary power over those who were as free as himself, he met in the end with that doom which all tyrants and usurpers deserve. If the state had been deemed irretrieveable and an usurper a necessary evil, Rome could not have had a better than Cæsar. But as Brutus, Cicero, and the best and ablest Romans judged otherwise, the dictator's power and dominion was downright usurpation, and consequently every Roman was warranted by all the laws of Rome to put him to death.

CHAP.

[l] Plut. in Cæs. & Bruto. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Suet. in Julio. c. 81, 88, 91. Appian. l. ii. p. 522. Cic. l. ii. de divin.
[m] Plin. l. vii. c. 25.

CHAP. XIV.

The Hiſtory of Rome, from the death of Cæſar to the firſt conſulate of Octavianus.

Rome in great conſternation upon Cæſar's death.

WHEN Cæſar was diſpatched, Brutus, ſtepping forth into the middle of the ſenate houſe, offered to give an acount to the conſcript fathers of the motives of their undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an action, which had reſtored liberty to their country. But they all flew out of doors in the utmoſt conſternation, and carried terror and confuſion into all quarters of the city. So great was the throng at the door of the hall and in the porch, that ſome of the ſenators were ſtifled in the croud, and others dangerouſly wounded, by running blindly, in that general diſtraction, againſt the naked daggers of the conſpirators. The news of Cæſar's death being in a trice ſpread all over the city, the friends of the deceaſed retired in all haſte to their houſes, and there ſhut themſelves up, without knowing what they had to hope or fear from ſo tragical an event. The artificers, ſhutting their ſhops, ran in that ſudden ſurprize, ſome to ſee the body of the deceaſed, others up and down the ſtreets to inform themſelves of the circumſtances of ſo bold an attempt. In the mean time, Brutus and the other conſpirators marched in a body from the ſenate-houſe all over the city, with their daggers yet bloody in their hands, not like perſons who thought of eſcaping, but with an air of confidence and aſſurance. Some perſons of diſtinction, who had not been privy to the conſpiracy, joined them with their drawn ſwords, being deſirous to ſhare in the honour of the action, as if they had borne part of it. Of this number were C. Octavius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Patiſcus, L. Statius Murcus, who had ſerved under Cæſar in quality of lieutenant againſt the ſons of Pompey in Spain, A. Aquinius, and ſeveral others, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity, being cut off by Antony and young Octavianus. As they marched along, they proclaimed in the ſtreets, that they had killed the king of Rome and the tyrant of their country. They were preceded by an herald, who carried on the point of a lance a cap, the ſymbol of liberty among the Romans. As they marched along, they called to the people to reſume their antient liberty,

The conſpirators invite the people to reſume their antient liberty.

liberty, and complimented ſuch perſons of rank as came in their way. When they arrived at the comitium, Brutus, holding up his bloody dagger, cryed out, "Cicero, we "have revenged the republic." This he did, as ſome writers conjecture, either to engage that famous orator in the common cauſe, or to make the people believe, that he, who had formerly guarded his country againſt the wicked attempts of Cataline, bore a part in delivering it from the tyranny of Cæſar. However that be, the people did not join them; but, alarmed at the death of the dictator, ran up and down the city, ſome bewailing the loſs of one who had ſupported them with his largeſſes, and others laying hold of the preſent general diſtraction to plunder the houſes of their fellow-citizens. They were no more thoſe antient Romans, to whom liberty was more dear than life itſelf. They were become effeminate, debauched, and accuſtomed to live by the price of their votes, which they ſold to the beſt bidder. Brutus therefore, with his followers, thought it adviſeable to retire to the capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators belonging to Decimus Brutus Albinus. The next day, as no-body was injured by the conſpirators either in his goods or perſon, the ſenators and many of the people took courage, and went up to the conſpirators in the capitol. Brutus made an harangue to them, very popular and adapted to the preſent ſtate of affairs. When he had done ſpeaking, they applauded his oration, and invited him with one voice to come down into the city. Hereupon the conſpirators deſcended with confidence into the forum, Brutus being attended and guarded by many perſons of the moſt eminent quality in Rome, while the other conſpirators went promiſcuouſly mingled with the crowd. He no ſooner appeared on the roſtra, than the rabble, though conſiſting of a confuſed mixture and all diſpoſed to raiſe a tumult, were ſtruck with reverence, and hearkened to him with ſilence and attention. He acquainted them in a very affecting harangue with the motives that had prompted them to put Cæſar to death, and ſolemnly proteſted, that neither he nor his companions had any thing elſe in view, but the delivering of Rome from a tyrannical yoke, and the reſtoring of their country to her former condition; but the populace, more afraid of poverty than ſubjection, expreſſed by their melancholy looks, that they were highly diſpleaſed at the action, and that they reverenced Brutus, but at the ſame time pitied Cæſar. Hereupon the conſpirators thought fit to withdraw again to the capitol, where Brutus, who expected

His death attended with great diſturbances in the city.

Brutus harangues the people.

But returns with his followers to the capitol.

pected to be beſieged, diſmiſſed ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had attended him thither, not thinking it juſt, that thoſe who had no hand in the action ſhould ſhare in the danger [m].

As Cæſar had deſigned to ſet out in a few days on his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, he had reſigned his conſulſhip to P. Cornelius Dolabella, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had married Tullia the daughter of Cicero. The new conſul, out of reſpect to Cæſar, waited for his departure to enter upon his office; but he no ſooner heard the news of his death, than he appeared with his lictors and faſces, without the conſent either of the ſenate or people. As this was an open acknowledgment of the dictator's power, no one doubted but he would join his friends againſt Brutus and the other conſpirators; but he, to the great ſurprize of all, after ſo unwarrantable a ſtep, immediately went up to the capitol with all the pomp of a conſul; and there, congratulating Brutus and his followers on the ſucceſs of their glorious undertaking, declared, that he would ſupport them to the utmoſt of his power. From the capitol he returned to the forum, where he made an harangue to the multitude, exhorting them to join the deliverers of their country; and, after having caſt out many bitter reflections on Cæſar, and beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on Brutus, he went ſo far as to propoſe a law, enacting, that for the future the ides of March ſhould be celebrated with the ſame ſolemnity, as the day on which Rome was built. "The day," ſaid he, "in which Rome recovered her "liberty by the death of a tyrant, ought to be deemed by "all true Romans as happy a day, as that in which the "city was firſt built. To the latter ſhe owes her being, "to the former her liberty; and what is being itſelf with-"out liberty?" But the indigent populace, whom the dictator had ſupported with his liberal preſents, were ſo far from being moved by his ſpeech to approve of his death, that on the contrary they would have torn the conſul in pieces, had he not, by a timely retreat, ſaved himſelf in the capitol. However, the menaces, which the multitude threw out on this occaſion againſt the dictator's enemies, did not deter L. Cornelius Cinna from renouncing his party in a moſt ſolemn manner. Cæſar had married to his firſt wife Cornelia the ſiſter of Cinna, and on that account had always favoured him in a particular manner. He had raiſed him this year to the prætorſhip, and promiſed him the conſulate. But Cinna

Dolabella takes upon him the conſular dignity, and declares for Brutus.

[m] Plut. Dio Caſſ. Appian. ibid.

Cinna was in his heart a well-wiſher to his country and an enemy to tyranny; and therefore, upon Cæſar's death, he not only ſided openly with the conſpirators, but going into the forum, with all the enſigns of his dignity, pronounced there an invective againſt his brother-in-law, ſtyling him tyrant, uſurper, oppreſſor of his country, &c. When he had done ſpeaking, he ſtripped himſelf, in preſence of the people, of all the ornaments of his dignity, crying out, "These I received of Cæſar, againſt the known "laws of Rome; and now I reſign them to the Roman "people, who alone have a right to diſpoſe of them." But even this generous and diſintereſted proceeding was highly reſented by the vile populace, and Cinna obliged to abſcond, for fear of feeling the effects of their blind fury [n].

The generous and diſintereſted behaviour of L. Cornelius Cinna.

In the mean time, Antony and Lepidus, who were entirely addicted to Cæſar, and had concealed themſelves for fear of being involved in his ruin, hearing how the people ſtood affected, appeared again in public. When the conſpirators firſt conſulted about the execution of their deſign, they were all, except Brutus, of opinion, that Antony ſhould be cut off with Cæſar; for they looked upon him as a dangerous perſon, on account of his unbounded ambition and the powerful intereſt he had among the ſoldiery; but Brutus, whoſe intentions were upright and ſincere, would by no means hearken to their advice, ſaying, That an action undertaken in defence of the laws and of juſtice ought be free even from all appearance of injuſtice. Beſides, he gave them hopes, that a great change might be worked in Antony. I do not deſpair, ſaid he, but ſuch a lover of glory as Antony, ſtirred up with emulation of our great attempt, will lay hold of this occaſion to be joint reſtorer with us of the liberty of his country. Thus the generous Brutus ſaved Antony's life; but he, inſtead of anſwering the brave patriot's expectation, upon the firſt news of Cæſar's death, fled in the diſguiſe of a ſlave, and concealed himſelf, till he was informed, that the populace were diſpoſed to revenge his death. Then he appeared again with all the majeſty and ſplendor of a conſul, being this year Cæſar's collegue in that dignity, and managed matters with ſuch addreſs, that he paved the way for that triumvirate, which gave the finiſhing blow to the republic, and reduced Rome to a laſting monarchy. The firſt ſtep he took was, to order Lepidus to march into the city a legion, which he commanded in the neighbourhood

Antony ſaved by Brutus.

Lepidus is ordered by Antony to march a legion into the city.

[n] Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 58.

neighbourhood, and to encamp in the field of Mars. This alarmed tbe conſpirators in the capitol, who thereupon ſent deputies to Antony and Lepidus, deſiring them to conſider the ſad conſequences of a diviſion in ſo critical a conjuncture, and remonſtrating, that no hatred to Cæſar's perſon had armed them againſt him, but only the love which every good citizen ought to have for his country; that the ſtate was already ſo drained by civil wars, that any new diſturbances muſt prove fatal to it; that they believed them too generous to let any particular views tranſport them to the prejudice of the public, &c. Both Antony and Lepidus, under pretence of revenging Cæſar's death, aimed at the ſovereign power themſelves, and ſought it in the ruin of thoſe brave men, who ſtood up in defence of their oppreſſed country; but, as Decimus Brutus was already ſet out from Rome to put himſelf at the head of an army of veterans in Ciſalpine Gaul, which province had been allotted him by Cæſar, they both diſſembled even their deſign of revenging Cæſar's death, and, to gain time, returned the following anſwer, That they were ready to ſacrifice their private regards to the public good, and ſuffer the ſenate to be aſſembled, that they might govern themſelves by the advice of ſo many illuſtrious and diſcerning perſons as compoſed that venerable body. Accordingly Antony, as conſul, appointed the ſenate to meet early the next morning in the temple of Tellus, near his own houſe, and, in the mean time, placed guards all over the city, to keep the unruly multitude from raiſing diſturbances, and likewiſe ordered all Cæſar's money and papers to be conveyed to his houſe. Next morning by break of day, the conſcript fathers aſſembled purſuant to their ſummons; and never did that auguſt body meet on ſo important and nice an occaſion. They came to decide, whether Cæſar had been an uſurper, or a lawful migiſtrate; and whether thoſe who had killed him deſerved puniſhments, or rewards. As none of the conſpirators appeared in the ſenate, not daring to expoſe themſelves to the fury of the rabble, the debates were carried on with more calmneſs and temper than could have been expected in a matter of ſuch conſequence. Moſt of the conſcript fathers were inclined to favour the conſpirators; but nevertheleſs divided among themſelves in their opinions. Some were for declaring them "the deliverers, the ſaviours of their country, and al-"lotting them, as ſuch, ample rewards." Others were for approving

Antony aſſembles the ſenate.

approving the action, without appointing any rewards to the authors of it, since no-body demanded them. Some thought it was sufficient to bury in oblivion what was past, without bestowing either praises or rewards on the authors of Cæsar's death. Some of Cæsar's friends declared boldly, that the action was odious and detestable; but that they were nevertheless ready to concur in such measures as should be judged necessary for the safety of those who had committed it, out of a due regard to so many illustrious families. After several different overtures, it was at length concluded by a great majority, that, before the conspirators were declared guilty or innocent, this question should be put, "Whether Cæsar "was a tyrant, or a lawful magistrate?" since on the decision of this depended that of all other questions relating to the conspirators. Antony, foreseeing that this question would be decided to the disadvantage of his party, warded off the blow with an address and dexterity which will seem incredible to those who judge of his abilities from what they read of him in Cicero's letters and speeches. "Have you well "weighed with yourselves, conscript fathers," said he, "the consequence that must attend the decision of this ques- "tion? If you declare the late dictator a tyrant, all his "acts will be of course void and null; and who can con- "ceive what confusion and disorders will hence ensue, not in "this metropolis only, but in all the states and kingdoms sub- "ject to Rome? The republic will be without lawful ma- "gistrates, the provinces without governors, the armies "without commanders, &c. since we have been all invested "in our offices, commands, and governments by Cæsar. "If we pronounce Cæsar a tyrant and usurper, we must "lay down those honours, since we can no longer think "them lawfully conferred upon us. If Cæsar is an usurper, "his body must, pursuant to the ordinances of our ancestors, "be ignominiously dragged through the streets and thrown "into the Tiber. What disturbances and tumults will not "this produce among the populace, who adore him as a "god? You are going, conscript fathers, to plunge the "republic, nay, the whole world, which is filled with "Cæsar's glory, into a bloody war and eternal disorders." Antony's words made a deep impression on the assembly, which was again divided into different opinions. Such as had not been nominated by Cæsar to any civil or military employments, still insisted on his being declared an usurper and tyrant; but all the present magistrates, and those whom Cæsar had

Different opinions of the conscript fathers.

Antony's address.

appointed to ſucceed them (E), were for dropping the queſtion relating to him, and only decreeing, that no-body ſhould be proſecuted on account of his death. Among the latter was the conſul Dolabella, who, as he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of Rome for the conſular dignity, was well appriſed, that, if he once parted with it, the people would not be eaſily induced to reſtore him, in defiance of the laws, to that poſt. However, ſeveral prætors were prevailed upon by the friends of the conſpirators, that is, by the zealous republicans, to ſtrip themſelves of their robes and publicly reſign the offices, to which Cæſar, by his authority alone, had raiſed them. The diviſion, which reigned in the ſenate, was likely to have involved the republic anew in a civil war, when Cicero, by an excellent ſpeech, which has been tranſmitted to us, not in the language in which he ſpoke it, but in Greek [o], prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to drop the queſtion relating to Cæſar, viz. "Whether he was "a tyrant, or no;" and to paſs an act of oblivion for what was paſt. Accordingly a general amneſty was proclaimed, and at the ſame time it was decreed, contrary to the opinion of Cicero and the moſt zealous patriots, That not the leaſt thing ſhould be altered, which Cæſar had enacted during his government. This was, in a manner, declaring him at the ſame time both innocent and guilty, ſince it was inconſiſtent to confirm what he had done during his dictatorſhip, and at the ſame time decree, that thoſe who had put him to death ſhould not be proſecuted. Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, expreſſes himſelf on this ſubject thus; "The tyrant is no more; "but the tyranny ſtill ſubſiſts. We expreſs great joy at his "death, and at the ſame time confirm all his ordinances [p]."

An act of oblivion paſſed, and Cæſar's acts confirmed.

THIS act of oblivion brought matters to a more peaceable poſture. Antony and Lepidus were ſtill reſolved to purſue their revenge on the conſpirators, hoping to raiſe themſelves by

[o] Dio. l. xliv. Plut. in Cic. Brut. & Cæſ. [p] Cic. Philip. 1. Appian. l. ii. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 58. Dio. l. xliv.

(E) Cæſar, foreſeeing that his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, a brave and warlike nation, would prevent him from returning to Rome for ſome time, had appointed conſuls, as Cicero informs us, for the two following years, viz. Aulus Hirtius and Caius Vibius Panſa for the firſt year after his departure, and Decimus Brutus with Lucius Munatius Plancus for the ſecond. According to Dion Caſſius, he had named conſuls for the three following years; according to Appian for five, and according to Suetonius for many years. But the authority of Cicero ought to be of more weight than that of any hiſtorian,

by their deſtruction to the ſame poſt which Cæſar had held; but as they were afraid of each other, and both of Decimus Brutus governor of Ciſalpine Gaul, they artfully concealed their ambitious deſigns, and cauſed the act of oblivion to be publiſhed in all the quarters of the city. As the conſpirators ſtill kept in their aſylum, for fear of ſome ſudden tumult, Antony and Lepidus ſent their children to the capitol as hoſtages for their ſecurity; and then Brutus, Caſſius, and their followers came down into the city. The ſame night, in token of a perfect reconciliation, Antony invited Caſſius to ſupper, as Lepidus did Brutus. As Antony liked joking, he aſked Caſſius, "Whether he had a dagger concealed under his robe?" "Yes, anſwered Caſſius, who was naturally choleric and "ſullen, and a ſharp one too, for any who ſhall dare to aſpire at the ſovereign power." This anſwer put a ſtop to any further jeſts. And now no body doubted, but the republic would ſoon be reſtored to her former tranquillity. Even the populace began to look upon the conſpirators as the deliverers of their country, and honour them with the title of tyrannicides. This tranquillity did no-ways ſuit Antony's ambitious views. He therefore ſoon found means to put the whole city in an uproar, and to incenſe the multitude anew againſt thoſe whom they had deſervedly begun to look upon as worthy of the greateſt honours and rewards. Cæſar, on the ides of September of the preceding year, had made his will in his houſe at Laricum, and appointed his father-in-law Calpurnius Piſo to ſee it executed. To him Marc Antony applied, and preſſed him to produce the will, that it might be publicly read, being well appriſed, that this would produce new diſturbances, and have a great effect on the inconſtant multitude. On the other hand, the dictator's enemies endeavoured to perſuade Piſo to ſuppreſs it; but he, being ſupported by Antony, openly declared, that nothing ſhould divert him from diſcharging the truſt Cæſar had repoſed in him. The affair was at length brought before the ſenate, where it occaſioned freſh diſputes. Antony and Piſo warmly inſiſted on having the will read, and the body of the deceaſed dictator honourably interred. Thoſe, ſaid Piſo, who boaſt of having killed a tyrant, treat us themſelves in a moſt tyrannical manner. They are willing, that whatever Cæſar has done in their behalf ſhould be ratified, and at the ſame time demand, that his laſt diſpoſitions be ſuppreſſed. As to Cæſar's funeral, you may order what you think fit; but as to his will, which he

Brutus and his followers come down into the city.

Piſo and Antony are for having Cæſar's will read.

hiſtorian, ſince he writes of ſuch tranſactions as happened in his time, and in which he bore, generally ſpeaking, no ſmall ſhare.

he has depoſited in my hands, I am reſolved to read it before the whole people. The affair was long debated by both parties and with great warmth, Caſſius violently oppoſing the propoſal of Antony and Piſo, which, if complied with, he foreſaw, would revive the affections of the people and cauſe freſh troubles; but Brutus at length yielded, and it was decreed, that Cæſar's will ſhould be opened, his funeral rites performed at the expence of the public, and he worſhipped as a god. This was an unpardonable overſight in Brutus, and Caſſius loudly complained of his too eaſy condeſcenſion and unſeaſonable humanity; and indeed with a great deal of reaſon: for the reading the will, and the public honours decreed to the deceaſed, proved fatal, both to the avengers of the republic and the republic itſelf. The will being produced was read in the preſence of the people; and there it was found, that he had appointed his three great-nephews his heirs, C. Octavius, Lucius Pinarius, and Quintus Pedius. To Octavius, the grandſon of his ſiſter Julia, he left three-fourths of his eſtate, and the remaining part to the other two. He alſo ordained, that young Octavius, his principal heir, ſhould take his name, and be adopted into the Julian family; and that if any of his great-nephews ſhould die or renounce his inheritance, Decimus Brutus and M. Antony ſhould be ſubſtituted in their room. Several of the conſpirators were appointed guardians to his children, in caſe he ſhould have any; and Decimus Brutus, for whom he had a particular affection, was named to ſucced Octavius, in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue male, and to be adopted into the Julian family. By the ſame will he bequeathed to the Roman people his fine gardens beyond the Tyber, and to each individual citizen the ſum of ſeventy-five Attic drachmas, or three hundred ſeſterces. These laſt tokens of Cæſar's good-will revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them anew againſt Brutus and his followers, on whom they no longer beſtowed the glorious name of tyrannicides, but that of aſſaſſins, threatening to treat them in the ſame manner as they had treated the dictator their common benefactor. Brutus, perceiving this change, mounted the roſtra in quality of prætor, and, with the following ſpeech, endeavoured to appeaſe the enraged populace. "Great pains have been taken, ſaid he, to "prejudice you againſt us as diſturbers of the public tranquil-"lity. We are accuſed at the ſame time of cruelty, ingrati-"tude, and perfidiouſneſs. It is pretended, that we have "violated the oaths, which tied us to Cæſar. What oaths, "immortal gods! Had Cæſar any lawful power to require "them;

Brutus yields them their requeſt.

Cæſar's will.

Diſturbances occaſioned by the reading of it.

Brutus's ſpeech to the people.

" them? Did he not extort them with his ſword at our " throats? Do you look upon forced engagements as really " binding? Can forced oaths oblige us to ſubmit to a tyrant? " Has not Cæſar acted as ſuch ever ſince Pompey's death? " He has diſpoſed of the great charges and principal employ- " ments, without your advice, or that of the ſenate. The " public money, the revenues of the provinces, were con- " veyed into his coffers. All the orders in the republic were " forced to ſubmit to his lawleſs and arbitrary will. There is " not one Roman throughout the empire, whom he did not " injure in the higheſt degree; for he robbed him of his li- " berty, which is the greateſt bleſſing of mankind. When " he ſeemed to be rendering his country the moſt important " ſervices by his ſucceſsful undertakings, at that very time " was he laying his ſchemes how to bring her into ſubjection. " He made war on foreign enemies, only that he might " know how to ſubdue and enſlave his fellow ſubjects. It is " ſaid, that he was meditating great things for the republic " when he was cut off. He might indeed have gathered " empty laurels for himſelf by more wars at the expence of " the republic; but what advantage would have redounded " to us from his victories? Every acceſſion of power muſt, " by raiſing his tyranny higher, have ſunk us lower and " ſtrengthened our chains. Had he left us any hopes of his " laying down one day the power he had uſurped, we ſhould " have bore the yoke with patience; but the name of perpe- " tual dictator threatened us with eternal ſlavery. He treat- " ed the very name of liberty and the republic with contempt. " He ridiculed Sylla for reſigning his uſurped authority, and " manifeſtly ſhewed, that he had nothing in his head or heart, " but abſolute rule, a diadem, the title of king, and control- " ling the world according to his luſt. It is ſaid, that his " perſon was ſacred and inviolable; but did not he the firſt " violate that reſpect which is due to ſacred perſons? Did he " not depoſe two of our tribunes, and even condemn them " to baniſhment, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they took " from his ſtatues the royal diadem?" Then turning to the old legionaries, who had for the moſt part, received lands from Cæſar by way of reward for their long ſervices. " As " for you, brave veterans," ſaid he, " when you firſt entered " into the ſervice, was it to Cæſar, or to the republic, you " engaged your fidelity by the military oath? You have " fought under Cæſar; but was it for him you fought? You " have conquered; and your victories ought to be amply re- " warded. We are reſolved to allow you the rewards which

" Cæſar

" Cæſar had promiſed you. The commonwealth will not
" ſuffer you to be loſers by his death. Thoſe who have al-
" ready received inheritances, ſhall be confirmed in the poſ-
" ſeſſion of them; and ſuch as have not yet been rewarded,
" ſhall be ſatisfied for their ſervices out of the firſt money
" that comes into the public treaſury. This I promiſe in the
" name of the republic; and my word ſhall be ſacred and in-
" violable in every thing but the ſupporting of tyrany [q]."
This ſpeech, which was no frivolous apology, as ſome aſſer-
tors of abſolute power are pleaſed to call it [r], appeaſed both
the people and ſoldiery; but Antony and Piſo ſoon found
means to inflame them anew with fury and ſorrow, two groſs
paſſions, which do not reaſon, but feel. They cauſed the
The body of Cæſar brought forth with great pomp. body of Cæſar (F) to be brought forth with a great deal of
pomp, being carried on the ſhoulders of men, who were all in
office and of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome. They
had raiſed a kind of ſtage in the forum over-againſt the roſtra,
and on the ſtage a ſmall temple of gilt wood, after the model
of that of Venus, Cæſar's pretended mother. In this temple
was a bed of ivory, richly adorned with curtains of cloth of
gold and of purple. On the bed was laid the body of the de-
ceaſed, the robe in which he was killed being hung up by it.
All Rome crouded to ſee the mangled body of their deceaſed
hero, whoſe loſs they bewailed anew with many ſighs and
tears. Thoſe chiefly, who had ſerved under him in moſt of
his wars, were inconſolable, and with loud cries demanded
Antony inflames the populace by his funeral oration. vengeance. Then Antony, to fire them ſtill more, aſcended
the roſtra (G), and took upon him to pronounce his funeral
oration,

[q] Appian. l. ii. Dio. l. xliv. [r] Cartou and Rouille, Vol. XVII. p. 404.

(F) We are told by ſome hiſtorians, that the conſpirators deſigned at firſt to throw the dead body of the dictator into the Tyber, in order to remove that object of compaſſion out of the ſight of the populace; but being prevented from putting their deſign in execution by the tumult which happened in the ſenate, they left it in the ſenate-houſe, from whence it was privately conveyed in a litter to his houſe by three of his ſlaves, who took care to have it embalmed, not doubting, but the ſenate or people would, in due time, order it to be interred with all pomp and magnificence.

(G) Suetonius is the only writer among the antients, who tells us, that Antony pronounced no funeral oration. " The conſul,
" ſays that hiſtorian, made no oration, as was uſual, in commen-
" dation of the deceaſed. He only ordered an herald to read aloud
" the decree of the ſenate, placing Cæſar among the gods, and
" ordering

oration, enlarging on every topic which could move compaſſion. He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the innumerable conqueſts he had made, the various nations he had ſubdued, &c. Then he took notice of all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorſhip, his being ſeveral times honoured with the conſulate, the cenſorſhip, the dignity of pontifex maximus, and above all, with the glorious name of "the father of his country." From thence he paſſed to his virtues, crying up his courage, his eloquence, his humanity, generoſity, clemency even to his enemies, &c. After this, he repeated the oath which the people of Rome had taken to him, and by which they had ſworn, that his perſon ſhould be ſacred and inviolable, and that they would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. Antony, perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he ſaid in commendation of Cæſar, to ſtir them up yet further to compaſſion, or rather to madneſs, unfolded the bloody garment of Cæſar, ſhewed them in how many places it was pierced, and expoſed to their view the number of his wounds. Hereupon Antony, ſeeing rage mixed with grief painted in every one's face, reſumed his diſcourſe, and turning to the capitol, "Great Jupiter, ſaid he, and ye gods protectors of "the Roman empire, I call you to witneſs, that I was determined to revenge his death, and fulfil my obligations; but "the decree of the conſcript fathers has tied my hands. Am "I guilty of ſacrilege and perjury." At theſe words the mob made great outcries, and nothing was heard but, vengeance, vengeance. The ſenators were highly provoked againſt Antony, for thus firing the multitude with new fury; which he obſerving from their countenances and fearing to diſoblige them, in order to reconcile to him that auguſt body, and, in ſome degree, qualify what he had ſaid, concluded thus: "Yes, the gods themſelves abſove me from the obligation of my oath. What has been done ought to be forgot; ſince it is the crime of ſome evil demons, enemies to Rome, rather than of men; and nothing ought now to be thought of, but honouring the memory of the illuſtrious deceaſed, and placing him among the immortal gods [s].

[s] Dio. Appian. Suet. ibid.

ANTONY ordering divine honours to be paid him. Antony ſpoke only a few words in praiſe of the illuſtrious deceaſed." It is ſurpriſing, that Suetonius ſhould be ignorant of ſo remarkable an incident, related at length by all other hiſtorians, and, what is more by Cicero, who, in his ſecond Philippic, reproaches Antony with it in moſt bitter terms.

ANTONY had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when one of the ſpectators, flying, as ſeized with ſome fury, from the midſt of the croud and mounting the ſtage, laid hold of Cæſar's robe, and diſplaying it again to the multitude, "There is the ſpoil of "a hero, he cried, beloved of the gods and reverenced by the "world even to adoration." Theſe words interrupted with frequent ſighs, uttered with a mournful tone, and accompanied with great outcries and ſtrange poſtures of ſorrow, occaſioned a general commotion. At the ſame time, appeared all on a ſudden an image of Cæſar in wax, which moved by ſprings, and ſhewed the twenty-three wounds which he had received on his face and other parts of his body. This ſight tranſported the populace even to madneſs: the forum reſounded with ſighs mixt with menaces and curſes againſt the authors of his death, whom they ſtyled aſſaſſins, parricides, &c. worthy of the moſt cruel puniſhments. Their fury was ſo great, that they would defer no longer the ſolemnities of the funeral; but tearing to pieces the benches and chairs of the magiſtrates, who held their courts in that place, and carrying away the counters and tables from the adjoining ſhops, raiſed with them a funeral pile, and, placing Cæſar's body upon it, ſet it on fire; ſo that the body, the bed, and the temple were conſumed in a moment. When the fire firſt began to flame out, the old ſoldiers, who had ſerved under the deceaſed, threw into the flames all the military rewards which he had given them. Many women of diſtinction, to teſtify their grief and honour the memory of the deceaſed, threw into the fire their jewels, their children's ornaments and robes, and whatever they had of value about them. The incenſed multitude, whoſe blind fury knows no bounds, flocking in like madmen, in ſpite of the guards placed round the pile, ſnatched the flaming brands out of the fire, and ran to burn the houſes of the conſpirators; but they, having before-hand got together a great number of their friends and domeſtics, eaſily repulſed a diſorderly mob, that had no other arms but their grief and fury. As they were returning from the conſpirators houſes, they met one Cinna (H), who had been always greatly attached to Cæſar's party; but miſtaking him for

Various artifices uſed to ſtir up the multitude.

Cæſar's body burnt.

(H) We are told, that Cinna, of whom mention is made here, had the night before an odd dream. He fancied that Cæſar invited him to ſupper, and that upon his refuſing to comply with the invitation, the dictator preſſed him very earneſtly, and at length taking him by the hand, led him into a dark place. After this viſion, he was ſeized with a fever; but nevertheleſs in the morning,

for another of the ſame name, who was concerned in the conſpiracy, fell upon him and tore him to pieces on the ſpot. Brutus and his party were ſo alarmed at theſe proceedings that they thought it adviſeable to retire from the city; and accordingly they privately withdrew to Antium, with a deſign to return again as ſoon as the fury of the people was abated, which they hoped, would be ſoon, ſince the ſenate had eſpouſed their cauſe. All the ſtrangers in Rome mourned after the cuſtom of their reſpective countries, eſpecially the Jews, who watched ſeveral nights at the place where his body had been burnt (I). At laſt divine honours were given him, and an altar erected by the populace in the ſame place, which was ever after looked upon as ſacred, his great nephew Octavius having cauſed a temple to be erected there, and a pillar of jaſpar twenty foot high, with this inſcription, "To the "father of his country [s]."

The fate of one Cinna.

Brutus and his followers retire from Rome.

THE

[s] Plut. Appian. Dio. Suet. ibid.

morning, hearing that Cæſar's body was to be in[illegible]nd being aſhamed not to be preſent at the ſolemnity, he went into the forum, out of reſpect to the memory of his friend, tho' his dream gave him no ſmall apprehenſion. One of the rabble, whom Antony's ſpeech had ſtirred up and enraged, ſeeing him there, aſked another, Who he was; and having learnt his name, told it to another. It was preſently reported, that he was one of the conſpirators, or what is moſt probable, that he was that Cinna, who had a little before, in a ſpeech to the people, inveighed againſt Cæſar, and this was enough for the furious multitude to tear him to pieces.

(I) No people received more ſignal favours at Cæſar's hands than the Jewiſh nation. He reſtored Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander to the ſovereignty of Judæa, and ſecured the crown to him and his family by a decree, which he cauſed to be engraved on tables of braſs in Greek and Latin, and to be hung up in the capitol at Rome, and in the temples of Tyre, Sidon, and Aſkalon in Phænice: he remitted great part of the tributes, which the Jews paid annually to the republic, in acknowledgment of the aſſiſtance he had from the Jewiſh nation in the war of Alexandria: before he left that city, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed there and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon, by his command all theſe privileges were engraved, and alſo his decree confirming them (45).

(45) Joſeph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 17

THE conſpirators and the conſcript fathers were equally offended at the artful ſpeech of Antony. They complained, that, contrary to the decree of the ſenate and his own word, by which it was agreed to bury all that had paſſed in oblivion, he had ſo pathetically enlarged on the praiſes of Cæſar, with no other view but to ſtir up the rage of the people. Antony therefore, finding he had diſcovered himſelf too ſoon, and being well appriſed, that it was in the power of the ſenate to croſs his deſigns, reſolved to regain their favour, or at leaſt to blind them for a while, by inflicting ſevere puniſhments on the authors of the diſturbances, which were daily raiſed in all the quarters of the city. One Amatius, paſſing himſelf upon the multitude for the grandſon of Marius, and giving out that it was incumbent upon him to revenge the death of Cæſar his kinſman, committed every-where great diſorders, being backed by a numerous mob, whom the reputation of his pretended grandfather drew after him. But Antony, to make his court to the ſenate, cauſed him to be ſeized, and put to death, without any farther trial. As the people flocked daily in crowds to the altar, which they had erected to Cæſar, Antony cauſed it to be demoliſhed. This provoked the mutineers, who thereupon aſſembled the next day in great numbers, in order to rebuild the altar; but Dolabella, with the conſent of his collegue, fell upon them at the head of ſome legionaries, and cut ſeveral of them in pieces. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſwords of the legionaries, were proſecuted by the two conſuls, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigor, as diſturbers of the public tranquillity. The ſlaves were all crucified, and ſuch as were of free condition thrown down from the top of the Tarpeian rock. Such vigorous proceedings ſtruck the unruly multitude with terror, and for a while reſtored the city to its former tranquillity. After this, Antony, having aſſembled the ſenate, aſſured the conſcript fathers, that thenceforth his whole attention ſhould be how to re-unite the people's minds, divided on this fatal occaſion, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war. At the ſame time, to gain the fathers entirely, he propoſed the recalling of Sextus Pompeius, ſon to Pompey the Great, who, ever ſince the battle of Munda, had concealed himſelf in Celtiberia. He was even of opinion, that the loſs of his paternal eſtate, which had been confiſcated by Cæſar and divided among his creatures, ſhould be made good to him at the expence of the public, and that the ſupreme command of all the naval forces of the republic ſhould be conferred upon him, in the ſame unlimited manner as his father had enjoyed it before him. This propoſal was heard

Antony endeavours to gain the ſenate.

Puniſhes Amatius and other rioters.

Propoſes the recalling of Sextus Pompeius.

heard with ſurprize, and received with general applauſe. Some aſcribed this change in Antony to his fear of the conſpirators; others ſuſpected, that he was deſirous of engaging the ſenate in his favour againſt young Octavius, the dictator's heir, who was on his journey from Greece to Rome. All the ſenators, however, beſtowed on him the greateſt commendations, which were ſo much the ſincerer, as the reſtoration of young Pompey ſeemed to be an implicit condemnation of Cæſar's memory. Cicero himſelf, deceived by this falſe appearance of zeal, highly commended Antony's conduct, firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in a letter he wrote to him, which the conſul kept, and in due time made public by way of anſwer to the orator's bitter invectives.

THE conſcript fathers were highly pleaſed with ſuch a conduct in a conſul and friend of Cæſar; but the populace, extremely provoked at his thus changing ſides, reproached him with ingratitude to the memory of his benefactor. Antony failed not to make himſelf a merit with the ſenate of this averſion. He even pretended to be afraid, leſt the enraged multitude ſhould make ſome attempt upon his life, and, as [illegible] were not ſafe, demanded a guard of the ſenate to ſec[illegible]nſelf againſt the rabble, who, he ſaid, threatened h[illegible] with deſtruction. The conſcript fathers could not well reject his requeſt, ſince he had incurred the hatred of the people for the intereſt of the ſenate. They allowed him therefore a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon; but Antony, under this pretence, choſe ſix thouſand old legionaries, who had ſerved with him under Cæſar, and paſſionately longed to revenge the death of their general. The ſe[illegible]e was alarmed to ſee the conſul walk the ſtreets of Ro[illegible]e always attended with ſuch a number of armed men. Even his friends remonſtrated to him, that ſuch an extraordinary attendance made him ſuſpected and odious in a free ſtate. Antony promiſed to diſband them, as ſoon as he thought himſelf out of danger; and, in the mean time, to remove the ſuſpicions they might entertain of his aſpiring to ſucceed Cæſar in the dictatorſhip, he propoſed a law abrogating that dignity for ever, and got it paſſed in the aſſembly of the people. This calmed for a while the fears of the conſcript fathers: but Antony ſoon gave them freſh motives of jealouſy; for having gained over to his intereſt Cæſar's ſecretary, whom ſome call Faberius, others Tabirius, and by his means made himſelf maſter of all his papers, he appointed what officers he pleaſed, brought whom he thought fit into the ſenate, recalled ſome from exile, freed others out of priſon, &c. and all this as ordered ſo by

Is allowed a guard.

He is ſuſpected by the ſenate.

His falſehood and doubledealing in concert with Cæſar's ſecretary.

Cæſar, whoſe acts had been declared void by the ſenate. The Romans, by way of raillery, called thoſe new magiſtrates and ſenators Charonites, becauſe, if obliged to prove their patents, they muſt have had recourſe to the regiſters of the dead, that is, of thoſe who had paſſed the river Styx in Charon's bark. They were alſo ſtyled Orcini, an epithet given to ſuch ſlaves as were enfranchiſed by their maſters will made on their death-bed. Antony, having by this artifice introduced many of his own creatures into the ſenate, began to act with great independency, knowing he had nothing to fear either from the conſcript fathers or the populace, ſince he had now a ſtrong party in the ſenate, and was guarded by a numerous body of choſen troops againſt the inſults and attempts of the multitude. Beſides, the whole authority of the government was, we may ſay, in his hands. He was himſelf conſul, one of his brothers, Lucius Antonius, was tribune of the people, and the other, C. Antonius, prætor; ſo that, without taking upon him the title either of king or dictator, it may be ſaid, that he governed Rome with an abſolute ſway [t]. As for Lepidus, Antony attached that powerful Roman to his intereſt, by procuring for him the dignity of pontifex maximus, vacant by the death of Cæſar, and betrothing his daughter Antonia to young Lepidus his ſon.

In the mean time, ſome of the conſpirators returned to Rome, while others continued at Antium. Among the latter was M. Brutus, who, upon intelligence that many of the old ſoldiers, who had ſerved under Cæſar, of whom they had received lands, lay in wait for him, and by ſmall parties had ſtolen into the city, would not expoſe himſelf to unneceſſary dangers. However, in his abſence, moſt magnificent ſhews were exhibited to the people at his expence, he being then prætor; for having bought up a great number of wild beaſts of all ſorts, he gave poſitive orders, that not one of them ſhould be diſpoſed of or ſaved; but that they ſhould be all uſed in thoſe ſhews. He even went in perſon as far as Naples to engage a conſiderable number of comedians, and wrote to Cicero and his other friends, begging them by no means to omit honouring his ſhews with their preſence [u]. Cæſar, had, before his death, allotted provinces to the chief men among the conſpirators, viz. Macedon to M. Brutus,

Magnificent ſports exhibited by Brutus.

[t] Appian. l. iii. & viii. Dio, l. xliv. Plut. in Bruto. Cic. in epiſt. paſſim, & in Philippicis.

[u] Plut. in Bruto.

M. Brutus, Syria to Caſſius, Aſia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and Ciſalpine Gaul to Decimus Brutus. Some authors write, that theſe provinces were given them by the ſenate. However that be, they ſtill continued in or near the capital, to watch Antony's ſteps, who now manifeſtly aſpired, notwithſtanding all his former proteſtations, at the ſovereign power.

SUCH was the poſture of affairs, when news was brought, that young Octavius, Cæſar's great-nephew and adopted ſon, was coming to take poſſeſſion of his inheritance. He was the ſon of Caius Octavius of the ſenatorial order, who had been prætor of Macedon, and of Accia, daughter to Julia Cæſar's ſiſter. The Octavian family was divided into two branches, viz. the Cneii and the Caii. The former were early diſtinguiſhed at Rome with the firſt honours of the republic; but the latter, from whom Cæſar's adopted ſon was deſcended, were but ſimple knights at the time of the ſecond Punic war. Octavius's great-grandfather ſerved in Sicily in quality of legionary tribune, and his grandfather bore the firſt employments in Velitræ, his native city. His mother Accia, or Atia, was the daughter of Julia and M. Accius Balbus, whoſe family, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, had been, long before the birth of Octavius, one of the moſt conſpicuous of Aricia, an antient city of Latium (K). Octavius was born

Octavius origin.

(K) Marc Antony reproached Octavius with the meanneſs and obſcurity of his anceſtors. According to him, Octavius's great-grandfather, on the father's ſide, was a freed-man, and by profeſſion a rope-maker in the territory of Thurium, and his grand father a banker. On the mother's ſide, Antony derived his pedigree from a perfumer, who afterwards turned baker in the city of Aricia. Caſſius Parmenſis, in a letter he wrote to Octavius before the battle of Actium, told him that he owed his birth to a money-changer and a woman brought up in the mills of Aricia. But theſe calumnies are learnedly rejected by Joſeph Rocco Volpi, an Italian jeſuit, in his account of the antiquities of the antient Latium, where he proves from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that the Octavian family, before their migration to Rome, which happened, according to him, in the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus, had borne the firſt employments in the republic of Velitræ, now Velletri. As to the Atian family, he ſhews, that, for ſeveral ages before the birth of Octavius, it had been one of the moſt conſpicuous of Aricia. Virgil indeed derives the

Atian

in the conſulate of Cicero and Caius Antonius, that is, in the year of Rome 690. His father Caius Octavius dying when he was but four years old, his mother Accia married again, and took to her a ſecond huſband Lucius Marcius Philippus, deſcended from thoſe Philippi, who ſignalized themſelves in the Macedonian wars. From his infancy he bore the ſurname of Thurinus, borrowed, as Suetonius conjectures, from his father, who drove the remains of Catiline's army from the neighbourhood of Thurium, a city of Great Greece, and was from thence ſtyled Thurinus. Accia, his mother and Philippus his father-in-law took care to have him educated and inſtructed by the beſt maſters then in Rome; and he is ſaid to have ſo profited by their inſtructions, that at nine years old he harangued the people with wonderful intrepidity, and pronounced the funeral oration of his grandmother Julia when he was not quite twelve. All the writers of his age tell us, that from his infancy he gave glaring proofs of an exalted mind, capable of managing the moſt difficult enterprizes. His extraordinary parts, ſay they, joined to the majeſty of his mein and comelineſs of his perſon, influenced in his favour all who knew, or only beheld, him. Above the reſt, Julius Cæſar, his great uncle, was ſo taken with his prudent conduct and a certain maturity of judgment, which young Octavius diſcovered from his tender years, that he cheriſhed him, with

His education.

The regard Cæſar had for him.

Atian family from Atys, the companion of Iulus, ſon to Æneas.

" Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini.
" Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo (46).

Many writers, and among the reſt F. Volpi, are of opinion, that Octavius was brought up in the town of Ulubræ, ſituated in the diſtrict of Velitræ; for Suetonius tells us, that he was educated " in avito ſuburbano prope Velitras;" and that, as ſoon as he ſpoke, he commanded the frogs that were croaking to be ſilent, and from that time, adds he, " negantur ibi coaxare." From this paſſage they infer, that Octavius was brought up in a place near Velitræ, which abounded with frogs, and conſequently at Ulubræ, which was in the territory of Velitræ; and as it was ſituated in the midſt of the Pomptine marſhes, muſt of courſe have been well ſtocked with frogs (47). Hence it is, that Tully calls the inhabitants of this town frogs, becauſe, like frogs, they lived in the midſt of marſhes (48).

(46) Æneid. l. v. ver. 569, 570. (47) Suet. in Octav.
(48) Cic. epiſt. ſam. l. vii. ep. 18.

with all the tenderneſs of a father, and very early formed the deſign of adopting him, in caſe he had no children of his own. He deſigned to take him with him into Spain, when he went thither to make war on the ſons of Pompey, that he might have an opportunity of inſtructing him in the military art; but his mother Accia, alarmed at a ſlight indiſpoſition, with which he was ſeized when upon the point of departing, kept him in Rome till that war was near ended, the battle of Munda being fought before he reached Spain. He intended to carry him with him to the Parthian war, and with this view ſent him before to Apollonia, on the other ſide of the Adriatic, to wait for him there, and in the mean time improve his talent for eloquence under the famous rhetorician Apollodorus of Pergamus. He had been ſix months in Apollonia, when he received the news of his uncle's tragical death. which moſt ſenſibly afflicted him. At firſt he knew not whether the whole ſenate was privy to his death, or whether he had fallen by a conſpiracy of his private enemies; but, a few days after, he was informed that ſixty ſenators of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome had been in the plot; that even thoſe who had no ſhare in it, did, however, ſecretly favour the conſpirators, whom they looked upon as the deliverers of their country; that this party was very powerful; that Antony, Lepidus, and the other friends of his great-uncle, under pretence of avenging his death, aimed at nothing elſe but to eſtabliſh their own power; that the city was filled with troubles and commotions occaſioned by the animoſity of different parties, &c. At the ſame time he received letters from his mother and father-in-law, and his other friends and relations, adviſing him to forbear for the preſent declaring either his pretenſions or reſentment, ſince there could be no ſafety for him, but in an obſcure and private life. Some of his friends went even ſo far as to adviſe him to renounce Cæſar's adoption, leſt he ſhould be involved in the ſame fate with his uncle. Others would fain have perſuaded him to ſeek for ſhelter among the troops in Macedon, which had, for the moſt part, ſerved under Cæſar, and were appointed to attend him in his expedition againſt the Parthians. But Octavius, rejecting the timorous counſels of his friends, reſolved to paſs over into Italy without delay, to inform himſelf on the ſpot of the ſituation of affairs. Accordingly he went on board a ſmall veſſel, and, paſſing the Adriatic ſea, landed at Lupia, now known by the name of La Rocca, between Brunduſium and Hydruntum. The former of theſe two cities was the uſual place of landing for thoſe who came

Is informed at Apollonia of his uncle's death.

Rejects the advice of his friends and relations, and ſets out for Italy.

from the eaſt; but Octavius thought it adviſeable not to ſhew himſelf there, the place being full of ſoldiers, till he had, by means of ſome dexterous perſons, ſounded the diſpoſitions of both the inhabitants and garriſon. The latter no ſooner heard of the arrival of their late general's ſon, than they went out in a body to meet him, and introduced him in a kind of triumph into the city. Octavius thanked them for their attachment and reſpect to the memory of his uncle, and, after having offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods, declared himſelf Cæſar's heir and ſon by adoption, called himſelf no longer Caius Octavius, but Caius Julius Cæſar Octavianus (L); and by the latter name we ſhall diſtinguiſh him, following therein moſt of the antients, till he acquires that of Auguſtus, which was given him by the ſenate after the victory he gained over Antony at Actium. His thus taking the name of Cæſar, and declaring himſelf his heir in ſo critical a conjuncture, was, no doubt, a bold ſtep in a youth ſcarce eighteen years old; the more, becauſe it was againſt the advice of his friends and relations: but from his firſt ſetting out, fortune ſeemed to eſpouſe his cauſe; and indeed his riſe ſeems to us more owing to fortune, that is, to ſeaſonable conjunctures, and to the great reputation of his uncle, whoſe memory was adored by the ſoldiery and populace, than to any extraordinary parts of his own. All the writers of his time, whether hiſtorians or poets, men of great wit, but notorious flatterers, repreſent him as the greateſt commander, the ableſt ſtateſman, and the moſt accompliſhed prince, the world ever ſaw; but whether he deſerved the praiſes, which they ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon him and for which they were amply rewarded, is a queſtion which muſt be decided by facts. But to proceed: the garriſon of Brunduſium, which was very numerous and conſiſted for the moſt part of brave veterans, whom Cæſar intended to lead againſt the Parthians, not only offered their ſervices to Octavianus

Declares himſelf Cæſar's heir.

How ſupplied with arms, money, &c.

(L) Adopted perſons aſſumed all the three names of him who adopted them; but as a mark of their proper deſcent, added at the end either their former nomen, or cognomen; the firſt exactly the ſame as before, for inſtance, Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo Brutus, the name of M. Junius Brutus when adopted by Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo. The other was added with ſome ſlight alteration, as in the caſe before us, Octavius calling himſelf, after his adoptive father, C. Julius Cæſar, and changing the cognomen Octavius into Octavianus, declaring himſelf thereby to be of the Octavian family.

tavianus, but put him in poſſeſſion of all the military ſtores and proviſions, which Cæſar had prepared for his Parthian expedition and conveyed to Brunduſium, in order to be tranſported from thence into the eaſt. At the ſame time, Octavianus had the good luck to intercept the tributes, which were ſent annually to Rome from the provinces on the other ſide of the ſea, and likewiſe the proviſions and money deſigned for the ſupport and payment of the troops of the republic in Macedon. Theſe Octavianus ſeized for his own uſe, which was, according to the laws of Rome, a capital crime, and would have been puniſhed with death in leſs turbulent times; but Octavianus, young as he was, had already reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the republic, under the ſpecious pretence of revenging his uncle's death. Being thus ſupplied at once with men, money, arms, and proviſions, he ſet out from Brunduſium, and took his rout through Campania to Rome. On the fourteenth of the calends of May he arrived at Naples, and the next day went to viſit Cicero at his country-houſe in the neighbourhood of Cumæ, whither the orator had retired for fear of Antony, who now governed Rome with an abſolute ſway. Of this viſit Cicero himſelf makes mention in one of his epiſtles to Atticus [w]. Octavianus wanted a man of Cicero's elequence and authority to ſupport his intereſt in the ſenate, and Cicero, one of Octavianus's credit among the troops to ſcreen him againſt the attempts of Antony, with whom he had quarrelled. It was therefore agreed between them that Cicero ſhould aſſiſt Octavianus with his eloquence, both in the ſenate and with the people, and that Octavianus, on the other hand, ſhould defend Cicero againſt all his enemies eſpecially M. Anto[illegible] (M). From Cumæ

Viſits Cicero.

Agreement between Cicero and Octavianus.

[w] Cic ad Attic. l. xiv. ep. 10.

(M) We are told by Plutarch, that Cicero had long had a tender regard for young Octavius, which, if that writer is to be credited, was occaſioned by the following dream: While Pompey and Cæſar were yet alive, ſays Plutarch, Cicero, in a dream, ſeemed to ſummon the ſons of the ſenators into the capitol, as if Jupiter deſigned to declare one of them the ſovereign of Rome. The citizens, haſtening thither out of curioſity, ſurrounded the temple; and the youths, ſitting in their purple robes, kept a profound ſilence. On a ſudden the doors opened, and the youths ariſing paſſed one by one before the god, who reviewed them all one after another, and diſmiſſed them; at which they ſeemed much

Octavianus purſued his journey to Rome, being joined, as he paſſed through Campania, by the moſt conſiderable of his uncle's friends, his relations, free-men, and even his ſlaves. The veterans likewiſe, to whom Cæſar, after the civil war, had given lands in Italy, haſtened from all parts to offer their ſervice to his adopted ſon. As he drew near Rome, moſt of the magiſtrates, the officers of the army, and the people came out in throngs to meet him. Of all the friends and creatures of the dictator, Antony alone neglected to pay him the leaſt reſpect; nay he did not ſo much as deign to ſend any of his ſervants or attendants to compliment him in his name; but of this young Octavianus took no notice, being unwilling, on ſo trifling an account, to diſoblige one, with whom he had affairs of much greater moment to tranſact. His friends indeed could not forbear publicly condemning the pride and ingratitude of Antony; but Octavianus, with a ſeeming good temper, excuſed him on account of his great age and the prerogatives of the conſular dignity. "It behoves me, who "am but a young man, and in a private ſtation," ſaid he, "to wait the firſt on one who is my ſenior, and in the higheſt poſt of the republic. Accordingly he reſolved to make him a viſit the next morning; but, as he deſigned to have his adoption firſt ratified by the prætor according to the Roman cuſtom, he deſires his friends to meet him early the next morning in the forum, with as many attendants as they could get together, in order to aſſiſt at that ceremony. His friends and relations, with numerous crowds of clients and attendants, accompanied him early in the morning, purſuant to his requeſt, into the forum, where he proved before Caius, the brother much diſpleaſed: but when it came to Octavius's turn to be reviewed, Jupiter, ſtretching forth his hand, ſaid aloud, "This "O Romans! this young man, when he ſhall become maſter of "Rome, ſhall put an end to all your cruel wars." The ſame author adds, that Cicero, by this viſion had framed a perfect idea of the youth and preſerved it in his mind, tho' he did not know him. The next day as he was going down into the campus Martius, he met the boys returning from their exerciſes, and the firſt he ſaw was young Octavius juſt as he had appeared to him in his dream. Being greatly ſurpriſed at this, he aſked him who he was; and hearing he was the grandſon of Julia, Cæſars's ſiſter, from that time he ſaluted him where-ever he met him, and ſhewed on all occaſions a particular regard for him. But we do not find one word of this in all Cicero's works; and yet it is not to be preſumed, that he would have concealed ſo ſignificant a dream from his friend Atticus.

ther of Antony, at that time prætor urbanus or city prætor, his adoption, declared with the uſual ceremonies his acceptance of the ſame, and cauſed this his acceptance to be regiſtered by the public ſcribes or notaries. From the forum Octavianus went ſtrait to Pompey's gardens, where Antony then reſided, he having appropriated them to himſelf upon that great man's death. The conſul made him wait a great while at the gate, to let him know, by that affected diſregard, how much he was above him, and what degree of authority he deſigned to maintain over him. At length he admitted him into his apartment, and received him with great politeneſs and civility. Octavianus ſpoke firſt. He began with returning thanks to Antony for his attachment to the memory of his father, and the panegyric he made at his funeral. Then he modeſtly complained of his having ſuffered a pardon to paſs in favour of the conſpirators, whom he might have puniſhed with as much ſeverity, and as arbitrarily, as he had done the impoſtor Amatius. He reminded him in a very handſome manner of Cæſar's friendſhip to him, and of the many good offices he had done him. He conjured him, by the memory of his friend and benefactor, to aſſiſt him in revenging his death, at leaſt not to oppoſe him in ſo laudable an undertaking. In the cloſe of his ſpeech he gave Antony to underſtand, that he was reſolved to pay immediately the legacies which his father had left to the people and ſoldiery, and therefore deſired him to deliver up to him, as Cæſar's chief heir, the money which he had cauſed to be conveyed from Cæſar's houſe to his own; "But as that," ſaid he, "will hardly "be ſufficient to diſcharge all my obligations, I ſhall be "highly obliged to you, if you will either lend me ſome of "your own, or procure me ſome at intereſt from the queſt-"ors, that I may pay off what ſhall remain due to thoſe "whom my father has remembered in his will. As for his "moveables, I am willing you ſhould keep them, as marks "of his affection; but for the ready money I have preſent "occaſion, and therefore hope you will order it, without "delay, to be delivered to me." Antony, amazed at the young man's boldneſs, and piqued at what he ſaid in the cloſe of his ſpeech relating to his father's money, which, according to Plutarch, amounted to no leſs than four thouſand talents, told him with an air of authority, That he was very much miſtaken, if he fancied, that Cæſar had left him heir of the Roman empire, as well as of his name and fortune; that his death ought to have taught his adopted ſon, that the conſtitution of the commonwealth allowed neither of hereditary

Octavianus proves his adoption.

His ſpeech to Antony at their firſt interview.

Antony's reply.

tary nor elective ſovereigns; and that therefore he ought not do demand reaſons of a Roman conſul for what he had done in the government of the commonwealth. As for the obligations, which he pretended to owe him on account of the honours which he had procured for his father's memory, he willingly acquitted him of them all, ſince what he had done was without any regard to him, and only deſigned for the good of his country. However, added he, to me alone you are indebted for his name and his eſtate; for had Cæſar been treated like an uſurper, which I alone prevented, there had been neither will, inheritance, nor adoption: but I ſecured to him the honours due to his memory, and by that means his name and eſtate to you, even at the hazard of my own life. 'Tis true, I have ſuffered ſome decrees to paſs in the ſenate favourable to the conſpirators; but I have been prompted thereunto by reaſons, which one of your age is not capable of diſcerning. As to Cæſar's money, which you demand, it does not amount to ſo great a ſum as you imagine; beſides, as it belonged to the commonwealth, from which your father took it, it has been, in great part, ſhared among the magiſtrates ſince his death, who are to lay it out according to the exigencies of the ſtate. As for what remains, I am ready to put it into your hands; but give me leave to adviſe you, young man, not to lay it out in largeſſes and gratifications: employ it rather in ſending back to their reſpective colonies that ſhoal of followers, who attended you hither. The populace is a monſter that will never be ſatisfied, and will always requite the good offices of their fellow-citizens with the baſeſt ingratitude. As you are converſant in the Grecian hiſtory, you muſt know, that the favourites of the people are, generally ſpeaking, ſhort-lived, and that the popular affection is more inconſtant than the waves of the ocean [x].

Octavianus, highly offended at this ſpeech, took his leave of Antony, repeating ſeveral times, as he went out of the door, the name of Cæſar. He was well appriſed, that the conſul kept his father's money and eſtate from him, with no other view but to diſable him from purchaſing the favour of the people. He therefore reſolved to expoſe to public ſale all the houſes and lands that belonged to the dictator, declaring, that he had not accepted his inheritance, had it not been to prevent Antony from depriving ſo many families of the effects of Cæſar's

[x] Liv. l. cxvii. Appian. l. iii p. 531, 533. Dion l. xlv. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 60. Suet. in Octavio. Cic. epiſt ad Attic. 10 & 13. l. xiv. Oroſ. l. vi. c. 10.

far's bounty towards them; but the conſul, to put a ſtop to the ſale, prevailed upon ſome private citizens to claim the lands, as the eſtates of their anceſtors, which the dictator had appropriated to himſelf during the civil war. At the ſame time the quæſtors and other officers of the revenue, at the inſtigation of the conſul, claimed part of thoſe lands, as having been confiſcated for the uſe of the public. Hereupon Octavianus, foreſeeing the affair would be drawn out to a great length, inſtantly put up to ſale his own patrimony, with the eſtates of his mother and father-in-law, who willingly parted with them to promote his deſigns, and aſſiſt him in purchaſing the favour of the people. With the money accruing from theſe ſales he paid part of his father's legacies; which affected generoſity ſo charmed the populace, who expected more favours from him, that they all declared in his favour, and broke out into bitter invectives againſt Antony, for withholding from him his father's eſtate. A few days after, a new diſpute aroſe between Antony and Octavianus, on occaſion of the public ſhews, which Crotonius exhibited during his ædileſhip. The ſenate had decreed, as we have related above, in Cæſar's life-time, that at all public ſhews, a gilt chair and a crown of gold ſhould be placed for him even after his death, to make the memory of that great man immortal. Purſuant to this decree, Octavianus failed not to ſend the chair and crown; but the ædile, gained over by Antony, refuſed to admit them. Hereupon the affair being carried before the conſul, Antony anſwered coldly, That he would refer it to the ſenate; "And I," anſwered Octavianus haughtily, "will go and place my father's chair where "it ought to ſtand, while you are conſulting the conſcript "fathers." Antony, provoked at the young man's boldneſs, threatened to ſend him to priſon, if he offered to bring forth his father's chair and crown, either at the games of Crotonius, or at thoſe which he himſelf was to exhibit in honour of the dictator before the temple of Venus. Octavianus, perceiving that his prohibition was ill received by the people, reſolved to turn it to his advantage; and accordingly going into the forum, complained there to the multitude of the injury done to the memory of his father, addreſſing himſelf to Antony, as if he had been preſent: "Why ſhould your hatred "to me," ſaid he, "extend to Cæſar who deſerved well of "you? Why do you endeavour to prevent me from paying "thoſe honours to the memory of my father, which you your"ſelf procured, and the ſenate decreed for him? Sacrifice "me, if you pleaſe, to your revenge; but do not thus revile "the manes of a great man, to whom you owe your preſent "dignity.

Antony's artifices.

Octavianus gains the favour of the people.

Falls out with Antony.

" dignity. Suffer me at leaſt, O Antony, to diſcharge thoſe " legacies, which he has left to his fellow-citizens; I freely " abandon to your inſatiable avarice all the reſt. I ſhall think " myſelf rich enough, if I can but do juſtice to his memory, " by diſtributing among the people what he has left them by " his will." This diſcourſe incenſed the populace againſt Antony; every one deteſted his ingratitude; even his own guards, who had all ſerved under Cæſar, threatened to abandon him, if he continued to perſecute the ſon of their general. Hereupon Antony, finding it behoved him to diſſemble, notwithſtanding his paſſion againſt young Octavianus, anſwered, That he preſerved a tender regard for the memory of Cæſar, and had alſo a great value for his ſon; but that as the young man, proud of the name of Cæſar, pretended to put himſelf upon the level with a conſul, he thought himſelf obliged to make him ſenſible of the difference there was between a private citizen and the chief magiſtrate of the republic; but that he was ready to forget all that was paſt, provided Octavianus would for the future, pay him that reſpect and deference, to which his office and age entitled him. This explanation was, at the requeſt of the officers, followed by an interview, in which, after mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, they promiſed to aſſiſt each other in revenging Cæſar's death and perſecuting the authors of it[x].

They are reconciled.

In this pretended reconciliation with Octavianus, Antony had his private views. As the conſular year was near expiring, he hoped, by the intereſt of Octavianus, to procure for himſelf the province of Ciſalpine Gaul, which had been given to Decimus Brutus by the dictator, and confirmed to him after his death by a decree of the ſenate. As he knew the importance of that government with reſpect to all Italy, he remonſtrated to Octavianus, that ſince he was generouſly diſpoſed to revenge the death of his father, he ought not to ſuffer one of his aſſaſſins to enjoy a command at the very gates of Rome. Octavianus fell into the ſnare, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his intereſt. Hereupon the affair was brought before the ſenate, where it met with great oppoſition, the conſcript fathers looking upon the cauſe of the conſpirators as the ſame with that of liberty. Beſides, they could not turn Brutus out of the province which Cæſar had allotted to him, without reverſing the decree by which they had confirmed all his acts. The propoſal was therefore rejected by a great majority; nay, there were not wanting ſome, who, well appriſed of Antony's ambitious views, propoſed declaring that province a free ſtate, rather

[x] Plut. Dio. Appian. ibid.

rather than truſting the government of it to one, who would make uſe of it as a place of arms, and from thence awe the capital; but as that province ſeemed very convenient for his deſigns, Anthony had recourſe to the people, whoſe tribunes he had bribed; and the undiſcerning multitude, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the ſenate, granted him the government he deſired. On this occaſion Octavianus employed all his intereſt in favour of Antony, and it was chiefly by his intrigues and under-hand management, that the conſul carried his point. The conſcript fathers immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Brutus, acquainting him with what had paſſed, adviſing him not to deliver up the province to Antony; but to fortify himſelf there, and keep out the conſul, if neceſſary, by force of arms [x].

Antony obtains of the people the province of Ciſalpine Gaul.

THE friends of Cæſar triumphed on account of the reconciliation between Octavianus and Antony, but, as the intereſts of the two rivals were ſo widely oppoſite, each of them aſpiring at the ſame power which Cæſar had enjoyed, it was impoſſible they ſhould continue long united. Antony, thinking himſelf now maſter of Italy, began to thwart Octavianus's meaſures and regard him leſs; nay, he commanded him, under ſevere penalties, to forbear bribing the populace with his largeſſes: and becauſe Octavianus, by the great intereſt he had among the people, was likely to get Flaminius, one of his creatures, named to the tribunate, Antony employed all his credit and authority with the multitude to poſtpone the election. Thus the hatred and averſion of the two rivals were kindled anew. Antony never mentioned Octavianus, but with the epithets of a "raſh, turbulent" and "ſeditious young man;" while Octavianus, on the other hand, left no ſtone unturned to ſtir up the reſentment of the people againſt Antony, The ſenate was overjoyed at this diviſion; but Antony's guards and the late dictator's friends did not fail to remonſtrate to him anew the dangerous conſequences of their diſagreement, and to exhort Antony to be reconciled again to the ſon of their general: "Both your ſafety and ours," ſaid they, "depends upon the "undoing of the conſpirators. If their party prevails, we muſt "expect to be proſcribed, as the miniſters and accomplices of "an uſurper. Nothing can ſupport our party but your union with young Octavianus. Aſſiſt him therefore in his gene"rous deſign of revenging Cæſar's death. Let it not be ſaid, "that the dictator's beſt friend croſſes his ſon in the proſecu"tion of thoſe who have baſely and treacherouſly murdered

A new breach between Antony and Octavianus.

his

[x] Plut. Dio. Appian. ibid.

"his father." Antony was no leſs deſirous of deſtroying the conſpirators than his ſoldiers and officers: but he could not brook it ſhould be owing to Octavianus. He was afraid, that under pretence of revenging Cæſar's death, he might ſeize on the ſovereign power, after having ruined the republican party. This was the ſecret motive that prompted him to oppoſe Octavianus, whom he ſaw greatly beloved both by the ſoldiery and people. However, as it much concerned him not to diſoblige the officers and legionaries, who had followed him ſince the dictator's death, he undertook to juſtify his conduct to them in the following harangue, which is related at length by Appian[y], and unravels all the myſteries of his wicked policy. After having given them an account of the diſturbances that hapened in the city upon the firſt news of Cæſar's death, he goes on thus: "The general cry was, that the "republic was reſtored, and the ſenate ſeemed diſpoſed to "decree a reward for the aſſaſſins, as the authors of liberty. "If this had been effected, Cæſar had been declared a ty-"rant, and we all involved in the ſame ſentence as his accom-"plices; but I alone ſtood up againſt all the conſpirators, their "relations, their friends, and, I may ſay, againſt the ſenate it-"ſelf. Their adherents foreſeeing, that, if Cæſar was not de-"clared a tyrant, the conſpirators might be puniſhed, were "very ſanguine for having his memory branded with infamy. "As both parties defended their opinions with obſtinacy, I "thought it adviſeable to propoſe a general pardon for the con-"ſpirators, rather than a reward. The conſcript fathers ap-"proved of my propoſal, and, thinking the conſpirators ſecure "were eaſily prevailed upon to drop the queſtion relating to "Cæſar. Thus I preſerved the glory of his name entire, "ſaved his eſtate and goods from being forfeited, and pre-"vented that adoption from being cancelled, which now "makes Octavianus ſo daring. He enjoys the fruit of my "cares. To get his father's will confirmed, I conſented to "a pardon in favour of the conſpirators; but you muſt not "infer from thence, that my deſign was to ſecure their lives: "I only reprieved them. It was not my fault if they were "not all tore to pieces on the day of Cæſar's obſequies. "Under pretence of deploring Cæſar's death, I incenſed the "people againſt them, and obliged them to quit Rome. I "have oppoſed all the meaſures of the ſenate tending to their "ſafety. I have obtained of the people, notwithſtanding "the oppoſition of the conſcript fathers, the province of Ciſalpine

Antony endeavours to juſtify his conduct.

[y] Appian. l. iii. c. 9.

" Ciſalpine Gaul, whence, with your aſſiſtance, I deſign to " drive Decimus Brutus. In ſhort, I am determined at all " adventures to revenge your general's death, and uſe my " utmoſt endeavours to compaſs the total ruin of all who " have had any hand in his murder. Such has hitherto been " my conduct, ſuch are at preſent my deſigns, which I was " unwilling to conceal from you, who are to aſſiſt me in the " execution of them." This ſpeech ſatisfied his officers; yet they inſiſted on his being reconciled anew to Octavianus, with whom, at their requeſt, he had a ſecond interview in the capitol, which ended in mutual engagements and promiſes to aſſiſt each other, as the former had done; but notwithſtanding their pretended reconciliation, they parted juſt as ſincere friends as they were before. Octavianus was willing, that Antony, as his father's creature, ſhould aſſiſt him in revenging Cæſar's death; but would not put him at the head of a party, which, after the defeat of the conſpirators, would be maſter of the republic. On the other hand, Antony, quite indifferent about the revenging of Cæſar's death, only pretended to be in earneſt, to ingratiate himſelf with the ſoldiery and populace. The ſovereign power was what he aimed at, and whoever traverſed him in the purſuit of it, whether Octavianus, Brutus, or Caſſius, was equally odious t· him.

Is reconciled anew to Octavianus.

And now Antony, the more to attach his colleague Cornelius Dolabella to his intereſt, and at the ſame time to weaken the party of the conſpirators, perſuaded him to demand the government of Syria, which had been allotted by Cæſar to Caſſius, and the command of the army which the dictator had deſigned to lead againſt the Parthians. The ſenate, highly offended at ſuch an unſeaſonable demand, remonſtrated to him, that it was an inſult both upon the memory of Cæſar, who had given that government to Caſſius, and upon them, who had, by a ſpecial decree, confirmed all his ordinances; but Dolabella, who was now wholly addicted to Antony, anſwered, that Caſſius had firſt tranſgreſſed the ordinances of Cæſar; and that a traitor, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his friend and benefactor, ought not to have any ſhare in his favours. As the ſenate continued inflexible, the affair was brought before the people, who readily granted the government of Syria to Dolabella, in hopes of ſeeing a ſpeedy vengeance taken of the dictator's enemies, without conſidering, that their death would be immediately followed with the loſs of their own liberty. Antony, taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the people, prevailed upon them at the ſame time to confer on his brother Caius Antonius the government

The government of Syria conferred on Dolabella, and that of Macedon and Illyricum on C. Antonius.

ment of Macedon and Illyricum, which had been given to M. Brutus. By these new promotions Brutus and Cassius were deprived of their governments; but the senate, who placed all their hopes in these brave patriots, and were equally jealous of Octavianus and Antony, procured other provinces for them, viz. Cyrene and Crete for Cassius, and Bithynia for Brutus [a].

A new breach between Antony and Octavianus.

As the reconciliation of Antony and Octavianus was forced and no-ways sincere, their pretended friendship was but short-lived. A few days after they had mutually engaged in the capitol to assist each other, Antony caused some of his guards to be put under arrest, giving out, that they had been corrupted by Octavianus to murder him. This point has never been well cleared up. Some writers are of opinion, that it was only a fetch of Antony's to estrange the minds of the people from his rival. Others seemed inclined to believe, that Octavianus had really formed such a design, and that he was put upon it by the conscript fathers, with whom he was at that time upon very good terms. Cicero, tho' a friend to Octavianus, does not question the fact; but endeavours to turn it to the glory of Octavianus, as if he ought to be highly commended for attempting to deliver the republic from so cruel an enemy. There were not wanting some among the zealous republicans, who imagined, that the whole was agreed on before-hand between the heads of the two parties, that they might have a plausible pretence to raise troops for the accomplishment of their private designs; but their ensuing conduct sufficiently shewed, that each of them sought the other's destruction, and aspired to remain alone at the head of the party, which was opposite to that of the conspirators.

They both arm.

With this view they began now both to raise forces. Antony sent orders to his brother Caius, for whom he had procured the government of Macedon, to bring over into Italy four of the legions that were quartered in that province. He flattered himself, that Lepidus, who was now in Spain at the head of four legions, and Plancus, who commanded three more in Transalpine Gaul, would declare for him. On the other hand, Octavianus, fearing to be surprised and crushed by his enemy, hastened into Campania, where he drew together ten thousand brave veterans, who had served under Cæsar, and had been rewarded by him for their service with lands in that part of Italy. To these the name of Evocati was first given, because after they had served their legal time, and received the

[a] Dio. l. xlv. Liv. l. cxvii. Appian. l. iii. p. 543—546.

the rewards due to their valour, they were again invited into the army. He likewiſe found means to corrupt with large preſents and gain over two of Antony's legions, the Martial and the fourth. Having thus raiſed an army of his own authority, without being inveſted either with a military title, or any magiſtracy which gave him right to head the forces of the republic; eſpecially againſt a conſul, he marched ſtrait to Rome; but thought it adviſeable to halt at the temple of Mars, about two miles from the city, till he obtained the conſent of the people for his entry. Canutius, a tribune of the people, in an harangue to the multitude, aſſured them, that young Octavianus had no other view, in entering Rome with ſo numerous a guard, but to protect them and himſelf from the inſults and dangerous attempts of the cruel and ambitious conſul. The populace, always ſhort in their foreſight, believed their tribune, and ſuffered Octavianus to enter the city with all his forces. Antony was then at Brunduſium, whither he had gone to appeaſe a tumult, which ſome mutineers had raiſed among the Macedonian legions; but as he was hourly expected back, both with his own guards and the other legions which had remained faithful to him, no-body doubted, but a civil war would ſoon be kindled within the very walls of Rome. In this perſuaſion ſome ſided with Antony, others with Octavianus; but the moſt diſcerning among the ſenators declared for neither, affecting to ſtand neuter, and, in the mean time, ſtirring up under-hand the heads of the two parties againſt each other, not without hopes of ſeeing them both undone by their mutual hatred [b]. Cicero, out of the averſion he bore to Antony, ſided with Octavianus, whom he had aſſiſted with his advice ever ſince his firſt arrival in Italy, omitting no occaſion to diſcredit his rival Antony both with the ſenate and people, as plainly appears from thoſe inimitable declamations which have reached us, and are known by the name of Philippics, a name borrowed from the orations which Demoſthenes wrote againſt Philip the father of Alexander. M. Brutus, who was ſtill in the neighbourhood of Rome, wrote ſeveral letters to Cicero, wherein he complained of his conduct in very ſharp terms, telling him, that notwithſtanding his boaſted love of liberty, he was very ſenſible he could endure a tyrant; that it was manifeſt, from his courting Octavianus, that he did not intend liberty for his country,

Octavianus enters Rome with a numerous body of men.

Cicero favours Octavianus.

Brutus complains of his conduct.

[b] Appian. Dio. Vell. Paterc. ibid. Cic. in epiſt. ad Attic. & famil. paſſ.

country, but a bountiful master for himself; but our forefathers, said Brutus, could not brook even an easy and gentle slavery. As for my own part, says he in one of his letters, I am not resolved whether I shall make war or peace; but as to one point I am fixed and settled, which is, never to be a slave. I wonder, that you, says he in writing to Cicero, should fear the danger of a civil war, and not be much more afraid of a dishonourable and infamous peace. All you can promise yourself from destroying the tyranny of Antony is, to make Octavianus a tyrant. Such were the sentiments of that noble and truly generous spirit [c]!

But to return to Antony: after he had appeased the tumult, which had been raised among his troops at Brundusium by the emissaries of Octavianus, and discharged such of the officers as he distrusted, he ordered his legions to march to Ariminum; but took himself his rout towards Rome, which he entered at the head of a thousand well-armed legionaries; but the very next day he left the city, and went to Alba, in hopes of regaining the two legions which had revolted from him, and were quartered in that city; but they shutting the gates against him, he hastened from thence to Tibur, where he had lodged great store of ammunition and provisions, with a design to drive Decimus Brutus out of Cisalpine Gaul. At Tibur he was joined by the tenth legion, lately arrived from Macedon, by several senators, and a great number of Roman knights, who came to offer him their service. Many veterans likewise, who had formerly served under him, flocked to him from all parts of Italy; so that he began his march towards Ariminum at the head of five legions, and a considerable body of Roman knights. Octavianus was in the mean time at Alba, with the two legions that had abandoned Antony, one of new-raised soldiers, and two of such veterans as had served under his father. From this place he wrote to the senate, complaining of the inconstancy of some members of that august body, who, after the most solemn protestations of friendship to him, had basely abandoned his party and joined that of his rival. At the same time, he offered to march with all his forces against Antony, as a common enemy. The senate commended the young general's zeal, but adjourned all deliberations on so weighty an affair, till the election of new consuls. But the soldiers pressed him to take upon him the title of proprætor, without waiting till the senate or consuls conferred it upon him, and in that quality to head

Antony marches his troops towards Ariminum.

[c] Plut. in Bruto & Cic.

head them againſt Antony. Octavianus well knew that this would give great umbrage to the ſenate, whoſe favour he deſigned to court till he had got rid of Antony; and therefore he refuſed the title, with which his legionaries were willing to honour him. When his moſt intimate friends, whom he uſed to conſult in all affairs of moment, remonſtrated to him, that his troops would ſcruple to obey a citizen without any title or magiſtracy, he acquainted them with the reaſons which induced him to refuſe the title offered him by the army. The ſenate, ſaid he, has declared for me, not out of friendſhip to me, but becauſe they are afraid of Antony: their deſign is to make uſe of me to deſtroy him, and afterwards to deſtroy me by the hands of thoſe who have aſſaſſinated my father; but this is not a proper time to let them underſtand, that I have penetrated ſo far into the myſteries of their policy, which I ſhould certainly do, if I accepted of thoſe honours which the army offers me: this they would look upon as an incroachment upon their authority, and hate me as much as they do Antony. Let us therefore diſſemble for a while; my pretended reſpect and ſubmiſſion to them will engage them to confer on me a dignity, which they know, my ſoldiers are diſpoſed to give me in ſpite of them. And indeed the conſcript fathers, deceived by his ſeeming modeſty, conferred on him that very title which he had lately refuſed; nay, at the motion of Cicero, deſirous of having in him a powerful and hearty protector againſt Antony, they ordered a ſtatue to be erected to him, gave him a place in the ſenate, and enabled him to hold the conſulate ten years ſooner than was allowed by law. Thus was the timorous orator ſecuring a protector to himſelf at the expence of the public ſafely [d].

Octavianus's affected modeſty and private views.

In the mean time, Antony from his camp at Ariminum diſpatched a meſſenger to Decimus Brutus, acquainting him with the decree of the people, which deprived him of the government of Ciſalpine Gaul, and conferred it on himſelf. To the decree of the people Brutus oppoſed that of the ſenate, confirming all the acts of Cæſar. After ſeveral meſſages and deputations, Antony at length threatened to have him declared an enemy to the republic, if within a limited time he did not reſign to him the government of a province, which had been allotted to him by the Roman people. Brutus, without being in the leaſt frightened by his threats, returned anſwer, that he had been appointed governor of Ciſalpine Gaul by a de-

[d] Appian. Dio. Plut. ibid. & Cic. paſſim in epiſt. & Philippic. 1, & 2.

cree of the ſenate, and would not quit his province, till thoſe who had placed him in it thought fit to recall him. Hereupon the conſul, breaking into the province at the head of a numerous army, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities, and even laid ſiege to Mutina, now Modena, whither Brutus had retired with a troop of gladiators and three legions, two of which he had formerly commanded under Cæſar. The ſiege of Mutina was looked upon by the ſenate as a declaration of war; but they poſtponed all deliberations on ſo important a ſubject, till the new conſuls entered upon their office. Theſe were Caius Vibius Panſa and Aulus Hirtius, who had both ſerved under Cæſar, and were great friends to Cicero. Hirtius was the author of that relation of the Alexandrian and African wars, which is annexed to Cæſar's commentaries. They no ſooner entered upon their office, than they aſſembled the ſenate, and, after having ſet forth in a very pathetic ſpeech the evils with which the republic was threatened, they propoſed the two following queſtions to the conſideration of the conſcript fathers, viz. what rewards the two legions deſerved, that had abandoned Antony to ſide with Octavianus, and what expedients they judged proper to be taken in order to bring Antony to renounce his pretenſions to the province of Ciſalpine Gaul? It was unanimouſly reſolved, that the two legions ſhould be rewarded, and the conſuls were impowered to confer on them what rewards they thought proper. As for Antony, ſome were of opinion, that a deputation ſhould be ſent to him, entreating him in the name of the ſenate to raiſe the ſiege of Mutina and abandon that province. But Cicero, in a ſpeech, which has reached us, viz. his fifth Philippic, ſhewed, it was beneath the dignity of the Roman people to treat with a revolted citizen, and that negotiations would only give him time to ſtrengthen himſelf in the province he had uſurped; he was therefore of opinion, and promoted his opinion with great warmth and eloquence, that war ſhould be forthwith proclaimed againſt him, as a common enemy. His ſpeech was filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt Antony and the higheſt commendations of Octavianus; which ſeems to confirm the truth of what M. Brutus wrote to his friend Atticus, viz. that Cicero did not, in ſiding with young Cæſar, intend to deliver his country from tyranny, but to procure a bountiful maſter to himſelf. Others are of opinion, that Cicero, deceived by the affected modeſty and feigned proteſtations of the young politician, really believed, that he had nothing elſe in view but to guard himſelf and the

Antony invades the province of Ciſalpine Gaul, and lays ſiege to Mutina.

the republic againſt the ambitious attempts of Antony. However that be, after warm debates, which laſted three days, Cicero, who bore great ſway in the ſenate, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to paſs a decree, commanding Antony to raiſe the ſiege of Mutina without delay, to quit the province of Ciſalpine Gaul, and marching his troops over the Rubicon, which parted Gaul from Italy, to wait on the banks of that river for further commands from the ſenate. All this he was ordered under pain of being declared an enemy to his country. But Antony, who had a numerous army under his command, and could not perſuade himſelf, that Octavianus would employ his forces againſt him in favour of one of the conſpirators, paid no manner of reſpect either to the deputies of the ſenate, who were ſent to acquaint him with the decree, or to the decree itſelf. Hereupon, at the motion of Cicero, Antony was declared an enemy to his country, and the two conſuls were ordered to raiſe troops and haſten to the relief of Brutus, who was cloſely beſieged, and already reduced to great ſtreights in Mutina. At the ſame time, Octavianus was commanded by the ſenate to join his forces to thoſe of the conſuls, and to act in concert with them againſt the common enemy. He was inveſted with a power equal to that of the conſuls, and it was decreed, that the veterans, who ſerved under him, ſhould be rewarded with lands as ſoon as the war was ended, and be exempted for ever from the ſervice [e].

Antony ordered by the ſenate to raiſe the ſiege of Mutina.

He is at the motion of Cicero declared an enemy to his country.

WHILE the two conſuls were buſy in raiſing troops, news was brought to Rome of the death of Caius Trebonius, who by a decree of the ſenate had been ſent into Aſia in quality of proconſul. The manner of his death is thus related by Cicero. Dolabella having obtained, as we have related above, by means of Antony, the government of Syria, haſtened thither; but on his arrival found Trebonius in poſſeſſion of ſeveral cities, which he had ſeized as lieutenant to Brutus, who had been firſt appointed governor of that province. As Dolabella was not in a condition to diſpoſſeſs him by force of the places he held, he invited him to an interview, in which it was agreed that they ſhould abſtain from all manner of hoſtilities, and live in perfect amity and friendſhip; for Dolabella pretended now, as he had

[e] Cic. Philippic. 5. & epiſt. ad Brutum 15. Liv. l. cxviii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 81. Suet. in Octavio. Plut. in Antonio. Appian. l. iii. p. 359, 360. Dio. l. xlvi. p. 310.

had done formerly, to be in his heart a friend and well-wiſher to Brutus and his followers. The credulous republican, relying on the promiſes of Dolabella, continued quietly at Smyrna as in the moſt peaceable times; but his treacherous rival, taking advantage of his ſecurity and indolence, ſurpriſed the city in the dead of the night, and having taken Trebonius himſelf priſoner, delivered him up to a Roman exile, by name Samiarius; who, after having made him ſuffer by Dolabella's orders, for two days together, the moſt exquiſite torments which rage and cruelty could invent, cauſed his head to be cut off, and his body to be dragged through all the ſtreets of Smyrna, and then thrown into the ſea. His head was carried on the point of a ſpear all over the city, and afterwards ſet up over-againſt the tribunal, where he uſed to adminiſter juſtice. From thence it was taken down by the ſoldiers, who being incenſed againſt Trebonius, as privy to the death of their general, abuſed the poor remains of his body in the groſſeſt manner [f] (N). Thus

C. Trebonius treacherouſly murdered by Dolabella in Syria.

[f] Cic. Philippica 11.

(N) Appian, Dion Caſſius, and Velleius Paterculus relate this affair in a different manner. They tell us, that Trebonius, who had been ſent into Syria by Brutus as his lieutenant, refuſed to admit Dolabella, though conſul, into the cities of Smyrna and Pergamus; but nevertheleſs, out of reſpect to the conſular dignity, ſupplied his army with proviſions, and ſent word to the Epheſians, that they might open their gates to him. While the conſul was marching towards Epheſus at the head of his army, Trebonius detached a ſmall body of troops after him to obſerve his motions. As he quietly purſued his rout to Epheſus without committing any hoſtilities, the greateſt part of Trebonius's troops returned to Smyrna. Then Dolabella, turning back unexpectedly upon thoſe who remained, cut them all to a man in pieces, and advancing by the favour of the night to Smyrna without being perceived, ſurpriſed the city, and put all thoſe to the ſword who offered to oppoſe him. A party of his ſoldiers, breaking into the houſe where Trebonius lodged, ſeized him in bed. The proconſul earneſtly intreated the centurion, who commanded the party, to carry him to Dolabella, "We will carry you to the conſul," anſwered the centurion, who was one of Cæſar's old ſoldiers: "But your head "muſt remain here." Accordingly he immediately cut off his head, which was kicked about by the incenſed ſoldiery in a moſt contemptuous manner (49).

(49) Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian, l. iii. p. 542, §43. Dio, l. xlvii. p. 344.

Thus was Trebonius, the firſt of all the conſpirators, inhumanly ſacrificed to the manes of Cæſar. He was one of the dictator's chief favourites, had been raiſed by him to the conſulate for the three laſt months of the year 708, and had been two years before truſted with the government of Hither Spain, whither he was ſent to ſtop the progreſs of the ſons of Pompey. He ſerved the dictator with great fidelity, till he began openly to aſpire at the ſovereign power; and then, the love of his country getting the better of all private obligations, he joined Brutus, and ſhared with him the glory of delivering, at leaſt for ſome time, his fellow-ſubjects from ſlavery. When the news of his death, and ſoon after the remains of his mangled body were brought to Rome, the ſenate, highly provoked at the cruelty and tyranny of Dolabella, declared him, at the motion of Cicero, a rebel and enemy to his country. At the ſame time, they paſſed a decree enacting, that Brutus ſhould have the government of Macedon and Illyricum, and the command of the forces in thoſe provinces, till ſuch time as the republic recovered her antient majeſty; that he might make uſe of the fleet, which Apuleius had, by Cæſar's orders, got ready, together with all the proviſions, military ſtores, and money, to the amount of ſeven thouſand talents, which Cæſar had lodged in the city of Demetrias, and deſigned for his Parthian expedition; that Caſſius ſhould take upon him the government of Syria, and the charge of making war upon Dolabella and revenging the death of Trebonius; and, laſtly, that all governors and commanders of forces belonging to the republic ſhould receive orders from theſe two generals [g].

Dolabella declared a rebel and enemy to his country.

Antony endeavours to gain over Hirtius and Octavianus.

Antony, being informed by his emiſſaries of ſuch an extraordinary ſtep taken by the ſenate, laid hold of this opportunity to raiſe ſuſpicions and jealouſies in the minds of the conſul Hirtius and young Octavianus againſt the conſcript fathers. He writ a letter to them in common, putting them in mind of the many favours they had received at the dictator's hands, upbraiding them with ingratitude for baſely betraying the cauſe of their benefactor to embrace that of his murderers, and laying open to them the ſecret deſigns of the ſenate, which were to make them the inſtruments of each others ruin. Theſe remonſtrances made a

[g] Cic ad familiar. l. xii. epiſt. 7. & Philippic. 11. Strabo. l. xiv. p. 646. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian. l. iii. p. 542. & l. iv. p. 624. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 344.

deep impreſſion on Octavianus, and inclined him to a reconciliation with his rival. But, as his own intereſt was the ſole rule of his conduct, and he apprehended, that if he joined Antony, that general would pretend to be acknowledged the head of the party, he ſtill purſued his former meaſures, which were to court the favour of the ſenate, till ſuch time as he had got rid of ſo powerful and formidable a rival. Purſuant to this ſcheme, he not only pretended to be quite unacquainted with the private views of the conſcript fathers, but, to give proof of his deference to the conſuls, readily ſurrendered to Hirtius the legions of Mars and the fourth, which had quitted Antony's party, and which the conſul, by a ſecret order from the ſenate, required him to deliver up to himſelf. After this he joined the remainder of his forces to thoſe of Hirtius, and marched with him into Ciſalpine Gaul to the relief of Decimus Brutus, while Panſa, the other conſul, continued in Italy to raiſe more troops there. Hirtius and Octavianus took Bononia and ſeveral other cities which Antony had ſeized, and then advancing to the neighbourhood of Mutina, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from Antony's lines, with a deſign to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him, for want of proviſions, to raiſe the ſiege. In the mean time, P. Ventidius, a ſoldier of fortune, who had ſerved under Cæſar and was a particular friend to Antony, quitting Rome, where Cicero governed with an abſolute ſway, viſited all the colonies which Cæſar had lately eſtabliſhed in Italy; and as he was well known for his valour, and greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, he raiſed in a ſhort time two legions, conſiſting wholly of veterans, with a deſign to march them to the relief of Antony. But firſt, he cauſed ſeveral of them to enter Rome privately with orders to ſeize upon Cicero, who was daily inveighing againſt Antony, and wholly taken up in raiſing money, at the expence of Antony's friends, to pay the troops of Octavianus and the conſuls. But the orator, having timely notice of his deſign, abandoned the city, with ſeveral other ſenators, and concealed himſelf in the country. Hereupon Ventidius, finding his deſign had got vent, marched in all haſte towards Mutina; but all the paſſes being ſeized by Hirtius and Octavianus, he was obliged to retire into Picenum, where he raiſed another legion, keeping his troops in a readineſs to march on the firſt opportunity that offered of ſerving his friend and party [h].

Hirtius and Octavianus march to the relief of Decimus Brutus.

Ventidius raiſes forces to aſſiſt Antony.

In

[h] Appian. Dio, Vell. Patercul. ibid. Cic. Philippic, 11.

In the mean time, Panſa, having raiſed four legions in Rome, left the city, and, taking his rout towards Ciſalpine Gaul, arrived at Bononia. As the country between that city and Mutina was full of woods and marſhes, Hirtius and Octavianus upon the news of his approach detached the legion of Mars, which conſiſted wholly of veterans, with their guards, or prætorian cohorts, under the command of Carfuleius, to cover his march. On the other hand, Antony ſent out in the night-time his two beſt legions, the ſecond and thirty-third, with orders to conceal themſelves among the ruſhes of a large moraſs, which lay on each ſide of the Æmilian way, through which the conſul Panſa was to march. Carfuleius joined the conſular army with his detachment before they reached the moraſs, and was marching in the van at the head of the legion of Mars and the guards of Hirtius and Octavianus, when upon entering the cauſway, which led acroſs the marſh, he obſerved ſome armed men lying among the ruſhes. However, he advanced boldly on the cauſway with the legion of Mars; but was not gone far before he ſaw himſelf inveſted by Antony's two legions, who, ſtarting up from among the reeds and ruſhes, fell upon him with incredible fury. At the ſame time, Antony appeared in perſon at the head of his cavalry, in the neighbouring plain. The conſul Panſa, at the head of two of his legions, flew to the aſſiſtance of the legion of Mars, which was engaged with two of Antony's legions; but thoſe brave veterans, refuſing to admit the conſul's raw and undiſciplined levies into their ranks, for fear they ſhould rather incumber than relieve them, the conſul paſſing the moraſs, marched in good order into the plain, to prevent Antony from lending any aſſiſtance to his legions and guards on the cauſway, where both parties fought with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. Antony's two legions were bent on revenging themſelves on the Martial legion for having abandoned their party; and on the other ſide the Martial legion was reſolved to maintain that honour and reputation which they had gained in many battles under Cæſar. Thus the engagement became a particular quarrel between the ſoldiers; and never did troops fight with more rage and emulation. As their numbers were pretty equal, Antony's two legions being ſupported by his guards, and the Martial legion by the guards of Hirtius, and Octavianus, the battle laſted from morning to night without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. Octavius's guards were almoſt to a man cut in pieces, but thoſe of Hirtius, after having made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, obliged Antony's ſecond legion to give ground,

The conſul Panſa ſets out for Ciſalpine Gaul.

Antony attacks the conſul Panſa.

A ſharp engagement.

which

which they did in good order. The Martial legion and Antony's thirty-third fought the whole day, driving each other in their turns from the cauſway, into the moraſs, till Carfuleius drew off his men to relieve the conſul Panſa, who was engaged with Antony in the plain and hemmed in by his cavalry. But, as Carfuleius's legionaries were greatly fatigued after ſo long and obſtinate an engagement, before they reached the plain, the conſul was mortally wounded and his troops put to flight. Torquatus, quæſtor of the conſular army, had, during the battle, formed a kind of camp, to ſerve as an aſylum for his party, in caſe of any misfortune. Thither the conſul's legions retired, carrying with them their general, who had run through the body with a javelin. Antony purſued them, not doubting but he ſhould eaſily force their intrenchments, which were not yet completed. But the conſular legions, though wholly conſiſting of raw ſoldiers, who had been juſt defeated in the plain, made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that Antony, fearing Hirtius might come upon him in the mean time, thought it adviſeable to content himſelf with the advantage he had gained, and return to his camp before Mutina. But while his troops were marching back in diſorder, as often happens after a victory, Hirtius unexpectedly appeared at the head of twenty choſen cohorts, and, falling upon them before they could form their ranks, cut many of them in pieces. However, thoſe brave veterans, tired as they were, made a vigorous reſiſtance, and, being encouraged by the example of their general, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a moſt eminent manner ſtood their ground a great while; but were at length entirely defeated, and forced to ſave themſelves by flight croſs the marſhes on each ſide of the Æmilian way. Hirtius, who in this action diſcharged the duty both of an experienced general and a valiant ſoldier, would not ſuffer his men to purſue the fugitives for fear of ſome ambuſcade, it being already dark, and the country full of woods and marſhes. As for Antony, he paſſed a melancholy night with part of his forces in a ſmall village called Forum Gallorum, at preſent Caſtel Franco, whence he returned greatly dejected by day-break to his camp before Mutina. His cavalry rallied in the dark, and, taking up their wounded behind them, reached their camp by midnight, being quite ſpent with the fatigue of two battles, and a march of ſixty furlongs through woods and marſhes. As for Octavianus, ſome writers tell us, that he was at the firſt battle; nay, Antony afterwards upbraided him with having fled, in a cowardly manner, before him, after having quitted his

Antony prevails over the conſul Panſa.

But is defeated by his collegue Hirtius.

his horſe and thrown away his arms, that he might with more eaſe ſave himſelf, croſs the woods and marſhes, where, according to him, he lay concealed two days, being both aſhamed and afraid to ſhew himſelf. Others ſay, that he remained in his camp in the neighbourhood of Mutina, and there repulſed with great bravery a ſtrong detachment from Antony's camp, which attempted to force his intrenchments. They add, that for ſo gallant an action, which was, we may ſay, his firſt eſſay in the art of war, he was honoured by the ſenate with the title of Imperator, as were likewiſe the two conſuls for their courageous behaviour in the two battles. The loſs on both ſides was pretty equal; in the firſt battle Octavianus's guards, with a great number of Panſa's legionaries, were cut in pieces; but in the ſecond Hirtius loſt only a ſmall number of men, whereas the ſlaughter of the enemy was very great [i].

AFTER the battle both armies returned to their reſpective camps in the neighbourhood of Mutina. Antony reſolved only to defend his lines, and in the mean time carry on the ſiege with all poſſible vigor. On the other hand, Hirtius and Octavianus, fearing the place, if not relieved, might ſoon be obliged to capitulate, were for venturing another engagement. But as Antony kept cloſe within his lines, the two generals reſolved to make a bold puſh, in order to throw ſome ſuccours into the inveſted city. Accordingly, leaving a ſufficient number of forces to guard their camp, they marched with the reſt cloſe up to Antony's lines, with a deſign to force them where they appeared weakeſt. Antony immediately ſent out all his cavalry againſt them; but his horſe being put to the rout, after a ſharp engagement, by the enemy's legionaries, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of an eminence, he cauſed two legions to advance, which were ſo vigorouſly attacked by Hirtius, that they ſoon began to give ground and retire in diſorder to their intrenchments. The conſul purſued his advantage, and, ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by his courage and ardour, entered the lines pell-mell with the fugitives, and penetrated, in ſpight of all oppoſition, as far as the general's quarters, where he received a blow, which laid him dead on the ground. And now, by the death of one of the conſuls, and the abſence of the other, who had been conveyed to Bononia after the firſt battle, in which

The battle of Mutina.

The conſul Hirtius is killed.

[i] Cic. Philippic. 14. Suet. in Octavio. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 16. Dio, Appian. ibid.

which he was mortally wounded, Octavianus was left commander in chief of the whole army. He is ſaid by ſome writers to have given on this occaſion ſignal proofs of an extraordinary courage, and to have conducted the action with all the prudence of an old and experienced commander, For at the head of ſome brave legionaries he reſcued the body of the dead conſul out of the enemy's hands, and one of his ſtandard-bearers being killed, he carried the eagle himſelf, fighting like a private man in the firſt line. But, as he obſerved the conſular troops ſomewhat diſcouraged by the death of their leader, he retired in good order out of the enemy's camp into the neighbouring plain, where the action being renewed, he gained a complete victory, and obliged the enemy to ſeek for ſhelter behind their intrenchments. Some aſcribe the whole glory of this action to Decimus Brutus, who, ſallying out of the city, and falling upon the enemy's rear while they were engaged with Octavianus, forced them to give ground and retreat in the utmoſt confuſion to their camp (O) However that be, Antony, weakened by theſe loſſes and fearing the event of a third battle, raiſed the ſiege the next day; and, not being in a condition to keep the field before a victorious army, retired towards the Alps, and took the road to Tranſalpine Gaul, with a deſign to join Lepidus, Plancus, and Aſinius Pollio, who were in thoſe large provinces at the head of conſiderable armies [k].

Antony obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Mutina.

Decimus Brutus, being thus delivered from a long and troubleſome ſiege, was for ſome time at a loſs how to behave with Octavianus, who, he knew, bore him an irreconcileable hatred, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance he had lent him againſt Antony, At length, by the advice of his friends, he diſpatched a meſſenger to him, inviting him to an interview on

[k] Appian. Dio, ibid Plut. in Antonio.

(O) The battle of Mutina was fought on the ſeventeenth of the calends of May, as is plain from a letter, which Galba, who was in the battle, wrote to Cicero (50). From the third day after this victory, thoſe ſeem to reckon the beginning of Auguſtus's reign, who will have him to have governed the Roman empire forty-ſix years four months and one day (51).

(50) Cic. l. x. ad familiar. epiſt. 30. (51) Vide Uſher. ad Ann. Mundi 4679. Theophyl. Antiochen. in Autolycho, & Clement. Alexandrin. l. x. ſtromat.

on the banks of the Scultemnis, now the Panaro. Octavianus received the meſſenger with great coldneſs, but agreed to his propoſal; which Brutus no ſooner underſtood, than he cauſed the bridges on the river, which parted the two armies, to be broke down, and by a ſecond meſſage required, that the conference might be held in the preſence of their troops, and with the river between them. Theſe were not unſeaſonable precautions, it being well known, that Octavianus had vowed the deſtruction of all thoſe who had been any ways concerned in the death of his father; for this was the pretence he made uſe of on all occaſions, to deſtroy ſuch as were true friends to their country and enemies to tyranny. Octavianus having agreed to theſe conditions, both he and Brutus appeared on the oppoſite banks of the river; when the latter thanked him in a very obliging manner for the aſſiſtance he had lent him, and acknowledged himſelf indebted to him for the liberty he enjoyed. To this polite diſcourſe Octavianus anſwered with great ſurlineſs, that Brutus owed him no obligations, ſince he had relieved Mutina, not for his ſake, but to chaſtiſe the inſolence of Antony, who nevertheleſs might one day become his friend, whereas he ſhould ever maintain a mortal enmity to Brutus, and all thoſe who had embrued their hands in the blood of his father. Brutus piqued at this haughty and threatening anſwer, replied ſmartly, that ſince Antony was already ſufficiently humbled, he had no further buſineſs in the province of Ciſalpine Gaul, which had been confirmed to him by a decree of the ſenate, forbidding any other general to enter it without his leave. Octavianus was highly offended at the boldneſs of Brutus; but, being appriſed that he was ſupported by the ſenate, he thought it adviſable to ſtifle his reſentment for the preſent, and quitting the neighbourhood of Mutina to return to Bononia, where he found the conſul Vibius Panſa lying at the point of death He no ſooner heard of the arrival of Octavianus, than he ſent for him, and, tenderly embracing him, ſpoke to him in the following manner: "I always loved your father more than myſelf, "and when he was ſlain, would have ventured my own life to "ſave his, had I been armed. I never laid aſide the deſire, "nor the hopes, of revenging one day his death, though ſome "prudential reaſons, to which even you have ſubmitted, "have tied my hands, and kept me in the party of the ſenate. "But now my death, juſt at hand, deprives me of that com-"fort. However, before I expire, I will at leaſt acquit my-"ſelf towards the ſon of what I was indebted to the father. "Know then, that the ſenate both hates and ſuſpects you.

An interview between Decimus Brutus and Octavianus.

Panſa's laſt advice to Octavianus.

Nothing

" Nothing has pleaſed them more than to ſee you fall out " with Antony, and they flatter themſelves with the hopes " of finding you become the inſtruments of each other's " ruin. If they have declared for you, it was only becauſe " they thought you the weakeſt, and the man they could the " more eaſily overcome. This they have declared more than " once to Hirtius and to me. The friendſhip therefore, with " which Cæſar once honoured me, obliges me to give you " ſuch advice, as I myſelf would follow on the like occaſion. " Agree with Antony; for you have no other means of " ſaving your life and advancing your fortune. My deſign " was not, as the ſenate believed, to deſtroy Antony, but to " compel him by force of arms to be reconciled with you, " and afterwards to join our armies, and in conjunction pur- " ſue the murderers of our common benefactor. I return to " you your two legions, and would willingly ſurrender up to " you the reſt of the army, but they do not entirely de- " pend upon me. The commanders are moſt of them the " ſpies of the ſenate, who have private orders to obſerve your " conduct. Suffer me therefore to put them into the hands " of Torquatus." The words of the dying conſul made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Octavianus, and produced at length the famous triumvirate. Panſa died preſently after, having firſt delivered up his army to Torquatus one of his lieutenants [1] (P).

Panſa dies of his wounds.

In

[1] Appian. bell. civil. l. iii.

(P) Octavianus was ſuſpected of having murdered both the conſuls; Hirtius with his own hand in the heat of the battle, and Panſa after it, by cauſing poiſon to be poured into his wound by Glyco his phyſician. It is certain Glyco was ſeized, and even condemned to the torture, but ſaved by the credit of his maſter Octavianus. Decimus Brutus indeed wrote to Cicero in behalf of the phyſician, whom he ſeems to have thought incapable of ſo black a crime. But notwithſtanding Brutus's declaration, who was known to be a humane and good-natured man, the report was credited by many in Rome. As for the conſul Hirtius, Aquilius Niger wrote, that Octavianus killed him undeſignedly in the hurry of the battle; we will not warrant the truth of theſe reports; but neither can we look upon them as calumnies altogether groundleſs as ſome modern writers call them, broached by enthuſiaſtic republicans to blacken the reputation of ſo great a man. But of the treachery, ingratitude, and horrid cruelties of this great man, we ſhall have many, too many, inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

In the mean time, the ſenate, upon the news of the advantages gained over Antony by the generals of the republic, decreed, at the motion of Cicero, fifty days ſupplications to return thanks to the gods for the ſucceſs of the campaign. By the ſame decree large ſums were ordered to be paid immediately out of the public treaſury, to ſuch of the victorious legionaries as remained alive, and to the widows and heirs of thoſe who had died in the battle, or ſince of their wounds; which had never been done before on account of any victory.

The bodies of the two conſuls were, by an order from the ſenate, conveyed to Rome, and with the utmoſt magnificence interred in the Campus Martius at the expence of the public; an honour which had been hitherto granted to none but the moſt eminent perſonages of the republic. The bodies of three other officers of diſtinction, viz. of Caius Peduceus, Decimus Carfuleius, and Pontius Aquila, were conveyed to Rome with thoſe of the conſuls, and interred with great pomp in the burying-places of their reſpective families, moſt of the ſenators attending their obſequies [m].

The bodies of the two conſuls carried to Rome, and interred with great pomp.

And now the conſcript fathers, conceiving Antony to be utterly undone, began to ſlight Octavianus, for whom they believed they ſhould have no further occaſion. He demanded a triumph, which was refuſed to him and granted to Decimus Brutus, though Octavianus, it muſt be owned, had at leaſt as juſt a claim to that honour as Brutus. Cicero indeed was for granting an ovation, but could not, with all his eloquence, prevail upon the ſenate to allow him even that mark of diſtinction. On the other hand, they heaped all ſorts of honours on Decimus. They ordered Torquatus to deliver up to him the troops which the conſul Panſa had commanded: they appointed him commander in chief of all the forces in Ciſalpine Gaul, charging him, without ſo much as mentioning Octavianus to purſue Antony, and treat him as a public enemy. All the temples of Rome were opened, and public prayers appointed for the ſucceſs of his arms: as the ſiege of Mutina had been raiſed on his birth-day, the ſenate decreed, that it ſhould be for ever deemed a lucky day, and as ſuch marked in the faſti. At the ſame time, the conſcript fathers, as if they had taken pleaſure in mortifying Octavianus, paſſed a decree, enacting, that a ſtatue ſhould be raiſed at the public expence to the memory of Pontius Aquila, one of the conſpirators who had been killed in the battle of Mutina; and

The ſenate by honouring Brutus diſguſt Octavianus.

[m] Brutus ad Cic. epiſt. 6. Dio, l. xlvi. Suet. in Octavio.

and that all the charges he had been at, and the losses he had sustained during the war, should be made good to his heirs out of the public treasure. So many marks of distinction heaped upon the conspirators, left Octavianus no room to doubt of the disposition of the senate toward him. From that moment he resolved to follow the last advice of Pansa, and to be reconciled to Antony. With this view he sent back to him a great number of officers, who had been taken prisoners in the last battle, and among the rest Decius, one of Antony's most intimate friends, after having signified to him in ambiguous words his intention. Ventidius as we have observed above, had raised three legions for Antony, and was attempting to join him after the battle of Mutina. Octavianus overtook and surprised him with a superior force, and might easily have defeated him; but he suffered him to escape, after having had a private conference with him, wherein he charged him to tell Antony in his name, that he was ignorant of his true interest, and acted directly contrary to it. At the same time he opened himself without reserve to Lepidus, Plancus, and Asinius Pollio, all old officers of the dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a secret correspondence. He wrote to them, that the senate, entirely addicted to the assassins of his father, were resolved to destroy him; that they ought not to expect a more favourable treatment; that their common enemies studied only how to divide them, in order to crush them the more easily one after another; that for their own safety they ought to unite their forces, and join in maintaining the party, and revenging the death, of their late general, &c. He added some complaints of Antony; but in so artful a manner, that it was easily seen he was no ways averse to a reconcilation. [n].

Who resolves to be reconciled with Antony.

In the mean time, Antony, pressed by Brutus, endeavoured to gain the Alps with a design to pass those mountains, and join Lepidus, who commanded seven legions in Transalpine Gaul, and who, he imagined, would stand his friend in consideration of the many kind offices he had done him, during his late consulship and in the dictator's life time. Brutus, having thus driven him out of Italy, wrote to the senate, that he had dispersed his army, and that Antony himself was skulking some where among the Alps, where he could not avoid falling into his hands. The senate, overjoyed at this news, cried out, that the republic had at length recovered its antient

Antony is driven out of Italy by Decimus Brutus.

[n] Cic. ad Attic. l. i. epist. 15. & ad familiar. l. x. epist. 20. Dio, l. xlvi, Appian. l. iii.

tient liberty, and appointed, as if Antony had been actually taken, ten commiſſioners to try him. They talked of nothing leſs than repealing all the laws which had been enacted by him during his conſulſhip, and even including in this repeal all the ordinances of the dictator, in order to ſettle the commonwealth on its antient foundation. At the motion of Cicero a decree immediately paſſed, confiſcating all Antony's effects, and thoſe of his friends and adherents, with grievous menaces againſt ſuch as ſhould dare to conceal any part of his effects. While Cicero, at the head of the ſenate, was thus venting his rage upon Antony, that general was ſtruggling among the Alps with all the hardſhips and miſeries that can be imagined. Brutus, having obliged him to quit Italy, he attempted to paſs the mountains, without his baggage and the neceſſary proviſions for ſo long and painful a march. His men were forced to feed firſt upon the fleſh of their horſes, and afterwards on ſuch wild fruits and roots as they could find in that mountainous and inhoſpitable country, and which no man had ever taſted before; nay they were at laſt ſo pinched with hunger, that they devoured the very bark of trees. Plutarch tells us, that in this extremity, Antony though accuſtomed to luxury and eaſe, was a moſt illuſtrious example of patience to the whole army, and that in misfortune he could not be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from a virtuous man. He ſuffered all hardſhips imaginable with the conſtancy of an hero, and fell into a behaviour, which no one could have expected from a man wholly addicted to his pleaſures, But after all he muſt have periſhed with his whole army, if Culeo, one of Lepidus's lieutenants, who guarded the paſſes, had performed his duty. But the venal commander ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by Antony, and for a ſum of money granted him a free paſſage. Antony no ſooner entered Gaul, than he wrote to Lepidus, Plancus, and Aſinius Pollio, reminding them of their antient friendſhip, and exhorting them to join him againſt the murderers of Cæſar, their common enemies. Lepidus was greatly ſurpriſed at his arrival and quite at a loſs how to behave in ſo critical a conjuncture, He was a man of an illuſtrious family, but of ſlender parts, of a narrow mind, and at the ſame time of an unbounded ambition. He was afraid, that if he joined Antony, who was greatly beloved by the troops, he might get the aſcendant over him, and ſcarce leave him the rank of a lieutenant in his own army; and upon this conſideration alone he rejected Antony's propoſals, and wrote him word, that, ſince the ſenate had declared

He and his army reduced to great ſtreights in paſſing the Alps

Lepidus refuſes to join him

clared him an enemy to his country, he could not join him without drawing upon himſelf a decree of the ſame nature; but he aſſured him at the ſame time, that whatever orders he received from the ſenate, he would carefully avoid coming to an engagement, or any ways moleſting him. Aſinius Pollio on the contrary no ſooner received Antony's letter, than he aſſured him that he ſhould find him always ready to concur with him in all his meaſures, for he had been one of Cæſar's particular friends, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to all thoſe who had been concerned in his death. As for Plancus, he kept a ſecret intelligence with both parties, and carefully avoided declaring himſelf openly for either ſide, till he ſaw which was moſt likely to prevail. In the mean time, Antony marched ſtrait up to Lepidus's army, and marked out his camp near his, but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the ſame party and intereſt. He ſent out immediately ſome of his officers to him, putting him in mind of their antient friendſhip, and conjuring him by Cæſar's memory to concur with him in revenging the death of their common benefactor. But Marcus Juventius Laterenſis, one of Lepidus's moſt intimate friends, and in his heart a zealous republican, did all that lay in his power to diſſuade him from joining Antony. To conceal his attachment to the party of the conſpirators, he artfully repreſented to Lepidus, that, having ſeven legions under his command, he was one of the moſt powerful generals of the republic, and would be of great weight, what ſide ſoever he choſe; but that, if he joined Antony, he would be obliged to ſubmit to the authority of ſo haughty and imperious a commander, and would make but a very poor figure. By this means the zealous patriot ſtrove to prevent a conjunction, which he was well appriſed would prove fatal to his country. But Antony, who ſaw his ruin unavoidable, if Lepidus ſhould be at length prevailed upon to act in concert with Decimus Brutus, reſolved to puſh his fortune and venture all. His hair was long and diſordered, nor had he ſhaved his beard ſince his late defeat. In this condition and with a mourning mantle flung over him, he went boldly into the camp of Lepidus, and there began to harangue the ſoldiers, who had all ſerved with him under Cæſar. They were all greatly moved at his habit, and more at his ſpeech; which Lepidus obſerving, ordered the trumpets to ſound, that he might be heard no longer. This raiſed in the ſoldiery a great ſenſe of compaſſion; inſomuch, that they ſecretly ſent Clodius and Lælius diſguiſed in women's cloaths, adviſing

Antony encamps near Lepidus.

Enters Lepidus's camp in a mourning habit, and moves the pity of the ſoldiers.

adviſing Antony to attack Lepidus's camp, and aſſuring him, that the greater part were diſpoſed to receive him with open arms, and even to diſpatch Lepidus, if he would give them orders for ſo doing. Antony would by no means ſuffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus; but early the next morning he marched at the head of his troops, ſounded a river (Q), which lay between the two camps, and was the firſt who flung himſelf into the water to gain the oppoſite ſide. The ſoldiers of Lepidus no ſooner ſaw him than they ran in crouds to receive him, and began to beat down the works, and level the ramparts to make way for him. Antony entered the camp amidſt the loud acclamations of the ſoldiery, and marched ſtrait to the general's quarters whom he found aſleep in his tent. We may eaſily conceive the ſurpriſe of Lepidus at the ſight of Antony, no longer in the attire of a ſuppliant, but ſurrounded by his guards and attended both by his own officers and thoſe of Lepidus. He leaped out of his bed in the utmoſt conſternation, and throwing himſelf at Antony's feet, offered him the command of the army. Antony, though now abſolute maſter both of his perſon and army, treated him with great civility, tenderly embraced him, giving him the name of father, and even left him the title and all the badges of a general, though he alone performed the functions of that office. The brave Juventius Laterenſis was ſo touched with the misfortunes which he foreſaw this fatal conjunction would bring upon his country, that, while the generals were embracing each other, he killed himſelf in the height of his grief with his own ſword [o]. This union happened on the fourth of the calends of June, as is plain from Cicero's epiſtles [p]. Aſinius Pollio, who was encamped at a ſmall diſtance from Lepidus, followed his example and joined Antony. Munatius Plancus, who had been hitherto wavering and doubtful which ſide to take, thought it now high time to declare himſelf; and accordingly, leaving his camp at the conflux of the Rhone and the Saone, where he had been truſted by the ſenate with the charge of founding a colo-

By whom he is received into the camp, and declared general.

Antony is joined by Pollio and Plancus.

[o] Appian. l. iii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 63. [p] Cic. ad famil. epiſt. 29. Planc is. ad Cic. l. x.

(Q) This river, which is calle l by the ; nt ent Argenteus, and by the moderns Argens, riſes near S. Maximin in Provence, and falls into the Medi erranean at a ſmall diſtance from Frejus.

ny (R), he led all the troops under his command to Antony, who was much about the ſame time joined by Ventidius at the head of three legions. So that he, who a little before had fled from Brutus, and abandoned Italy, found himſelf now in a condition to return thither with twenty-three legions and above ten thouſand horſe.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in Gaul, Octavianus continued ſtill at Bononia with the fourth legion, that of Mars, and ſome others, which had remained with him after the battle of Mutina. As the ſenate had committed the whole management of the war againſt Antony to Decimus Brutus, he concluded from thence, that the conſcript fathers intended to reduce him to the ſtate of a private citizen. To ward off this blow, he reſolved to ſtand for the conſulate, which office was become vacant by the death of Hirtius and Panſa. But as he was well appriſed of the difficulties he ſhould meet with in the purſuit of that dignity from the ſenators, who were for the moſt part entirely addicted to the party of Brutus and Caſſius, he artfully applied himſelf to Cicero, with whoſe vanity and ambition he was well acquainted. He wrote a letter to him, diſcovering his deſign to him as to a boſom friend, and telling him, to flatter his ambition, that he was very deſirous of having him for his collegue in the conſulate, in order to be inſtructed by ſo great a maſter in the rules and maxims that are requiſite for the government of the commonwealth; that for his part, he only deſired the name of conſul, to make him ſome amends for the loſs of a triumph which he thought due to him, but that all the power and authority ſhould be left to him; ſo that he might manage affairs as he pleaſed. Cicero, old as he was, ſuffered himſelf to be made the dupe of a child, as he uſed to call him; and, to the great ſurpriſe of all, propoſed in the ſenate the raiſing of Octavianus to the conſular dignity, as the only means of preventing him from being reconciled with Antony. He added, that, as

Octavianus makes uſe of Cicero's ambition to get the conſulate

Octavianus

(R) The city of Lyons is commonly thought to have been founded by him. Dion Caſſius tells us in expreſs terms, that the proconſul L. Munatius Plancus ſtopt at a place called Lugudunum, and founded in that neighbourhood a colony which he called Lugdunum. The antient city was founded, according to ſome writers, in the year of Rome 364 by two brothers, named Momorus and Atepomarus, chiefs of the Gauliſh nation, and contemporaries with the famous Brennus. In proceſs of time Lugudunum and Lugdunum became one and the ſame city (52).

(52) Vid. Plut. de fluviis.

Octavianus was yet very young, the conſcript fathers ought to appoint him ſuch a collegue, as by his age and prudence might be capable of having an eye on his conduct, and be, as it were, a governor to him. At theſe words the ſenators, plainly perceiving that he pointed out himſelf as the moſt proper perſon to be choſen for Octavianus's collegue, could not help laughing out aloud; and it was no ſmall mortification to Cicero to ſee his vanity at the ſame time both expoſed and diſappointed; for all the relations and adherents of the conſpirators cried out with one voice, that to put Cæſar's ſon at the head of the republic was utterly deſtroying it [q].

But is diſappointed.

Octavianus, finding he could obtain nothing of the ſenate even by Cicero's means, reſolved to put off no longer his reconciliation with Antony, and accordingly wrote a letter to him, inviting him back into Italy, and exhorting him to forget all private injuries, and concur with him in humbling their common enemies. Antony, overjoyed to find Octavianus ſo earneſt for a reconciliation, readily conſented to it, and, without further delay, began his march towards Italy to confer there with Octavianus. He led with him ſeventeen legions and a thouſand horſe, having left ſix legions in Gaul under the command of Varius, one of his bottle companions, who on that account was nick-named Cotylon, which ſignifies a bottle.

Octavianus is reconciled with Antony.

In the mean time, the news of the conjunction of Antony and Lepidus reaching Rome, filled the city with conſternation. The ſenate immediately aſſembled, and paſſed a decree, declaring Lepidus an enemy to his country, and likewiſe the legionaries of his army, who ſhould not abandon him and return to their duty before the calends of September. This decree was enacted the day before the calends of July, as appears from one of Cicero's letters to C. Caſſius [r]. The ſtatue of Lepidus was, by order of the ſenate, thrown down, and that of the brave Juventius Laterenſis raiſed in its room. As the ſenate was quite ignorant of the reconciliation between Octavianus and Antony, and the private treaty, which by this time was concluded between them and Lepidus, they had reſource to Octavianus, and committed to him, in conjunction with Decimus Brutus the management of the war againſt Antony and Lepidus. Octavianus, who was well acquainted with all the arts of tricking and deceit, returned the ſenate thanks in the moſt humble terms, for the honour they had been pleaſed to confer upon him, and began, without delay,

Lepidus declared an enemy to his country.

[q] Appian. Dio. ibid. [r] Cic. l. 12. ad familiar. epiſt. 10.

to raiſe troops, and make the neceſſary preparations for a new war. When he ſaw himſelf again at the head of an army, he threw off the maſk, and aſſembling his ſoldiers, told them, that the only thing the ſenate had in view was, to deſtroy all his father's friends, by ſowing diviſions among them, and arming them againſt each other; but that he, well appriſed of their wicked deſigns, had entered into a confederacy with Antony and Lepidus, who were on their march into Italy at the head of ſeventeen legions; that this was the only means of procuring ſafety for themſelves, and for ſo many brave men who had eſpouſed their cauſe: "Do you believe, ſaid "he, that thoſe who have murdered my father, will ſpare "my life or yours, if their party ſhould prevail? and prevail "they muſt, if we are divided among ourſelves. What ſe- "curity can you have for thoſe houſes, lands, and inheritan- "ces, which my father allotted you, if thoſe men got into "power, who approve of his death and are for annulling all "his ordinances? You know I am not ambititious; for you "have ſeen me refuſe the prætorſhip, which you yourſelves "offered me. But now I muſt entreat you, not for my own "ſake, but for yours, to concur with your votes and intereſt "in raiſing me to the conſulate. I ſhall be in a condition, "when veſted with that dignity, to ſecure to you the poſſeſſi- "of thoſe inheritances, which my father beſtowed upon you, "and at the ſame time to revenge his death, with the de- "ſtruction of thoſe who endeavour to deſtoy us." The ſoldiers received this propoſal with great joy, and immediately appointed deputies to go to Rome, and demand the conſulſhip for their general in the name of the legions. The ſenate received the deputies with great civility, but refuſed to comply with their requeſt, alledging Octavianus's youth, who had not yet attained the age which the laws required in a conſul. But the deputies, who had been well inſtructed beforehand, brought ſeveral inſtances of perſons who had been raiſed to the conſular dignity without any regard to their age, viz. of Rullus, of Decius, of Corvinus, of the two Scipio's, of Pompey, and of Dolabella, who had been but very lately honoured with the conſulate, though much of the ſame age with Octavianus. Theſe precedents were of no weight with the conſcript fathers: others, 'tis true, had enjoyed that honour before the lawful age; but moſt of them were perſons of unblemiſhed characters, and avowed defenders of the public liberty; whereas they had reaſon to believe, that Octavianus would make uſe of his power to oppreſs his country. As for Dolabella, he had been raiſed to the faſces by Cæſar without

The management of the war againſt him and Antony committed to Octavianus and D. Brutus.

His ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

Octavianus's ſoldiers demand the conſulate for their general.

out

out the consent of the senate. The fathers therefore, without casting any reflections on Octavianus or declaring their real motives, under divers other pretences, endeavoured to elude the request of the legionaries; when one of those armed embassadors, by name Cornelius, laying his hand on his sword, "If you will not make him consul," said he, "this shall." Having thus spoke, he left the senate with his companions, and they all returned to give their general an account of the bad success of their negotiation. The soldiers, provoked at this refusal, pressed Octavianus to lead them to Rome, saying, that he, as heir to Cæsar, had a right to dispose of the consulate as he pleased. The ambitious youth heard this with pleasure, and, taking advantage of the present disposition of the soldiery, marched immediately towards Rome with eight legions. He passed the Rubicon, as his father had done, when he began the first civil war, and, dividing his army into two bodies, he advanced with one by long marches towards the capital, in order to surprise his enemies, and ordered the other to follow him leisurely. The unexpected news of Octavianus's approach filled the city with dread and confusion. Several senators, among the rest the cowardly Cicero, abandoning the city, withdrew into the country. Those who remained, assembled in haste, and came to the following resolutions; viz. that the money, which the senate had promised to the two legions, the fourth and that of Mars, should be immediately sent them; that the same sum should be promised in the name of the republic to the other legions under the command of Octavianus, and that he, though absent, should be allowed to stand for the consulate. Deputies were immediately dispatched to acquaint him with these resolutions. They were scarce gone, when the conscript fathers, reflecting cooly on their behaviour, began to be ashamed of their pusillanimity in thus submitting to a boy, and giving way to the insolence of the soldiery. At the same time two legions, which had been in Africa, arrived at the gates of Rome. These the senate looked upon as a supply sent them by the gods, and taking courage, resolved, with them and a legion which Vibius Pansa had sent back to guard the city, to put themselves in a posture of defence. Two prætors, viz. Quintus Gallius Lupercus and Marcus Cornutus, had governed the city, and supplied the room of consuls ever since the death of Hirtius and Pansa. The former favoured in his heart the party of Octavianus, and therefore continued inactive; but the latter, who was a zealous republican and an avowed friend to Brutus and his followers, left nothing untried to encourage

Octavianus marches towards Rome.

Resolutions taken by the senate.

the conſcript fathers, and inſpire them with reſolutions becoming the rank they held in the republic. He ordered all the citizens, who were fit to bear arms, to appear on the ramparts, placed guards in all the avenues to the city, and detached a good number of cohorts to garriſon the Janiculum, whither the public money had been conveyed. In the mean time, Octavianus drew near, and poſting himſelf on the Quirinal, then without the walls, he ſent from thence emiſſaries into the city, aſſuring the people, that both their lives and eſtates were ſafe. Hereupon they flocked out in crouds to ſee their friends and relations, who ſerved under Octavianus, carrying them refreſhments, and freely converſing with them. Many of the ſenators themſelves and of the chief nobility, mixed with the people, went out to pay their compliments to the young general, who, finding the people generally inclined to favour him, entered the city the next day amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude, being attended by a choſen body of legionaries. He was met by his mother and ſiſters, who had concealed themſelves among the veſtals, and accompanied by them and a numberleſs croud to his houſe, whither all the nobility flocked to make their court to him. Cicero, who had returned to the city upon the arrival of the two African legions, was one of the laſt who came to pay him his devoirs. Octavianus received him coldly, and when the orator congratulated him on his return to the city, "You "are the laſt of my enemies," anſwered Octavianus with an ill-natured ſneer, "who have honoured me with a viſit." He well knew, that Cicero was entirely in the intereſt of Brutus and Caſſius, and beſides, he had been told by ſome of his emiſſaries, that the orator, in the ſpeech which he made to the conſcript fathers, when he demanded the conſulate for him, had uſed a very odd and equivocal expreſſion; "Egre-"gius iſte juvenis," ſaid he, "laudandus, honorandus, & tol-"lendus eſt," that is, "The brave youth ought to be praiſ-"ed and honoured;" but as to the laſt word, it ſignifies, equally to be "advanced," and to be "cut off." The next day, the three legions that were in the city went out to join Octavianus, who thereupon ordered his troops to march into the city and encamp in the field of Mars. From thence he ſent a detachment to ſeize on the Janiculum and the public money lodged there, out of which he immediately paid two thouſand five hundred drachmas to each ſoldier under his command. The prætor Quintus Gallius ſummoned the people to meet in the Campus Martius, in order to proceed to the election of new conſuls. But his collegue Marcus Cornutus, foreſeeing

Octavianus is received at Rome with loud acclamations.

Is joined by the legions in the city.

foreſeeing the evil conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the promotion of Octavianus, gave up the republic for loſt, and, ſcorning to ſubmit to the yoke of his fellow-citizen, laid violent hands on himſelf. A memorable inſtance of the old Roman ſpirit, which in the virtuous ages of Rome would have been celebrated with the higheſt encomiums, but is ſcarce taken notice of by the ſlaviſh writers, who flouriſhed under Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors. On the day appointed for the election, Octavianus withdrew from the city, that the comitia might have, at leaſt, ſome appearance of liberty. When the people met, they unanimouſly declared Octavianus firſt conſul, and appointed Quintus Pædius, one of his relations, and a legate of the dictator for his collegue. Upon the news of his election he returned to the city, where, as he was ſacrificing according to cuſtom, ſix, as ſome ſay twelve, vultures are ſaid to have been ſeen, the ſame number that appeared to the founder of Rome. Hence he concluded, that he ſhould one day be inveſted with the ſame power and authority as Romulus. This year is reckoned by moſt of the antient hiſtorians and modern chronologers the firſt of the long reign of Octavianus, known afterwards by the name of Auguſtus. However, his authority was not yet either full or peaceable, but for ſome time divided with Antony and Lepidus, and warmly diſputed by the republican party both in the eaſt and weſt. Livy ſays, that Octavianus was but nineteen years old, when he was created conſul [s]: but Suetonius writes more freely, that he uſurped the conſulſhip in the twentieth year of his age [t]. Plutarch tells us, out of Octavianus's own commentaries, that he was ſcarce twenty years old, when he was honoured with the conſular dignity [u]. He was declared conſul, ſays Velleius Patercules [w], the day before he was twenty years old, on the tenth of the calends of October. But Velleius was certainly miſtaken, for there wanted a whole month and five days to the completing of the twentieth year of Octavianus's age; neither did he obtain the conſulate in the month of September, in which he was born, but in that of Sextilis, which was thence called Auguſtus, as is manifeſt both from Suetonius [x] and the decree of the ſenate, which is to be ſeen in Macrobius [y]. Dion obſerves, that on the nineteenth of Auguſt he was made conſul the firſt time, and that he died on the ſame day [z]; and Tacitus tells us, that the

Octavianus choſen conſul. Year of the flood 2971. Before Chriſt 38. Of Rome 710.

[s] Liv. l. cxix. [t] Suet. in Octavio, c. 16. [u] Plut. in Bruto. [w] Vell. Patercul. [x] Suet. ibid. c. 31. [y] Macrob. l. i. Saturnal. c. 12. [z] Dio. l. lvi. p. 590.

the ſuperſtitious multitude after Auguſtus's death admired the ſtrange events of his fortune, "That the laſt day of his "life and the firſt of his reign were the ſame," &c [a]. And thus far of the diſturbances which happened in the weſt from the death of the dictator to the firſt conſulate of Octavianus. We ſhall now briefly relate what paſſed in the eaſt, during the ſame period of time; for there likewiſe a war was kindled, and thoſe vaſt provinces involved in the ſame fate with Italy and Gaul.

What happened in the eaſt, from the death of Cæſar to the conſulate of Octavianus.

To return therefore to Brutus and Caſſius; theſe two chiefs of the republican party, having left Rome to eſcape the fury of the populace whom Antony's artful ſpeech and the ſight of Cæſar's dead body had ſtirred up againſt them, retired firſt to Antium, with a deſign to return to the city, and there diſcharge the functions of their office, for they were both prætors, as ſoon as the rage of the unſettled multitude was abated. But Antony raiſing daily new diſturbances, they wrote to their friends, that ſince it was not ſafe for them to reſume the functions of their office in the city, they were determined to ſpend the reſt of the year in Italy as private citizens; which the ſenate, who favoured them underhand, no ſooner underſtood, than they committed to them the care of ſupplying the city with corn, which Brutus was appointed to ſend out of Aſia, and Caſſius out of Sicily [b]. The deſign of the conſcript fathers in charging them with ſuch a commiſſion was, to give them an opportunity of aſſembling fleets, and privately engaging the governors of thoſe provinces in their cauſe, which all good citizens looked upon as that of the republic. But, in the mean time, Octavianus arriving from Apollonia at Rome, the city began to be divided into two factions, ſome ſiding with him, and others with Antony, and the legionaries, without any regard to their country, publicly ſelling themſelves to the higheſt bidder. Hereupon Brutus and Caſſius, deſpairing of being able to do their countrymen any ſervice in Italy, reſolved to paſs over into Greece, and from thence into the eaſtern provinces, where they hoped to gain over the many legions that were diſperſed about thoſe countries. Accordingly, Brutus, croſſing Lucania came to Elea, a maritime city, in order to embarque there and ſail for Athens. From Elea he thought it adviſeable to ſend back to Rome his beloved Porcia, who had accompanied him thither. That illuſtrious matron, though overwhelmed with grief

Brutus paſſes over into Greece.

[a] Tacit. l. i. anal. c. 9. [b] Appian. l. iii. p. 530. Cic. ad Atticum, l. xv. epiſt. 9, 11, 12.

grief at the thoughts of parting from ſo tender a huſband, yet concealed her affliction with a conſtancy worthy of the greateſt heroes, till it was accidentally betrayed, in ſpite of her many reſolutions, by a picture which ſhe happened to obſerve in the houſe where they lodged. It repreſented Hector, parting from Andromache to go and engage the Greeks, and giving his young ſon Aſtyanax into her arms, while ſhe fixed her eyes upon him with an earneſt and affectionate look. The reſemblance this piece bore to her own caſe, and the remembrance of the misfortunes which befel Hector, made her burſt out into tears. She often went to the place where the picture hung, gazing at it, and weeping before it (S), when ſhe reflected on the dangers to which her huſband, like a ſecond Hector, was going to expoſe himſelf. Brutus was extremely troubled, and not without reaſon; yet he did not ſuffer himſelf to be ſo carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concerns. After having tenderly embraced his dear Porcia and recommended her to the protection of the gods, he went on board a ſmall veſſel, and ſet ſail for Athens, while ſhe, bathed in tears, took her rout towards Rome. At Athens Brutus was received with loud acclamations, and all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem. The Athenians ſtill retained thoſe noble ſentiments of honour, virtue, and liberty, for which their forefathers

How received at Athens

(S) Plutarch tells us, that on this occaſion Acilius, one of Brutus's friends, repeated out of Homer the following verſes, ſpoken by Andromache:

Yet, while my Hector ſtill ſurvives, I ſee
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee. Pope.

To which Brutus replied with a ſmile; but I muſt not anſwer Porcia as Hector did Andromache:

—— Haſten to thy taſk at home
There guide the ſpindle, and direct the loom. Idem.

"For though the natural weakneſs of her body hinders her from "acting what only the ſtrength of man can perform, yet ſhe has "a mind as valiant and as active for the good of her country as "the beſt of us." This Plutarch borrowed, as he tells us, from the memoirs of Brutus, written by Bibulus the ſon of Porcia (53). For Porcia, when Brutus married her, was the widow of M. Calpurnius Bibulus, by whom ſhe had a ſon named alſo Bibulus.

(53) Plut. in Bruto.

forefathers had been ſo renowned; and therefore could not help admiring a man, who had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his private intereſt to the public welfare. They compared him and his faithful companion Caſſius, who joined him a few days after his arrival at Athens, to Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, two brave Athenians, who, by the death of the tyrant Hipparchus, had delivered their country from ſlavery. Their anceſtors, to perpetuate the memory of ſo glorious an action, had, near five hundred years before the times we are now writing of, by a public decree, erected ſtatues to thoſe two deliverers of their country: and the preſent Athenians, thinking the enterpriſe of Brutus and Caſſius equally glorious, in imitation of their anceſtors, by a public decree ordered ſtatues to be erected to them over-againſt thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. How different were the ſentiments of the Athenians from thoſe of the greater part of our modern writers! Notwithſtanding theſe public demonſtrations of honour and eſteem, Brutus ſeemed to have laid aſide all thoughts of public buſineſs, that he might be wholly at leiſure for the ſtudy of philoſophy. He lived privately with one who had been formerly his gueſt, and conſtantly attended the lectures of Theomneſtus the Academic and Cratippus the Peripatetic, as if he intended to paſs the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. But all the while, being unſuſpected, he was ſecretly making preparations for war; in order to which he made it his chief buſineſs to gain the affections of the young Roman noblemen, who were attending their ſtudies at Athens. Among theſe was Marcus Tullius, Cicero's ſon, of whom he uſed to ſay, "That whether ſleeping or waking, he could not help admiring a young man of ſo great ſpirit, and ſuch an enemy to "tyrants. As Brutus, during his ſtay at Athens, began to want money, young Marcus generouſly ſupplied him with as much as he could ſpare; for in one of his letters to Tiro, wherein he ſpeaks of thoſe who boarded him, "I have hired," ſays he, "a place hard by me for Brutus, and, as much "as my poverty allows me, relieve his want. I intend to "declaim in Greek before Caſſius, but before Brutus I will "perform my exerciſe in Latin," &c. [c]. Caſſius by this time, it ſeems, had left Greece to go into Syria, whither we ſhall ſoon follow him. As for Brutus, he continued ſome time longer in Athens, whence he ſent one Heroſtrates, whom he had gained over to his intereſt, into Macedon, to found

Statues erected to him and Caſſius by a public decree.

Gains ſeveral young Roman noblemen.

[c] Cic. l. xvi. ad famil. epiſt. 21.

found the Roman troops quartered in that province. Heroſtrates diſcharged his truſt with no leſs fidelity than addreſs; for he either found the Macedonian troops ready to ſide with Brutus, or dexterouſly prevailed upon them to do ſo. Hereupon Brutus pulled off the maſk, began to act openly and raiſe troops in all the cities of Greece, whither many Romans had retired, being diſſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of affairs at home. He wanted money; but his want was ſoon ſupplied by a very lucky accident. For being informed that the quæſtor Vetus Antiſtius his particular friend, who had been charged with the care of conveying to Rome the tributes of Aſia, was in his courſe to touch at Caryſtus, a city of Eubœa; he went thither to meet him, and eaſily perſuaded him to deliver up to him great part of the treaſure (T). Brutus on his birth-day made a ſplendid entertainment for the quæſtor, at which, while the company were drinking merrily to the victory of Brutus and liberty of Rome, Brutus, calling for a larger bowl and holding it in his hand, pronounced aloud this verſe, which was ſpoken to Hector by Patroclus at the point of his death:

Raiſes troops and prepares for war.

"Fate and Apollo againſt me conſpire (U)."

Ir

(T) Plutarch tells us, that Antiſtius, out of the money he was carrying to Italy, gave Brutus. πεντήκοντα μυριάδας, five hundred myriads, which the Latin interpreter rendered twenty thouſand ſeſterces; and this ſum Brutus himſelf acknowledges in an epiſtle, wherein he commends him to Cicero, as Antiſtius was going to Rome to ſtand for the prætorſhip (54). Pomponius Atticus likewiſe ſent him a preſent of C M. ſeſterces, when he left Italy, and ordered three hundred more to be remitted to him in Epirus (55).

(U) Plutarch pretends, that Brutus quoted this verſe on a ſudden without any premeditation, or any preceding circumſtance to prompt him to it. But this is highly improbable, as madam Dacier well obſerves. According to her, Brutus ſpoke this verſe in the perſon of Cæſar, ſignifying thereby, that in putting Cæſar to death, he had only lent a helping hand to fate and Apollo, and that his death was purely owing to the gods and his deſtiny. Some hiſtorians, quoted by Plutarch, tells us that the word Brutus gave his men at the battle of Philippi was Apollo; whence they concluded, that the line quoted on this occaſion was a preſage of that overthrow (56).

(54) Cic. lib. ap Brutum. epiſt. 11. (55) Corn. Nep. in vita Pomp. Attic. (56) Plut ibid.

It was no ſooner known, that Brutus was raiſing forces, than all the remains of Pompey's army, who, ever ſince the defeat of their general, had wandered about Theſſaly, readily and joyfully joined him. With theſe he obliged Cinna, who was leading five hundred horſe to Dolabella in Aſia, to deliver up that body to him. Young Cicero gained over to him an entire legion, which Piſo deſigned to convey over to Marc Antony in Italy. And now Brutus's army being greatly encreaſed, the prudent leader embarqued with a ſtrong detachment for Demetrias, a town of Theſſaly, which we have often mentioned in the hiſtory of Greece, and there ſeized a prodigious quantity of arms, which had been formerly amaſſed in that city by Cæſar for his Parthian expedition, and were now deſigned for Antony. Macedon was then governed by Hortenſius, the ſon of the famous orator, who was Cicero's rival in eloquence. As he was a ſincere friend to his country, he declared, without the leaſt heſitation, for Brutus; and before the arrival of Caius Antonius, who was appointed to ſucceed him and already on his march, he reſigned to that chief of the republican party both his province and his troops; nay, he raiſed new forces for him in all the countries under his juriſdiction, and appeared as ſanguine in the great cauſe of liberty as Brutus himſelf. And now, Brutus being at the head of a powerful army and maſter of Greece and Macedon, all the petty kings and princes round about flocked to join him, and offer him their ſervice. Among the reſt a queen of Thrace, by name Polemocratia, whoſe huſband had been lately murdered by his rebellious ſubjects, had recourſe to him, and, delivering up to him all her treaſures, put herſelf and her ſon under his protection. Brutus received her with that humanity which was peculiar to him, and ſent her to Cyzicum in Aſia Minor, to live there far from danger, till a favourable opportunity offered of reſtoring her to her kingdom [d].

Seizes on the magazines of arms at Demetrias.

Is joined by the troops in Macedon.

In the mean time, news being brought, that Caius, the brother of Antony, having croſſed the Adriatic, was advancing to join Gabinius, or as others call him, Vatinius, who commanded three legions in Dyrachium and Apollonia, Brutus reſolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, he moved forwards in all haſte with the few troops he had then with him. His march, though rugged places and a deep ſnow,

[d] Cic. l. v. ix. x. & xii. epiſt. famil. & Philippic 11. Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. ix. p. 668, & ſeq. Dio, l. xlvii. p. 339, & ſeq. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 62. & ſeq.

ſnow, was ſo expeditious, that he left thoſe who were to bring his proviſions a great way behind. When he got near to Dyrrachium, he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which the Greeks call Bulimia, that is a violent hunger (W). As he grew very faint for want of food, and none in the army could ſupply him with any, his attendants were forced to have recourſe to the enemy, and, advancing to the very gates of the city, acquainted the centinels, who were there upon duty, with the ſad ſtate of Brutus, and begged them to relieve him. They were touched with compaſſion, and immediately flew to his relief with ~~plenty of~~ proviſions. Brutus on this occaſion won ſo much upon the affection of thoſe legionaries by his obliging behaviour, that they all joined him to a man, Gabinius himſelf not excepted, whom Cicero commended on that ſcore, laying aſide the hatred he had formerly bore him. Caius Antonius, receiving intelligence of what had happened at Dyrrachium, advanced with all poſſible expedition to Apollonia, and ſummoned all the ſoldiers, who were quartered near that city, to join him there. But finding they went all over to Brutus, and ſuſpecting that the garriſon of Apollonia were inclined to the ſame party, he abandoned that city, and haſtened to Buthrotus, now Butronto, on the Ionian ſea. Brutus purſued him cloſe, and on his march cut in pieces three of the ſeven cohorts that attended him. Upon this ſucceſs Brutus wrote to the ſenate, acquainting the conſcript fathers with what he had done in Greece and Macedon. His letter was read in the ſenate, by the conſul Panſa, who was ſtill in Rome, and his generous concern for the welfare of his country ſet forth by Cicero in his tenth Philippic? at whoſe motion a decree paſſed, appointing Brutus to govern Macedon, Illyricum, and all Greece, in quality of proconſul [e]. By the ſame decree both he and Caſſius were empowered to make uſe of the public money, and to raiſe what ſums they pleaſed in the provinces ſubject to Rome. The kings and cities of the eaſt, in alliance with the Roman people, were at the ſame time ordered to lend them all the aſſiſtance they could [f].

And by Gabinius's three legions.

Brutus appointed governor of Greece, Macedon, and Illyricum.

In

[e] Cic Philippic. 10. Appian. l. iii. p. 567. & l. iv. 622, 632, 633. [f] idem ibid. & Vell. Paterc. l. ii.

(W) The word Bulimia is compounded of the two Greek words, Βοῦς, an ox, and λιμός, hunger, and ſignifies an ox-like hunger, an inſatiable appetite, which proceeds from a too ſharp ferment in the ſtomach.

In the mean time, young Cicero, whom Brutus had detached with his light-armed foot in purſuit of Caius Antonius, coming up with him near Byllis, or Bullis, a city of Illyricum on the Adriatic, attacked him, and gave him a total overthrow. Caius fled with his troops to a neighbouring marſh, where he was ſurrounded by Brutus, without any poſſible means of making his eſcape. Brutus might with great eaſe have cut him off with all his troops: but he would not ſuffer his men to fall upon them, ſaying, that in a little time they would be all of his ſide; which accordingly happened, for they went all to a man over to Brutus, and even delivered up to him their general; ſo that Brutus had now eight legions under his command, a numerous body of horſe, and a great many archers and ſlingers, with ſeveral companies of Macedonians, whom he daily exerciſed after the Roman manner [g]. As for Caius Antonius, Brutus treated him with the utmoſt civility, and even ſuffered him to enjoy the title of proconſul, and all the badges of that dignity, though ſeveral ſenators, and particularly Cicero, ſolicited him by letters to rid the public of ſo dangerous an enemy. But finding at length that he abuſed his good-nature, and made uſe of the liberty, which, through an exceſs of kindneſs, was allowed him, to corrupt the officers and raiſe ſeditions among the ſoldiers, he confined him on bord a ſhip, and there kept him cloſe priſoner. Several ſoldiers, whom he had privately ſeduced, abandoning Brutus, retired to Apollonia, whence, repenting of the ſteps they had taken, they ſent him word, that if he would come thither, they would return to their duty. Brutus anſwered, that "this was not cuſtomary among the Romans, but that it became thoſe, who "had offended, to come to their general and beg forgive-"neſs of their crimes;" which they did, and were received with great kindneſs by their humane and good-natured general [h].

Caius Antonius defeated and taken priſoner.

Is treated with great civility by Brutus.

About this time Brutus received a letter from the famous Titus Pomponius Atticus, in which was incloſed, it ſeems, the copy of one written by Cicero to Octavianus after the battle of Mutina; wherein he firſt congratulated him on his late victory, and then told him, "that it was deſired and ex-"pected of him, that he would ſuffer thoſe citizens to lead "a quiet and peaceable life, whom all good men and the peo-"ple of Rome loved and eſteemed, meaning Brutus and his "followers.

[g] Plut in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 632, 633. [h] Plut. in Bruto.

followers. As this was tacitly acknowledging an authority in Octavianus above the laws, Brutus highly resented it, and expressed his resentment in the letters he wrote to Atticus and Cicero himself. "I had rather not live," says he, writing to Cicero, "than owe my life to him. I do not be- Brutus's letter to Ci-
"lieve that the Roman people have provoked the wrath of
"the gods to such a degree, that Octavianus must be entreat-
"ed for the safety of one private citizen, much less for that
"of the deliverers of the world [i]". Cicero had, it seems, on what occasion we know not, reproached Casca with the murder of Cæsar, and was employing all his interest in favour of Octavianus. This drew several letters in very sharp terms from Brutus, which are still extant among Cicero's epistles, and will be lasting monuments of the honour, virtue, and truly noble spirit of that brave patriot, in spite of the many ill-natured reflections with which the flatterers of Augustus, and, since his time, the abetters of absolute power have endeavoured to blacken his character.

Brutus, being now at the head of a powerful army, and master of all Greece, Illyricum, Macedon and Thrace, resolved to pass into Asia and there join Cassius, whose progress in those eastern provinces, from the time he parted with Brutus in Athens to the consulate of Octavianus, we are now to relate. We have observed above, that P. Cornelius Dolabella, by the interest of Marc Antony, obtained of the people, in spite of the senate, the government of Syria. This Cassius no sooner understood, than he left Athens, and sailed first into Asia, which province was then governed by Trebonius, one of the conspirators, in quality of proconsul. It had been allotted to him a few days after Cæsar's death, and he, upon the arrival of Octavianus at Rome, had quitted the city and retired to his government, as is manifest from several of Cicero's epistles [k]. Cassius was well received by Trebonius, and also by P. Lentulus, who had been sent with him in quality of proquæstor extraordinary, his ordinary quæstor being L. Patiscus. This we gather from Cicero's epistles [l], which some writers seem not to have consulted, or to have misunderstood. These supplied Cassius with money; and he was soon

Cassius passes over into Asia.

[i] Cic. ad Brutum, epist. 16.
[k] Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 10. & l. xiii. ad familiar. epist. 73. collata cum epist. 43, 45.
[l] Vide Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 14, 15.

Is joined by a body of horse, and by the Romans dispersed about Asia and Cilicia.

soon after joined by a body of horse, which Dolabella had sent into Asia, with orders to pursue their march into Syria, and there wait for him. Lentulus, in one of his letters to Cicero, ascribes to himself the glory of having brought over these troops to Cassius's party [m]. It was no sooner known in Asia and Cilicia, that Cassius was raising forces, than the Romans, who were dispersed about those provinces, flocked to him from all quarters; so that seeing himself at the head of a considerable army, he left Asia, we mean Asia properly so called, and marched into Syria, with a design to seize on that province, before the arrival of Dolabella. He was scarce gone when Dolabella landed on the Asiatic coast, laid waste the country, made himself master of Tarsus, where Cassius had left a garrison, and murdered in a most cruel and treacherous manner the proconsul Trebonius, as we have related above. Cassius, on his arrival in Syria, found Statius Murcus, and Marcius Crispus carrying on the siege of Apamea against Q. Cæcilius Bassus, as we have related above. These two leaders immediately joined him with all their forces, and Bassus's soldiers forced him to do the same; whereupon the city being delivered up to Cassius, an end was put to the siege, and the army of that general, by this new addition, encreased to the number of eight legions. From this time he took upon him the title of proconsul, as appears from his letters to Cicero [n]; though Cicero, in his letters to him, does not acknowledge that title, as not yet granted him by the senate [o]. Both Murcus and Crispus heartily embraced Cassius's party; the former was by him appointed governor of Syria, and also admiral of his fleet; but Bassus, not caring to engage in this war, was permitted quietly to retire [p]. Cassius, being thus strengthened, soon made himself master of all Syria, which he did the more easily on account of the great reputation he had formerly acquired in that province, by defending it against the Parthians after the overthrow of Cassius at Carrhæ, as we have related at length in the history of the Parthians [q]. From Syria, he passed into Phœnice and Judæa, and secured to himself those countries [r]. While he lay there, he was informed, that Allienus, one of Dolabella's lieu-

And also by Statius Murcus, Cicælius Bassus and Marcius Crispus.

Makes himself master of all Syria.

[m] Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 14.
[n] Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 11. 12.
[o] Idem ibid. epist. 7, 8, 9, 10.
[p] Dio, l. xlvii. p. 343, & Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epist. 11, 12.
[q] Vide Vol XI. p. 39.
[r] Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico. l. i. c. 9.

lieutenants, was marching through Paleſtine with four legions, which Cæſar had left in Egypt after the Alexandrian war. Upon this advice he went to meet them, and coming upon them unawares, obliged both Allienus and his legions to ſide with him, which, with thoſe he had before, made up the number of twelve legions. Of theſe forces he gave a particular account to Cicero, in a letter dated the nones of March from his camp at Tarichæa in Galilee [s]. For the maintaining of ſo numerous a body of men, he was forced to lay the country under heavy contributions; and Judæe being taxed at ſeven hundred talents, Antipater, took ſpeedy care for the anſwering of this ſum, committing it to the charge of his two ſons, Phaſael and Herod, and to Malichus and ſome others, ordering them to raiſe the ſum forthwith, and aſſigning to each of them their proper diſtricts for this purpoſe. Herod, having brought in his quota the firſt, gained by that means the favour of Caſſius. But Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, Thamna, and ſome other cities of Judæa, being backward in raiſing their quotas, Caſſius cauſed the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder, for the more ſpeedy payment of the ſum required. He was provoked to ſuch a degree againſt Malichus, who was very dilatory in this matter, that he would have put him to death, had not Hyrcanus appeaſed him with a preſent of an hundred talents, which he ſent him by Antipater [t]. In the mean time, Dolabella, after a long ſtay in Aſia, where he burdened the cities with new taxes and oppreſſed the inhabitants in a moſt cruel and tyrannical manner [u], paſſed firſt into Cilicia, and thence into Syria, with two legions, whither his fleet, compoſed of veſſels hired of the Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians, ſailed ſoon after under the command of L. Figulus [w]. Upon his arrival in Syria, he attempted to enter Antioch, as governor of that province; but being repulſed by the inhabitants and the garriſon, which Caſſius had left there, with the loſs of about an hundred of his men, he abandoned the enterpriſe, and retired in the night towards Laodicea. During his march, moſt of the troops he had raiſed in Aſia abandoned him, ſome of them returning to Antioch, where they joined Caſſius's men, and others retiring over mount Amanus into Cilicia [x]. As the inhabitants of Laodicea were entirely devoted

Obliges Allienus with his four legions to take with him.

Dolabella retires to Laodicea.

[s] Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epiſt. 11, 12.
[t] Joſeph. antiq. l. xiv. 18. & de bell Judaico. l. i. c. 9.
[u] Cic. ad Brut. epiſt. 3, 4. & l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 15.
[w] Appian. l. iv. p. 624.
[x] P. Lentul. ad Cic. l. ad familiar. epiſt. 15.

to Cæsar's party, they received Dolabella with open arms, and put him in possession of their city; which Cassius no sooner heard, than he hastened thither, leaving Herod governor of Cœle-Syria, with a strong detachment from his army to keep that province in awe [y]. Upon his arrival, he found Dolabella encamped under the walls of the city, nay, as we learn from a letter of Cassius Parmensis, and not of Cassius Longinus, as we conjecture, to Cicero, he had beat down part of the walls, and joined his camp to the town [z].

Where he is besieged by Cassius.

As Laodicea was placed on a peninsula, Cassius, to prevent Dolabella from making his escape by land, carried on a wall two furlongs in length cross the isthmus, with materials brought from the neighbouring villages and sepulchres. At the same time he dispatched messengers to the Phænicians, Lycians, and Rhodians for ships, with a design to block up the harbour. But the Sidonians alone complied with his summons, and sent him what vessels they had already equipped in their harbour. They were scarce arrived, when Dolabella's fleet under the command of L. Figulus appeared off Laodicea.

Cassius' fleet defeated.

Cassius, though his fleet was far inferior in number to the enemy's, yet would by all means venture an engagement, in which both parties fought with incredible bravery. But at length Cassius's fleet was overpowered, and five of his ships taken with all the mariners on board. Hereupon Cassius dispatched messengers anew to those who had slighted his first summons, and besides to Cleopatra queen of Egypt, and to Serapion, who commanded her forces in Cyprus. The Tyrians, Aradians, and also Serapion, without the knowledge of his mistress, obeyed the second summons, and sent what ships they could assemble. But Cleopatra herself, who had been greatly favoured by Cæsar, and consequently bore an irreconcileable hatred to all those who were concerned in his death, refused to lend them any assistance, under pretence, that Egypt was then afflicted with a plague and famine. The Rhodians and Lycians declared, that they designed to maintain a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that Dolabella's fleet consisted mostly of Lycian and Rhodian vessels. Of this Lentulus, who was proquæstor extraordinary of Asia, complained in his letters both to the senate and to Cicero; for Dolabella had been declared an enemy to the people of Rome, and the republic had lately renewed her alliance with the Rhodians [a]. However Statius Murcus, the admiral of Cassius's

[y] Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 19. [z] Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 13. [a] Cic. ad familiar. l. xii. epist. 14, 15.

Caſſius's fleet, having got together a conſiderable number of ſhips of war in Phænice and on the coaſts of Aſia, ventured two other engagements, in the firſt whereof they parted upon equal terms; but in the ſecond Dolabella's fleet was entirely defeated. Then Murcus blocked up the port with his victorious fleet; ſo that no proviſions could be conveyed into the beſieged city either by ſea or land, the wall, which Caſſius had begun to croſs the iſthmus, being now completed. The place being thus reduced to the utmoſt extremity, Dolabella attempted ſeveral times to ſally out at the head of the garriſon, but was conſtantly driven back into the city, which was at length, without his knowledge, delivered up to the enemy by one Quintius, a chief officer of his army. Dolabella, ſeeing the enemy in poſſeſſion of the city, and fearing Caſſius would retaliate upon him his cruel treatment of the unfortunate Trebonius, ordered one of his guards to cut off his head; which he did accordingly, and then killed himſelf with the ſame ſword. The example of Dolabella was followed by M. Octavius his lieutenant, and Q. Marſus, another of his chief officers. Caſſius ordered their bodies to be decently interred, though they had refuſed that honour to the poor remains of Trebonius, which they threw into the ſea, after having inſulted them in the groſſeſt manner. But Caſſius, at the ſight of Dolabella's head, ſeemed to have forgot the vengeance he owed to the manes of his friend. As for the ſoldiers, who ſerved under the deceaſed general, though they had been declared enemies to the republic as well as himſelf, Caſſius generouſly forgave them, and, having obliged them to take the military oath to him, incorporated them among his legionaries [b]. Appian tells us, that Caſſius plundered both the temples and treaſury of Laodicea, that he laid heavy taxes on the inhabitants, and put all the nobility to the ſword; ſo that the city was reduced to a moſt miſerable condition [c]. What Appian ſays has not been a little exaggerated by the authors of the Roman hiſtory now publiſhing at Paris: for they tell us, that "the ſtreets in an inſtant were covered with dead bodies; that the blood ran "in ſtreams; that neither temples nor palaces were ſpared; "that thoſe, whom the conqueror thought fit to pardon, "were forced to pay ſuch exhorbitant ſums that death ſeem-

Dolabella's [illegible] entirely [illegible], and Laodicea taken.

The death of Dolabella.

[b] Appian. l. iv. p. 625. & ſeq. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 345. & ſeq. Liv. l. xii. Strabo. l. xv. p. 752. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69, Oroſ. l. vi. c. 19. [c] Appian. ibid. p. 625, 626.

"ed leſs painful to them than life [d]." Theſe reverend writers, men indeed of great learning, but avowed champions of arbitrary power, omit no opportunity of throwing what dirt they can upon thoſe who ſtand up in defence of their liberties. They conſtantly follow thoſe authors, whoſe accounts are the leaſt favourable to them, without taking notice of what others, leſs partial and biaſſed, have wrote on the ſame ſubject. In the preſent caſe, Dion Caſſius diſagreeing, as he often does, with Appian, after having told us, that Caſſius gave quarter and impunity to Dolabella's troops, adds, "neither puniſhed he the inhabitants of Laodicea, "otherwiſe than by obliging them to pay a ſum of money [e]." No mention here of "ſtreams of blood, of ſtreets covered "with dead bodies, of exorbitant taxes which made death "itſelf deſireable.

The government of Syria confirmed to Caſſius.

And now Caſſius, after the reduction of Laodicea, become maſter of all Syria, acquainted the conſcript fathers with the ſucceſs of his arms; who thereupon confirmed to him the government of thoſe vaſt provinces, as they did to Brutus that of Greece, Macedon, and Illyricum, ordering all the ſtates and cities, in alliance with, or ſubject to, Rome, to obey their orders and aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of their power [f]. Thus Brutus and Caſſius, who had fled from Rome, as Plutarch obſerves [g], like deſpicable exiles, without money or arms, without ſhips, ſoldiers, or one ſingle city to rely on, were now maſters of large provinces, had above twenty legions under their command, and were in a condition to keep in awe and withſtand the united forces of Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus. Thus was the Roman ſtate, taken in its utmoſt extent, divided between two oppoſite parties, the Cæſareans, that is, thoſe who were for introducing abſolute government, and arbitrary power; and the republicans, that is, zealous defenders of their liberties and the antient cuſtoms and laws of the republic. The latter prevailed in the eaſt; and the former in the weſt: where they were obeyed by all the nations between the ocean and the ſtreights of Meſſana, or the moſt ſouthern borders of Italy. As for Sicily, it was held at this time by Sextus Pompeius, the younger ſon of Pompey the Great, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of thls hiſtory. Such was the ſituation of affairs at the beginning of Octavianus's firſt conſulate. What happened in Italy and

[d] Catrou and Rouille, tom. 17. p. 584. [e] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 345. [f] Vell. Patercul. ibid. c. 62. Appian. l. iii. p. 567, 568. [g] Plut. in Bruto.

and the ſeveral provinces ſubject to the diſtracted and expiring republic, from his conſulate to the death of Brutus and Caſſius, ſhall be the ſubject of the following chapter.

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of Rome, from the firſt conſulate of Octavianus to the death of Caſſius and Brutus.

THE firſt ſtep Octavianus took, after he had entered upon his conſulate, was, to get his adoption confirmed in a general aſſembly of the people. In the next place, he prevailed upon the ſenate to revoke their decree, declaring Dolabella, whoſe death was not yet known at Rome, an enemy to his country [h]. Soon after his collegue Q. Pædius, at his inſtigation, propoſed a law for impeaching, trying, and condemning all thoſe who had been any ways concerned in the death of Cæſar. Purſuant to this law which paſſed without oppoſition, L. Cornificius took upon him to accuſe Brutus, and the famous M. Vipſanius Agrippa (X) appeared againſt

Octavianus cauſes Brutus and Caſſius to be condemned.

[h] Appian, l. iii. p. 586. Dio. l. xlvi. p. 321, 322.

(X) Marcus Vipſanius Agrippa was according to Suetonius (37), of a mean decent, but of an equeſtrian family accoring to Cornelius Nepos (38). The former writer tells us, that the emperor Caligula, aſhamed to acknowledge Agrippa for his grandfather, gave out, that his mother Agrippina was not the daughter of Agrippa, but the fruit of an inceſtuous commerce, between Julia the wife of Agrippa and her father Auguſtus; chuſing out of a fooliſh and ſhameful vanity, to owe his birth rather to an inceſt, than a lawful marriage (39), Agrippa was brought up from his infancy with Octavianus, and ſerved him to the laſt with the utmoſt fidelity. We ſhall have occaſion to make frequent mention of him in the ſequel of this hiſtory. Velleius Paterculus, a ſcandalous flatterer of the Cæſars, tells us, that his uncle Capito joined Agrippa in accuſing Brutus (40).

(37) Suet in Caligula. (38) Cornel. Nep. in vita Attici.
(39) Idem ibid. (40) Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69.

againſt Caſſius. The conſpirators were all ſummoned to take their trials; and we are told, that when the herald pronounced the name of Brutus, both the people and ſenate expreſſed their concern for ſo worthy a citizen with ſighs and tears. Among the many judges, who were choſen for the deciſion of ſo important a cauſe, Silicius Coronas was the only perſon who had courage enough to declare in their favour, which coſt him his life; for though Octavianus thought it then adviſeable to diſſemble his reſentment, and pretended even to be reconciled to Silicius, yet he ſoon after ſacrificed him to his revenge. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of that generous citizen, the conſpirators were all condemned, without being heard, to perpetual baniſhment, and their eſtates confiſcated [i]. But as Brutus and Caſſius were at the head of twenty legions, Octavianus rightly judged, that it would not be eaſy for him to deſtroy them, without the aſſiſtance of Antony and Lepidus. He therefore diſpatched truſty meſſengers to theſe two chiefs, deſiring them to march with all poſſible expedition into Italy, that they might, with their united forces, fall upon Brutus and Caſſius, and drive them out of the provinces which they had ſeized. Hereupon they both ſet out without delay, and paſſing the Alps, at the head of ſeventeen legions, entered Ciſalpine Gaul. The ſenate, alarmed at their approach, and ſtill ſtrangers to the private managements between them and Octavianus, ordered the latter to march out againſt them, and make war upon them as public enemies. Octavianus with great joy embraced this opportunity of putting the laſt hand to the treaty, which had been begun ſome time ſince between him and his rival. But, before he left Rome he gave private inſtructions to Quintus Pædius his collegue and creature, to inſinuate, as of his own motion, to the ſenate, that it was for the advantage of the commonwealth to repeal their decree againſt Antony and Lepidus, and not drive ſuch men to deſpair, eſpecially Antony, who was as great a commander, and no leſs to be dreaded than, Sylla and Marius. This propoſal was no-ways agreeable to the ſenate; but nevertheleſs, as they ſuſpected Octavianus to be at the bottom of the whole, they wrote to him for his advice in ſo nice a point. The crafty general readily conſented to the repealing of the decree, as we may well imagine; but, to deceive the ſenate, told them in his letter, that his conſent had been in a manner extorted

Invites Antony and Lepidus into Italy.

[i] Liv. l. cxx. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Suet. in Nerone, c. 3. Dio, l. xlvi. p. 322. Plut. in Bruto.

extorted by the earneſt entreaties of his ſoldiers. However, the conſcript fathers began now plainly to ſee, that Octavianus's deſign was to gain over Antony to his party, and to act in concert with him againſt the defenders of the public liberty. But they were no longer in a condition to withſtand him, and therefore ſolemnly diſannulled all the decrees againſt Antony and his adherents. In acknowledgment of this good turn, Antony marched immediately againſt Decimus Brutus, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Mutina with ten legions, four whereof conſiſted of veterans, but who were in a very bad condition on account of the diſtempers and fatigues they had ſuffered during the late ſiege; the ſix others were newly raiſed, and quite unacquainted with military diſcipline. So that Brutus, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the united and ſuperior forces of Antony and Lepidus, reſolved to quit Ciſalpine Gaul, and by the way of Aquileia paſs into Illyricum, and from thence into Macedon, where M. Brutus commanded. But finding all the paſſes ſeized, on that ſide, by Octavianus's troops, he took his rout towards the Alps with a deſign to paſs the Rhine, where that river divides Tranſalpine Gaul from Germany, and through the latter country purſue his march into Macedon. But the apprehenſion of the fatigues and dangers of ſo long a journey had ſuch an effect on the minds of the new-raiſed troops, that they all abandoned Brutus and went over to Antony. Their example was ſoon followed by the other four legions; ſo that Brutus's army was ſoon reduced to a few ſquadrons of Gauliſh horſe; and to ſuch of theſe alſo, as betrayed any unwillingneſs to follow him, Brutus not only gave leave to return home, but generouſly ſupplyed them with money to defray the charges of their journey. Thus guarded only by three hundred horſe, he marched as far as the Rhine, the ſight of which rapid river ſo frightened the few Gauls he had with him, that they ſtole away one after another, except ten, who ſeemed determined never to forſake him. In this extremity he laid aſide all thoughts of entering Germany, and dreſſing himſelf after the Gauliſh manner, as he ſpoke the language like a native, he reſolved in that diſguiſe to return through Gaul into Italy, not without hopes of reaching at length Macedon undiſcovered. But he had not gone far, before he had the misfortune to be taken by a band of freebooters, who conducted him, at his requeſt, to the lord of that diſtrict, by name Camillus, or, as others call him, Camelius, who had received a thouſand favours at his hands in the dictator's life-time. But the ungrateful wretch, after having

The decree againſt Antony and Lepidus revoked.

The misfortunes and death of D. Brutus.

having received him in a friendly manner, diſpatched a meſſenger to Antony, acquainting him, that he had Brutus in his power, and was ready to diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed. Antony was touched with compaſſion at the misfortunes of a man ſo conſiderable for his birth and the great offices he had borne. But nevertheleſs, as it was for the intereſt of his party that he ſhould be cut off, he wrote word to Camillus to diſpatch him and ſend him his head: which the treacherous Gaul did accordingly, without any regard to the ſacred laws of hoſpitality. Dion Caſſius, Valerius Maximus, and Seneca tell us, that Brutus behaved on this occaſion in a manner very unbecoming a man of his rank and ſtation, and that he earneſtly begged for his life, even after Helvius Blaſia, his intimate friend and inſeparable companion, had killed himſelf in his preſence, to animate him by his example [k]. Cicero on the contrary, who was intimately accquainted with him, ſpeaks of him as a man, "who was never afraid, or even diſturbed [l];" and the authority of Cicero is more to be relied on, than that of all the hiſtorians, who wrote long after, put together. However, the learned fathers Catrou and Rouille, in their Roman hiſtory, take no notice of this paſſage, which would have left no room for their long deſcants on the cowardice of that perfidious wretch, that cruel traytor, that inhuman aſſaſſin, as they are pleaſed to ſtile Brutus for conſpiring againſt ſo fine a man as Cæſar, guilty of no fault but that of tyranny and uſurpation. When his head was brought to Antony, he looked on it with ſome concern, and then delivered it to his friends, by whom it was decently buried [m]. Thus died Decimus Junius Brutus, a year and a half after the death of Cæſar. He had been always honoured by the dictator with particular marks of friendſhip and confidence, as appears both from his will, and from the great employments to which he raiſed him. For he was appointed one of his ſecond heirs, in caſe any of his great nephews ſhould renounce the inheritance; and had been general of his horſe; governor firſt of Tranſalpine, and afterwards of Ciſalpine, Gaul, and named conſul, according to Velleius Paterculus, for the year after the conſulate of Hirtius and Panſa [n]. And indeed Decimus ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity, till he began openly to aſpire at the ſovereign power; and then, conſidering him no longer as a friend, but as a tyrant, he preferred the public welfare

[k] Dio. l. xlvi. p. 325. Val. Max. l. ix. Seneca. epiſt. 82.
[l] Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epiſt. 21.
[m] Dio ibid. p. 325.
[n] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 64.

welfare to his private intereſt, which the abetters of arbitrary power look upon as an enormous crime. Antony immediately acquainted Octavianus, that he had ſacrificed Decimus to the manes of his father, and then advanced with Lepidus at the head of his army to meet him. The place they choſe for their private conferences was a ſmall iſland formed by the river Rhenus, now the Reno, which falls into the Po, after having watered the territory of Bononia or Bologna (Y). Both armies advanced to the oppoſite banks of this river, from whence by two bridges a communication was opened with the iſland. Lepidus entered the firſt into the iſland, to view whether it was ſafe for the other two to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate condition of thoſe ambitious men, who, even in the midſt of a reconciliation, could not help miſtruſting each other. Lepidus having made the ſignal that was agreed on, the two generals entered the iſland from the oppoſite banks, each of them guarded by three hundred men, who remained at the head of the bridges, while the two chiefs advanced to the place of the interview, which was a riſing ground, whence they could be equally ſeen by their guards and both armies. After they had ſaluted and embraced each other in a polite and friendly manner, they took their ſeats, the other two yielding to Octavianus, as conſul, the moſt honourable place. The conference laſted three days, during which time they had the precaution to ſpeak conſtantly ſo low, notwithſtanding ſome warm debates, that not a ſingle word could be heard even by their guards, who ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance. At length they agreed on the following articles: "1. That Octavianus ſhould forthwith reſign the conſulate, "which gave him a kind of preeminence over the other "two, to Ventidius one of Antony's lieutenants. 2. That the "ſupreme authority ſhould be divided among them three, and "kept by them for the ſpace of five years, under the name "of triumvirs, and in quality of reformers of the common-"wealth. 3. That they ſhould cauſe this authority to be "confirmed

Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus meet in a certain iſland.

The articles of their agreement.

(Y) Appian will have the triumvirs to have met in an iſland formed by the river Labinius in the neighbourhood of Mantua (41). But, in the firſt place, the Labinius, or, as others call it, the Lavinus, is at a great diſtance from Mantua, and rather in the neighbourhood of Bononia; and beſides, is not large enough to form an iſland, being in reality not a river, but a rivulet, known at preſent by the name of Lavino.

(41) Appian. de bell. civil. l. iv. ſub. init.

" confirmed by the Roman people. 4. That Antony ſhould " have all Tranſalpine and Ciſalpine Gaule, except Nar- " bonne, which together with both Spains ſhould be " yielded to Lepidus; and that Octavianus ſhould have for " his ſhare Africa, with Sicily and Sardinia. 5. That Italy " and the eaſtern provinces, which were poſſeſſed by Brutus and Caſſius, ſhould for a while remain in common. 6. " That Antony and Octavianus ſhould forthwith join their " forces and make war upon Brutus and Caſſius, while Lepi- " dus with four legions ſtaid at Rome, to maintain the au- " thority of the triumvirate there." Thus was the empire of the world divided, as Plutarch obſerves, among theſe three chiefs, as if it had been their paternal inheritance. Beſides theſe, ſeveral other articles were ſettled. As it was of the utmoſt importance, eſpecially for Octavianus and Antony, who were to march into the eaſt againſt Brutus and Caſſius, to ſecure the fidelity of the legions, it was agreed, that each legionary ſhould receive after the war five thouſand drachmas, each centurion twenty-five thouſand, and each tribune fifty thouſand. To theſe immenſe and almoſt incredible ſums, were added other rewards, yet more ſubſtantial. The triumvirs agreed to promiſe their ſoldiers ſettlements, on their return from the eaſt, in eighteen of the beſt cities of Italy, which ſhould be choſen out by the three chiefs, and abandoned in property with their houſes and lands to the ſoldiers. As for the antient proprietors, they were by a crying injuſtice to be driven out of their old habitations, ſtript of their lands and effects, and ſuffered either to periſh with famine, or ſhift for themſelves in the beſt manner they could. Some of theſe unhappy cities were even then named, viz. Capua, Rhegium, Beneventum, Luceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. As the triumvirs had occaſion for immenſe ſums to carry on the war, and beſides were well appriſed, that there were ſtill in Rome great numbers of zealous republicans, who probably would raiſe diſturbances in Italy, during their abode in the eaſt, they came to that barbarous and inhuman reſolution, which will render their memories execrable and infamous to the lateſt poſterity; a reſolution, which brings diſgrace upon tyranny itſelf. They agreed not only to cut off all their enemies, but thoſe alſo who were either poſſeſſed of great eſtates, or were thought to retain the leaſt ſpark of zeal for their antient laws and liberties. This they looked upon as the ſureſt means of maintaining themſelves in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their uſurped tyranny, and at the ſame time of raiſing the neceſſary ſums for the ſupport of their troops. Theſe regulations were made without

The proſcription.

without the leaſt conteſt or diſpute; but the liſt of the proſcibed, when it came to be ſettled, occaſioned warm debates, each of them intending to deſtroy his enemies and ſave his friends. Antony would come to no agreement till Cicero's name was ſet down in the fatal liſt. Octavianus endeavoured to ſave him, and was for having Antony to ſacrifice Lucius Cæſar, his uncle by the mother's ſide. As for Lepidus, ſome writers tell us, that contrary to the inclination of the other two, he inſiſted upon the condemnation of his own brother L. Æmilius Paulus, who had voted the firſt in the ſenate for paſſing the decree, which declared him a publick enemy when he joined Antony. Other authors ſay, that he would fain have ſaved his brother, but that Octavianus and Antony demanded his head. However that be, the thirſt of being revenged on their enemies at length got the better of the deſire of ſaving their friends and relations. Octavianus in the end ſacrificed Cicero, to Antony; Antony his uncle Lucius to Octavianus; and Lepidus was either allowed to murder his brother Paulus, or forced to abandon him to the reſentment of the other two. The death of theſe three being agreed on, the liſt of the others, whom the triumvirs doomed to die, was ſoon drawn up, each of the three tyrants ſetting down the names of his particular enemies, and even of the enemies of his creatures. The firſt in this liſt was Paulus, the brother of Lepidus; Lucius Cæſar, Antony's uncle, was the ſecond; and Cicero the third. After theſe were named Plotius, conſul elect, and brother to Plancus one of Antony's lieutenants; Quintus, who was alſo deſigned conſul for the enſuing year, and whoſe daughter Aſinius Pollio, a great ſtickler for the triumvirate, had lately married; Thoranius, who had been governor to Octavianus, and had taken particular care of his education, and many others, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel of the hiſtory. And now the articles of this wicked confederacy being agreed on, and ſwore to by the contracting parties, the three chiefs ſeparated, after embracing each other, and went to impart the reſult of their conferences to their reſpective armies, who, overjoyed at the advantageous promiſes that were made them, heard the report with the greateſt ſatisfaction. The ſame day the two armies joined, and mutually feaſted and entertained each other (A). Thus was concluded the ſecond triumvirate

(A) The agreement being made, and the articles ſigned by the triumvirs, the army deſired that the friendſhip between Antony and

The ſecond triumvirate.

umvirate about a year and a half after Cæſar's death, the conſequences whereof were moſt dreadful, and gave the laſt blow to the liberty of Rome °.

The decree of the proſcription.

AND now the triumvirs, ſeeing their agreement, and each of the articles on which it was concluded, approved by the ſoldiery of both armies, reſolved in the firſt place to publiſh the decree of proſcription, and haſten the execution of it, before their enemies could have any notice of their wicked deſigns. Accordingly the fatal decree was drawn up and made public. It began thus: "M. Lepidus, M. Antonius, and "Octavianus Cæſar, choſen for the reformation of the com-"monwealth. If the generoſity of Julius Cæſar had not "prompted him to pardon ſome faithleſs men, and to grant "them, beſides their lives, of which they were unworthy, "honours and offices, which they deſerved as little, he had "not fallen by their treaſon, nor ſhould we have been obliged "to proceed in a manner diſagreeable to us, againſt thoſe "who have declared us enemies to our country. But the "wicked deſigns they formed againſt us, the horrible treachery "they ſhewed towards Cæſar, and the certain knowledge we "have of their execrable practices, force us to prevent the "evils with which we are threatened." Then followed a juſtification of the proceedings of the triumvirs, founded on the advantages which Cæſar had procured for the Roman people, by his victories, on the ingratitude of thoſe who had murdered him, and on the neceſſity of clearing the city of ſuch as might involve it in new troubles. They concluded thus: "No man ſhall dare to receive, conceal, help to eſ-"cape, any ways relieve thoſe who are proſcribed, or hold "any manner of intelligence with them, upon pain of being "himſelf proſcribed. Whoſoever ſhall bring to any of the "triumvirs the head of a proſcribed perſon ſhall receive, if "a freeman, twenty-five thouſand ſeſterces, and ten thouſand, "if

° Appian. l. iv. 589, 590. Dio. l. xlvi. p. 325, 326. Plut in Cic. & Antonio. Flor. l. iv. c. 6.

and Octavianus might be cemented by ſome alliance, and forced in a manner the latter to divorce Servilia, the daughter of Servilius Iſauricus, whom he had married when he was very young, and to take in her room Clodia, the daughter of the famous P. Clodius, who was killed by Milo, and of Fulvia, whom Antony had married after the death of her firſt huſband (42).

(42) Plut. in Antonio.

" if a ſlave. The ſlave who ſhall kill his maſter, ſhall more-
" over be declared a Roman citizen. The ſame rewards
" ſhall be given to ſuch as ſhall declare the place, where any
" proſcribed perſon lies concealed, and the name of the in-
" former ſhall not be entered in any regiſter, to the end it
" may never be known who he was." This decree, toge-ther with the firſt liſt of the unhappy wretches who were doomed to die, was immediately ſent to Rome, and at the ſame time ſome companies of ſoldiers diſpatched thither, to put the cruel orders of the triumvirs in execution. The ſoldiers arrived in the evening before the decree, and meeting four of the proſcribed perſons in the ſtreets, immediately put them to death: others were inhumanly maſſacred in their houſes; ſome while they were ſupping with their friends, and ſome in the temples, whither, upon the firſt alarm, they had fled for refuge. The city was in an inſtant filled with horror and confuſion. Nothing was heard but cries and lamentations. As the liſt of the proſcribed perſons was not yet made public, every one fancied himſelf in that number; and hence a general terror and conſternation. Some in the height of their deſpair reſolved to involve the whole city in their deſtruction, and accordingly ſet fire to it in different quarters. The darkneſs of the night, the fire which began to flame out in ſeveral places, the cries and groans of thoſe who were inhumanly butchered in the ſtreets, the running up and down of the armed ſoldiers, the flight of the people, the ſhrieks of the women, &c. filled every breaſt with dread and horror. Q. Pædius, the only conſul then in Rome, to remove the fears of the alarmed multitude and prevent diſorders, ran from ſtreet to ſtreet, cauſing it to be every-where publiſhed, that the number of thoſe, who were doomed to die, was but very ſmall, and that, as ſoon as it was day, he would cauſe their names to be fixed up in the forum. Accordingly, early next morning, the liſt of the proſcribed, containing the names only of ſeventeen perſons, was ſet up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs. This reſtored tranquillity to the city for a while; but the conſul Pædius, having over-heated himſelf with running up and down the city, to calm the minds of the people and prevent diſorders, died the night following [p].

Rome in the utmoſt conſternation.

DURING theſe alarms, the triumvirs advanced, at the head of their united forces, towards Rome, which they entered on three different days, Octavianus on the firſt, Antony on the

The entry of the triumvirs into Rome.

[p] Appian. Dio. Flor. Plut. ibid.

the ſecond, and Lepidus on the third, each of them being attended with his prætorian cohort and one legion. The firſt ſtep they took after their arrival was, to get a law paſſed, inveſting them with the authority which they had uſurped. It was accordingly propoſed by the tribune P. Titius to the aſſembled tribes, who paſſed it the ſame day in the following terms: "The Roman people lawfully aſ-" ſembled have thought fit to appoint three perſons to go-" vern the commonwealth with conſular power. Theſe " are M. Antonius, M. Lepidus, and Cæſar Octavianus, " whoſe authority ſhall be acknowledged and obeyed by all " for the ſpace of five years." The decree was no ſooner paſſed, than Octavianus, purſuant to one of the articles of the confederacy, reſigned his conſulſhip, ſome ſay to C. Carrinas, others to Ventidius (B). However that be, theſe two were by the triumvirs appointed conſuls for the remaining part of the preſent year; but they made no figure, the whole power and authority of the public being lodged in the triumvirs. Theſe three tyrants, looking upon themſelves now as lawful magiſtrates, added the night following the names of an hundred and thirty perſons to thoſe they had already proſcribed; a few days after they proſcribed an hundred and fifty more, and thus they daily encreaſed the number, till it mounted at laſt to three hundred ſenators, and above two thouſand knights. It is impoſſible to paint the horrors of this bloody proſcription; by it every conſiderable man in Rome, who was diſliked, or ſuſpected by the triumvirate to diſapprove their tyranny, who was rich and had wherewithal to glut their avarice, was doomed to die. As it was death to conceal or help them, and ample rewards

The ſad condition which the city was in.

(B) We have given elſewhere a particular account of the riſe, exploits, and character of Ventidius (43); and therefore ſhall only add here, that as he had been formerly a muletier, and had got his livelihood by providing mules to carry the baggage of ſuch Roman magiſtrates as were ſent to govern foreign provinces, when he was raiſed to the conſulate, the following lampoon was fixed up in all the public places of the city:

" Concurrite, omnes augures, aruſpices;
" Portentum inuſitatum conflatum eſt recens:
" Nam mulos qui fricabat, conſul factus eſt (44).

(43) Vol. XI. p. 42 — 46. (44) Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. Plin. l. vii. c. 43.

rewards were given to ſuch as diſcovered and killed them, many were betrayed and butchered by their ſlaves and freedmen, many by their treacherous hoſts and relations. Many fled to the wilderneſs, where they periſhed for want with their tender children. Nothing was to be ſeen but blood and ſlaughter; the ſtreets were covered with dead bodies, the heads of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators were expoſed upon the roſtra, and their bodies left unburied in the ſtreets and fields, to be devoured by the dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming Rome to periſh at once. Many uncondemned perſons periſhed in this confuſion, ſome by malice or miſtake, others for concealing or defending their friends. Some of the antient hiſtorians ſeem to take pleaſure in deſcribing the horrors of this bloody and cruel proſcription, which reduced the populous capital of the world almoſt to a wilderneſs. They produce many remarkable and affecting inſtances of the affection of wives for their huſbands, and of the fidelity of ſlaves towards their maſters; but few, very few, as they own with great concern, of the love of children towards their parents. However, the dutiful behaviour of Oppius may ſtand for many, who like Æneas, carried his old and decrepit father on his ſhoulders to the ſea-ſide, and eſcaped with him into Sicily. His piety was not long unrewarded; for, on his return to Rome, after the triumvirs had put an end to the proſcription, he found the people ſo taken with that generous action, that all the tribes unanimouſly concurred in raiſing him to the ædileſhip; and becauſe he wanted money to exibit the uſual ſports, the artificers worked without wages, and the people not only taxed themſelves to defray the neceſſary charges attending ſuch ſhews, but gave proofs of the eſteem they had for ſo dutiful a ſon by ſuch contributions, as amounted to twice the value of his paternal eſtate, which had been confiſcated by the triumvirs. Caius Hoſidius Geta was likewiſe ſaved by his ſon, who ſpread a report, that his father had laid violent hands on himſelf, and, to render the fact more credible, ſpent the poor remains of his fortune in performing his obſequies. By this means Hoſidius, not being ſearched after, made his eſcape, but loſt one of his eyes, which he had kept too long covered with a plaiſter, the better to diſguiſe him. As for the barbarous impiety of thoſe children, who by a ſtrange apoſtaſy from nature betrayed their own parents, it ought to be buried with them in eternal oblivion. Nothing can reflect greater infamy on the memory of the triumvirs, than their countenancing ſuch im-

Some of the proſcribed ſaved by their children.

pious monſters. Several ſlaves choſe rather to die on the rack, amidſt the moſt exquiſite torments, than diſcover the place where their maſters lay concealed; others, not caring to outlive them, fell by their own hands upon their dead bodies. Many illuſtrious matrons gave remarkable proofs of

Others their wi

ir conjugal love in theſe times of calamity, which ought to be paſſed over in ſilence. The wife of Q. Ligarius, ing her huſband betrayed by one of his ſlaves, declared to the executioners who cut off his head, that ſhe had concealed him, and conſequently ought, in virtue of the decree, to undergo the ſame fate. But they not hearkening to her, ſhe appeared before the triumvirs themſelves, upbraided them with their cruelty, owned ſhe had concealed, in ſpite of their decree, her huſband, and begged death of them as a favour. Being driven away by their officers, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in her own houſe, and there, as ſhe was determined not to outlive her huſband, ſtarved herſelf to death. Acilius was betrayed by one of his ſlaves, and apprehended, but redeemed by his wife, who readily parted with all her jewels to ſave his life. Apuleius, Antiſtius, Antius, Q. Lucretius Viſpallio, Titus Vinius, and many others, were ſaved by the ingenious contrivances of their wives, after they had given themſelves up for loſt. Lucius, the uncle of Antony, was ſaved by his ſiſter Julia, in whoſe houſe he had taken refuge. The miniſters of the triumvirs endeavoured to break into the room, where he lay concealed; but his ſiſter meeting them at the door, cried out ſeveral times, "You "ſhall never kill Lucius Cæſar, till you firſt diſpatch me, "me, who gave your general his life and being." The aſſaſſins, thunder-ſtruck at theſe words, retired; but nevertheleſs Julia flew to the forum, where her ſon was ſitting on his tribunal, receiving the heads of the proſcribed, and paying the aſſaſſins the promiſed rewards. "I have tranſ-"greſſed your decree," ſaid ſhe to Antony, and am come to inform againſt myſelf. I have taken my brother into my houſe, and am reſolved to protect him, till you ſhall think fit to put us both to death. "You have behaved," replied Antony, "like a good ſiſter, but as a bad mo-"ther," and took no further notice of what Julia ſaid; but Lucius was no more enquired after. Though the country as well as the city ſwarmed with informers and aſſaſſins, yet many illuſtrious citizens found means to avoid the fury of the proſcription, and to get ſafe, either to Brutus in Macedon, or to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. The latter kept conſtantly a great number of ſmall veſſels hover-

Lucius Antonius ſaved by his ſiſter.

ing

ing on the coasts of Italy, to receive such as made their escape, and treated them with great kindness and civility. The most considerable persons among those who had the good luck to elude the fury of their enemies and persecutors, were, besides those we have already mentioned, Valerius Messala, Bibulus, Arianus, Metellus, Restio, Appius, Meneius, Junius, Pomponius, Hirtius, Apuleius, Aruntius, Coponius, and Ventidius. Messala and Bibulus were invited home by the triumvirs, who by a public declaration owned, that they had not been any ways accessary to the death of Cæsar; but they chose to continue with Brutus in Macedon, and signalized themselves in the battle of Philippi. Bibulus was afterwards raised to the first employments in the state. Arianus and Metellus were saved by their children, Restio, Appius, Meneius, and Junius by their slaves. Restio had marked one of his slaves on the forehead with a red-hot iron; the usual punishment inflicted on such slaves as attempted to run away from their masters. This slave, having by chance found out the place where Restio lay concealed, appeared unexpectedly before him, asking whether he could do him any service? Restio had afterwards treated the slave with great humanity, and done him many favours; but nevertheless, seeing himself now in his power, he looked upon his case as desperate, not doubting, but the slave would seize this opportunity of being revenged on him for the former affront; which the faithful and generous slave observing, addressed him thus: "Can you imagine, that "the marks, with which you formerly branded me, have "made a deeper impression on my forehead, than the fa- "vours, which you have since bestowed upon me, have done "in my heart!"

The fidelity of some slaves.

HAVING thus spoke, he led him to a cave, and there supported him for some time with what he earned by his daily labour. At length a company of soldiers coming that way, and approaching the cave, the faithful slave, alarmed at the danger his master was in, followed them close, and falling upon a poor peasant, killed him in their presence, and cut off his head, crying out, "I am now revenged on "my master for the marks with which he has branded "me." The soldiers, seeing the infamous marks on his forehead, and not doubting but he had killed Restio, snatched the head out of his hand and returned with it in all haste to the triumvirs. They were no sooner gone, than the slave conveyed his master to the sea-side, where they had the good luck to find one of Sextus Pompeius's vessels,

which tranſported them ſafe into Sicily. The generoſity of the ſlaves of Appius and Meneius, or Menenius, was ſtill more heroic; for they ſuffered themſelves to be ſlain in their maſters habits, while their maſters made their eſcape in the diſguiſe of ſlaves. Pomponius, finding no other means to get ſafe out of Rome, aſſumed the habit of a prætor, and went early out of the city in that attire, being attended by his ſlaves in the diſguiſe of lictors: he travelled at the expence of the public, giving out every-where, that he was ſent by the triumvirs to negotiate a treaty with young Pompey: he was well received in all the cities on the road, and ſupplied both with horſes and proviſions: ſeveral bands of ſoldiers and aſſaſſins met him on his journey, but none of them offered to ſtop or examine an embaſſadôr of the triumvirs; ſo that he reached Sicily undiſcovered. Hirtius, Apuleius, and Aruntius killed, with the aſſiſtance of their friends, clients, and ſlaves, the ſoldiers, who were ſent to murder them, and made their eſcape ſword in hand. Ventidius, not the conſul, deceived the murderers, by pretending to be one of them himſelf, and patrolling about the country with ſome of his friends, as in ſearch of proſcribed perſons. The ſenator Coponius was ſaved by his wife at the expence of her virtue, Antony having cauſed his name to be ſtruck out of the black liſt in regard of her compliance with his unlawful demands, after ſhe had been proof for ſeveral years againſt the offers, careſſes, and menaces of the lewd tyrant. Another ſenator, being quite tired with concealing himſelf in caves and dens, and ſculking about the country in continual alarms, returned to Rome in the diſguiſe of a ſchool-maſter, opened there a little ſchool, and kept it as long as the proſcription laſted without being diſcovered, no-body imagining, that a poor pedant could have been of ſuch ſignificancy, as to be ranked among the proſcribed ſenators and knights [q].

The bold undertaking of Pomponius.

THOUGH we may perhaps ſeem to have dwelt already too long on ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, yet we muſt, before we diſmiſs it, acquaint our readers with the fate of Cicero. The great reputation of that orator, the obligations which all men of learning owe to his memory, and the inimitable works he has left behind him, require of us a particular account of his death, and the moſt minute circumſtances

The fate of Cicero.

[q] Appian. l. iv. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Dio. l. xlvii. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 8. & l. ix. c. 11. Suet. in Octavio. Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 11.

cumstances attending it. He was with his brother Quintus, who was likewise proscribed, at his country-house near Tusculum, when the first news was brought him of the proscription. He no sooner heard it, than he left Tusculum with his brother, taking his rout towards Astura (C), or, as some call it, Stura, another of his country-houses, on the sea-side between the promontories of Antium and Circæum. There they both designed to take shipping, and endeavour to join Brutus in Macedon. They travelled together each in his litter, oppressed with sorrow, and often joined their litters on the road to condole each other. As they had, in the first alarm and hurry, forgot to take with them the necessary money to defray the expences of their voyage, it was agreed between them, that Cicero should make what haste he could to the sea-side, and Quintus return home to provide necessaries. Thus they embraced each other, and parted with reciprocal fears. Quintus returned to Rome, and got to his house undiscovered, where he thought himself safe at least for a short time, since it had been lately searched by the ministers of the triumvirs. But, as in most houses there were as many informers as domestics, his return was immediately known, and the house of course filled with soldiers and assassins, who, not being able to find him out, put his son to the torture, in order to make him declare where his father lay concealed. But filial affection was proof in the young Roman against the most exquisite torments. However, the tender youth could not help sighing now and then, and groaning in the height of his pain. Quintus was not far off; and the reader may imagine, though we cannot express, how the heart of a tender father must have been affected, in hearing the sighs and groans of a son dying on the rack to save his life. He could not bear it; but quitting the place of his concealment, he presented himself to the assassins,

Affecting circumstances of the death of his brother.

(C) Pliny speaks of Astura as a river and an island (45); and Cicero seems to insinuate in one of his letters to Atticus (46), that his house was in the island. In process of time a village was built in that neighbourhood, and called by the same name of Astura, as we learn from Servius (47).

(45) Plin. l. iii. c. 5. & 6. (46) Ad. Attic. l. xii. epist. 19. (47) Servius in Æneid. 7. v. 801.

begging them with a flood of tears to put him to death, and dismiss the innocent child, whose generous behaviour the triumvirs themselves, if informed of the fact, would judge worthy of the highest encomiums and rewards. But those inhuman monsters, without being in the least affected, with the tears either of the father or the son, answered, that "they must both die," the father, because he was proscribed, and the son, because, in defiance of the decree of the triumvirs, he had concealed his father. Then a new contest of tenderness arose between the father and the son, who should die the first; but this the assassins, destitute of all sense of humanity, and no-ways affected with such melting scenes, soon decided by beheading them both at the same time. Tho' Quintus Cicero's life was not perhaps without reproach, his death, it must be owned, was truly glorious; as for that of his son, it has been, and ever will be, celebrated by the writers of all nations and ages, as an instance of the most heroic affection and filial duty [r].

Embarques for Macedon.

But to return to the elder brother: Cicero, having reached Astura, and by good luck found a vessel there ready to weigh anchor, went on board with a design to pass over into Macedon and join Brutus. But, either dreading the inconveniencies of such a voyage, or still depending on the friendship of Octavianus, whom he had all along supported with his credit and eloquence, he soon changed his mind, and ordered the master of the ship to set him ashore at Circæum, where he took his rout towards Rome by land. But after he had gone about two hundred furlongs, he altered his resolution anew, and returned to sea, where he spent the night in a thousand melancholly and perplexing thoughts. One while he resolved to go privately into Octavianus's house, and there kill himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, in order to bring upon him the wrath of those furies, which were deemed the avengers of violated friendship. But the fear of being taken on the road, and the apprehension of the cruel treatment he expected, if taken, soon made him drop that resolution. Then falling into other thoughts equally perplexing, and wavering between the hopes he had in Octavianus's friendship, and the fear of death, he at last suffered his domestics to convey him by sea to a country-house, which he had in the neigh-

Changes his mind.

Goes by sea to his country-house near Gaieta.

[r] Appian. Dio. Plut. Val. Max. ibid. Seneca in suasor.

neighbourhood of Gaieta. Near the place, where he was to land, ſtood a little temple dedicated to Apollo, from which, it is ſaid, a flight of crows, coming with great noiſe, made towards Cicero's ſmall veſſel, as it was putting into port, and perching on the ſails and rigging, pecked them with a hideous noiſe; which was looked upon by all as a bad omen. However, Cicero went aſhore, and entering his houſe, lay down upon his bed to take ſome reſt. The crows followed him, and, fluttering about the windows of the room where he lay, made a dreadful noiſe. One of them was ſo bold as to fly into the chamber, and making to the bed where Cicero was repoſing with the cloaths caſt over his head, pecked them off by degrees and uncovered his face. The example of this creature rouſed his indolent domeſtics, who began to reproach each other for neglecting to ſave the life of a man, for whoſe preſervation the very birds of the air ſeemed concerned: wherefore, partly by force partly by entreaty, they put him again into his litter, and carried him towards the ſea-ſide. They were ſcarce gone, when a band of ſoldiers under the command of Herennius, a centurion, and Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, came to the houſe. Cicero had formerly undertaken the defence of Popilius, when he was under a proſecution for the murder of his own father, and by his triumphing eloquence had god him abſolved by thoſe very judges, who a little before were ready to condemn him to a moſt cruel death. But the ungrateful wretch, unmindful of former obligations, and wholly intent on currying favour with Antony, had promiſed to find out Cicero, where-ever he lay concealed, and bring him his head. He found the doors of his houſe ſhut, but breaking them open and ſearching in vain every corner, he threatened to put all the ſlaves in the houſe to the torture, if they did not immediately declare where their maſter lay concealed. But the faithful ſlaves, without betraying the leaſt fear, anſwered with great conſtancy and reſolution, that they knew not were he was. At length a young man, by name Philologus (D), who had been diſcovered.

A band of ſoldiers in ſearch of him.

Is diſcovered.

(D) Plutarch ſeems to queſtion what ſome authors have wrote of the treachery of Philologus; at leaſt he tells us, that this circumſtance was unknown to Tyro, Cicero's emancipated ſlave, who publiſhed an account of his life, which in Plutarch's time was in great requeſt, but has not reached ours. Appian tells us, that Cicero was betrayed and diſcovered by one Cyrillus, who had formerly ſerved Clodius, his mortal enemy;

been ſlave to Quintus, and afterwards enfranchiſed by him, and inſtructed by Cicero in the liberal arts and ſciences with all the tenderneſs of a father, diſcovered to the tribune, that Cicero's domeſtics were then carrying him in a litter through the cloſe and ſhady walks to the ſea-ſide. Upon this information, Popilius with ſome of his men haſtened to the place, where he was to come out, while Herennius with the reſt followed the litter through the narrow paths. As ſoon as Cicero perceived Herennius, he commanded his ſervants to ſet down his litter, and ſtroaking, according to his cuſtom, his beard with his left hand, he put out his head, and looked at the aſſaſſins with great intrepidity. This conſtancy, which they did not expect from him, his face diſfigured and emaciated with cares and troubles, his hair and beard neglected and in diſorder, &c. ſo affected the ſoldiers who attended Herennius, that they covered their eyes with their hands, while he cut off his head, and, purſuant to Antony's directions, his right hand, with which he had wrote the Philippics. With thoſe tro-

His head and right hand cut off, and carried to Antony.

phies of their cruelty, Herennius and Popilius haſtened back to Rome, and laid them before Antony while he was holding an aſſembly of the people for the election of new magiſtrates. The cruel tyrant no ſooner beheld them, than he cried out in a tranſport of joy, "Now let there be "an end of all our proſcriptions; live Romans, live in "ſafety; you have nothing more to fear." He took the head in his hand, and looked on it a long time with great ſatisfaction, ſmiling at a ſight, which drew tears from all who were preſent. After he had ſatiated his cruel and revengeful temper with ſo diſmal a ſpectacle, he ſent, as we are told by ſeveral writers, the head of the orator to his wife Fulvia, who was naturally more cruel than the triumvir himſelf, and had borne an implacable hatred to Cicero, ever ſince the time of her firſt huſband P. Clodius, who was ſlain by Milo. That infernal fury, after having inſulted the poor remains of her enemy with the moſt injurious reproaches, took that venerable head in her lap, and drawing out the tongue of the deceaſed, which had uttered many bitter invectives againſt both her huſbands, pierced it ſeveral times with a golden bodkin, which ſhe wore in her hair. When Fulvia had ſatiated her impotent rage, Antony ordered both the head and the hand to be ſet up on the roſtra, where Rome could not without horror behold the remains of a man, who had ſo often triumphed in

The cruelty of Fulvia.

that

that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence [s] (E). Thus fell the greateſt orator Italy or any other country ever bred; "a man who," as Cæſar the dictator uſed to ſay, "had obtained a laurel as much above all triumphs, "as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the "Roman learning than thoſe of the Roman empire." In his conſulate, which was truly glorious, he diſcovered with wonderful ſagacity the moſt ſecret plots of the ſeditious Catiline, defeated his beſt concerted meaſures, and ſaved, we may ſay, Rome from utter deſtruction; whence he was deſervedly honoured with the glorious title of "the father "of his country." The Roman people, no doubt, owed him much; and he took care to put them frequently in mind of their obligations; "for he was quoting on all occaſions, in "and out of ſeaſon, the nones of December," as M. Brutus obſerved in one of his letters to Atticus. He loved his country; but his zeal did not carry him ſo far as to make him ſacrifice his private intereſt to the public welfare. This Brutus, who ſincerely loved him, but knew his foible, inſinuates in ſeveral letters to their common friend Pomponius Atticus. "We are "too much afraid," ſays he in one of his epiſtles, "of death, "baniſhment, and poverty. Theſe things appear to Cicero "as great evils, who, provided he be allowed what he de-"ſires, provided he be reſpected and praiſed, reckons an ho-"nourable ſlavery as nothing, if honour is compatible with "ſo great infamy." And elſewhere; "I have no great "opinion of thoſe fine arts, of which Cicero is ſo great a "maſter;

His character.

[s] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 66. Seneca in ſuaſor, orat. 7. Plut. in Cic. Dio. l. xlvii. Appian. l. iv. Tacit. dialog. de orat.

(E) We have followed Plutarch's account; but other writers tell us, that Cicero's ſlaves and domeſtics, ſeeing Popilius and Herennius purſuing their maſter, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and ſeemed determined to defend his life at the expence of their own; but that Cicero would not allow them to uſe any violence, ſaying, "Let us obey the decrees of deſtiny, "and avoid ſhedding more blood than it has pleaſed the gods "to require". Having thus ſpoke to his domeſtics, he encouraged Popilius to advance, and putting his head out of the litter, "Draw near, veteran," ſaid he, "and ſhew us what you "can do." At theſe words the tribune came cloſe to the litter, and with one blow cut off his head (48).

(48) Appian. l. iv. & Val. Max.

" maſter; for, what uſe do we ſee him make of all he has " written concerning the liberty of his country, true honour, " death, and baniſhment?" &c. Plutarch tells us, that though Brutus and his followers both loved and truſted Cicero, yet none of them ever thought of imparting their deſign to him, becauſe they were determined to admit into the conſpiracy ſuch only as were bold, brave, and deſpiſers of death; whereas Cicero was by nature a coward, and beſides become ſo wary and over-cautious by old age, that he would not have made one ſtep without the greateſt ſecurity, which would have blunted the edge of their forwardneſs and reſolution, in an affair that required all the diſpatch imaginable [s]. But after all, the intrepidity, with which he offered himſelf to death, ought to make us in a manner overlook the timorouſneſs, puſillanimity, and irreſolution, which he betrayed in moſt occurrences of his life. He died on the ſeventh of the ides of December, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and was greatly lamented by all ranks of men. Antony himſelf made ſome ſort of reparation to his memory; for, inſtead of rewarding the perfidious Philologus, who betrayed his maſter and benefactor, he delivered him up to Pomponia, the widow of Quintus Cicero and ſiſter of Pomponius Atticus, who, after having glutted her impotent rage and deſire of revenge with the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent, obliged the miſerable wretch to cut off his own fleſh by piece-meal, boil it, and eat it in her preſence. But Tyro, Cicero's freedman, has not ſo much as mentioned the treachery of Philologus, as we have obſerved above out of Plutarch. Octavianus, who ſhamefully ſacrificed Cicero to his moſt cruel and bitter enemy, declared ſeveral years after the eſteem he had for him: for viſiting one day his daughter's ſon, and finding him with a book of Cicero's in his hand, the boy for fear endeavoured to hide it under his gown; which Octavianus perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the book ſtanding, gave it him again, ſaying, " This, " my child, was a learned man, and a lover of his country [t].

The cruelty of Pomponia towards the ſlave who betrayed him

WHILE the proſcription was ſtill raging, and Rome in the utmoſt conſternation in ſeeing herſelf daily deprived of ſome of her beſt citizens, Lepidus took it in his head to triumph, on account of ſome inconſiderable advantages he had formerly gained over the revolted Spaniards. The decree, impowering him to enjoy this honour, was iſſued by himſelf with the conſent

Lepidus's triumph.

[s] Plut. in Bruto. [t] Plut. in Cic.

conſent and approbation of his two collegues, and began thus: "To all thoſe who ſhall honour our triumph with ſacrifices, "feaſtings, and other demonſtrations of joy, health and good "fortune; but to others miſery and proſcription." This decree drew greater crouds to his triumph than had ever been ſeen on the like occaſion: he was attended by all the nobility of Rome, who ſtrove to outvie each other in offering ſacrifices for the ſafety of Lepidus and his collegues, and in feaſting their friends and the friends of the triumvirs. L. Munatius Plancus was likewiſe decreed a triumph for ſomething, we know not what, he had done in Gaul [u]. As it was cuſtomary for the ſoldiers to ſing, during the triumphal proceſſion, ſatyrical verſes on the victorious generals, the following were often repeated on this occaſion; "De Germanis, "non de Gallis, duo triumphant conſules." The Latin word Germanis, ſignifies equally brothers, and, the inhabitants of Germany, ſo that the verſes might be underſtood as importing, either that the deſigned conſuls triumphed over the Germans, or over their brothers; for they had both procured the proſcription of their brothers, or at leaſt conſented to it [w].

The cruelty and avarice of the triumvirs.

AND now the triumvirs, having glutted their revenge with the blood of ſo many illuſtrious citizens, began to think of raiſing the neceſſary ſums for the carrying on of the war againſt Brutus and Caſſius. In order to this they publiſhed daily new liſts of proſcribed perſons, containing the names of the richeſt citizens in Rome, whom they cauſed under ſeveral pretences, to be inhumanly murdered, and then ſeiſed on their eſtates, defrauding the poor widows and orphans of their right of inheritance and ſucceſſion. They burdened the people with moſt grievous taxes, ſeized all the gold and ſilver, whether in plate or ſpecie, they could lay their hands on, and took away by force immenſe ſums, belonging both to ſtrangers and citizens of Rome, which had been depoſited in the hands of the veſtal virgins. But with all this, not being able to make up the ſum of two hundred thouſand talents, which they judged neceſſary to defray the charges of the war, they drew up a liſt of fourteen hundred of the richeſt ladies of Rome, mothers, daughters, relations, or any ways allied to ſuch perſons as they had proſcribed, and taxed them all equally, and at an extravagant rate, though moſt of the alliances were very far fetched. Hereupon the ladies, after having had recourſe in vain to the female relations of the triumvirs, agreed

The Roman ladies taxed.

to

[u] Vide Cruter. inſcript. p. 297. & Appian. l. iv. p. 607.
[w] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 67.

to go all in a body, and plead their cauſe at the tribunal of thoſe magiſtrates, while they were adminiſtering juſtice in the forum. Accordingly, having made their way through the croud and the numerous guards attending the tyrants, they demanded to be heard. The triumvirs, alarmed at ſuch an unuſual ſight, ordered their guards to diſperſe them; but this occaſioning great murmurs among the people, one of them was at length permitted to ſpeak, and the perſon the ſuppliants choſe for this purpoſe was Hortenſia, the daughter of the celebrated orator Hortenſius, who addreſſed the triumvirs thus:

Hortenſia's ſpeech to the triumvirs.

" The unhappy women you ſee here imploring your juſtice " and bounty, would never have preſumed to appear in this " place, had they not firſt made uſe of all other means, " which their natural modeſty could ſuggeſt to them. Tho' " our appearing here may ſeem contrary to the rules of de- " cency preſcribed to our ſex, which we have hitherto ob- " ſerved with all ſtrictneſs, yet the loſs of our fathers, chil- " dren, brothers, and huſbands, may ſufficiently excuſe us, " eſpecially when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence " for our further misfortunes. You pretend, that they had " offended and provoked you; but what injury have the wo- " men done, that they muſt be impoveriſhed? If they are as " blameable as the men, why do you not proſcribe them too? " Have we declared you enemies to your country? Have we " ſuborned your ſoldiers, raiſed troops againſt you, or op- " poſed you in the purſuit of thoſe honours and offices which " you claim? We pretend not to govern the republic; nor " is it our ambition, which has drawn the preſent misfortune " on our heads. Empire, dignities, and honours are not for " us. Why ſhould we contribute to a war, wherein we " have no manner of intereſt? 'Tis true indeed, that in the " Carthaginian war our mothers aſſiſted the republic, which " was at that time reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs: but nei- " ther their houſes, their lands, nor their movables were ſold " for that ſervice; ſome rings and a few jewels furniſhed the " ſupply: it was not conſtraint and violence that forced it " from them; what they contributed was entirely owing to " their own good will and generous diſpoſition. What dan- " ger at preſent threatens the city? If the Gauls or Parthians " were encamped on the banks of the Tiber or the Anio, " you ſhould find us no leſs zealous in the defence of our " common country, than our mothers were before us. But " we ought not, and will not be any ways concerned in civil " wars. Neither Marius, nor Cæſar, nor Pompey, ever " thought of obliging us to take part in the domeſtic troubles

" which

" which their ambition raiſed; nay, not Sylla himſelf, who " firſt ſet up tyranny in Rome; and yet you aſſume the glo- " rious title of reformers of the ſtate, a title, which will turn " to your eternal ignominy, if, without the leaſt regard to " the laws of equity, you perſiſt in your wicked reſolution " of plundering thoſe of their eſtates and fortunes, who have " given you no juſt cauſe of offence." The triumvirs, provoked at the boldneſs of this ſpeech, and fearing it might occaſion ſome ſudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away ſuch troubleſome ſuppliants; but the people crying out againſt ſuch violence, they adjourned the affair to the next day, when, to appeaſe the multitude, who had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the women, they reduced their number from one thouſand four hundred to four hundred; but at the ſame time taxed above an hundred thouſand men, as well ſtrangers as citizens, without exempting the prieſts themſelves, obliging them to pay immediately the fiftieth part of their eſtates, and a whole year's revenue. In the levying of this tax the ſoldiers committed ſuch unheard-of cruelties, that the triumvirs were obliged to charge one of the conſuls to watch them, and puniſh the offenders with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the cowardly magiſtrate, fearing to diſguſt the legionaries, winked at the diſorders committed by them, and exerted his authority only againſt a few ſlaves, whom he cauſed to be crucified for the enormous cruelties they had exerciſed, in the diſguiſe of ſoldiers, on ſome of the moſt illuſtrious citizens [x].

Many of the ladies exempted from paying the tax.

And now the triumvirs, having cauſed about three hundred ſenators and two thouſand knights to be inhumanly maſſacred, and raiſed by a thouſand extortions the neceſſary ſums for their eaſtern expedition, aſſembled at laſt the few ſenators they had left alive, and, entering the ſenate-houſe, declared, that the proſcription was at an end. Lepidus endeavoured to juſtify their paſt proceedings, and aſſured the conſcript fathers, that for the future he at leaſt ſhould give them no occaſion of complaint. But Octavius, not yet ſatiated with ſo many butcheries, openly declared, " That he ſtill reſerved to " himſelf the liberty of puniſhing the guilty." And indeed Suetonius tells us, that though he was at firſt unwilling to ſign the fatal decree, which doomed ſo many citizens to die, yet he was the moſt cruel and inexorable of the three in the execution of it [y]. Some of the antient and moſt of the modern writers

The proſcription at an end.

The cruelty of Octavianus.

[x] Dio. Appian. ibid. [y] Suet. in Octavio.

writers endeavour to clear him from that reproach, and lay all the blame upon Antony; nay, they cry him up for one of the moſt mild, humane, and moderate princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter. But we meet with too many inſtances in hiſtory, which evidently ſhew that cruelty was the natural bent of his temper. We ſhall give only one here, which we have omitted in our account of his ſhort conſulate, and reſerve the reſt for their proper places. The prætor Quintus Gellius had on all occaſions aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power, and employed all his intereſt in his behalf, when he firſt ſtood for the conſulate. Octavianus therefore no ſooner obtained that dignity, than he appointed him governor of Africa with the title of proconſul: but ſoon after, taking it into his head that the prætor deſigned to murder him, he cauſed him to be ſeized by a band of ſoldiers in his ſeat of juſtice, and to be hurried away, without further enquiry, to the rack, like the meaneſt ſlave. He confeſſed nothing, nor indeed had any ſuch thing ever entered into his thoughts; for he had been always greatly attached both to Cæſar and Octavianus. But neither could his great quality and high ſtation, nor his innocence, exempt him from the hands of the executioner. The gentle conſul condemned him to die, but firſt cauſed the venerable magiſtrate to be brought before him, that he might have the cruel and brutal pleaſure of digging out his eyes with his own hands; which he did accordingly, and then ordered the executioner, leſs cruel than himſelf, to diſpatch him [z]. Is not this ſingle inſtance an undeniable proof of the cruelty of his temper?

The triumvirs appoint conſuls, prætors, &c. for ſeveral years.

AFTER the triumvirs had declared, to the inexpreſſible joy both of the ſenate and people, that the proſcription was at an end, they appointed of their own authority, without ſo much as aſſembling the people, the conſuls for the enſuing year. Theſe were M. Æmilius Lepidus, the triumvir, and Lucius Munatius Plancus. After this, as Antony and Octavius were wholly intent on their grand expedition into the eaſt, againſt Brutus and Caſſius, they named, in concert with Lepidus, conſuls, prætors, and ædiles for ſeveral enſuing years, chuſing for theſe great offices ſuch perſons as they all approved of, and could ſafely rely on. This precaution ſeemed neceſſary, to prevent the people from raiſing to theſe dignities, during their abſence, men of ſeditious tempers, or ill-affected to the triumvirate. When they had thus ſettled matters in the city, Antony and Octavianus firſt divided both the money and troops, and

[z] Suit. ibid.

and then set out, the former for Brundusium, and the latter for Rhegium, where the fleets, appointed to transport them into the Levant, were ready to take the forces on board, and put to sea with the first favourable wind. But, before we relate the great events, which determine the fate of the unhappy republic, we must give a succinct account of what passed in the east, from the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, to the arrival of Antony and Octavianus in Macedon.

Cassius resolves to invade Egypt.

Cassius, having, by the reduction of Laodicea, made himself master of all Syria, resolved in the next place to invade Egypt; for Cleopatra had not only declared for the triumvirs, but was ready to join them with a powerful fleet; but as he was on his march, he was recalled by Brutus, who, by letters after letters, pressed him to come and join him against the triumvirs, who were making a dreadful havock of their friends in Italy, and assembling forces with a design to pass over into Macedon. "It is not," said he in one of his letters, "to gain an empire for ourselves, but to "relieve our country, that we have assembled such power- "ful armies. We ought not so much to think of gaining "glory by new conquests, as of destroying those who have "enslaved Rome. Let us remember what we have under- "taken, and persevere in our first intentions. It is high time "for us to turn our thoughts upon Italy, which now groans "under the oppression of tyrants. Let us make what haste "we can thither, and endeavour to relieve our fellow-citizens."

But is recalled by Brutus.

As Cassius had a great esteem and veneration for Brutus, he dropt his enterprize upon Egypt; and, committing the government of Syria to his brothers son with one legion, he set out with all the rest to meet him. On his march he detached a body of horse into Cappadocia, with orders to put king Ariobarzanes to death, upon an information that he had conspired against him, and kept up a private correspondence with his enemies. His orders were put in execution, and, after the king's death, great sums raised on his subjects, who were looked upon by Cassius as disaffected to the republican party. As he passed by Tarsus, being touched with compassion on the miserable condition of that unhappy city, he remitted the rest of the heavy tax, which he had formerly laid on the inhabitants for siding with Dolabella, and refusing to supply with provisions the troops which Tullius Cimber, one of the conspirators, was leading into Syria. This conduct of the Tarsenses, after they had entered into an alliance with Cassius, and even presented him with a crown of gold, so provoked the republican general, that he condemned them to

Is touched with compassion on the miserable condition of the Tarsenses.

pay

pay fifteen hundred talents; for the raiſing of which ſum they firſt ſold the lands belonging to the public, and the ornaments of their temples, afterwards their children of both ſexes, and at laſt their women and old men. As the money accruing from theſe ſales did not amount to the ſum of fifteen hundred talents, they were at laſt forced to ſell ſome of their young men, who were fit to bear arms; but the unhappy wretches, preferring death to ſlavery, laid violent hands on themſelves; which Caſſius no ſooner heard, than he forgave them the reſt of the payment, and exempted them from all tributes for the future. From Tarſus he purſued his march into Aſia to join Brutus [a]. That general, ſeeing himſelf maſter of all Grecee, Macedon, and Illyricum, had reſolved to paſs over into Aſia with the greater part of his army, and was already on his march, when news was brought him, that Caius Antonius, whom he had taken priſoner, as we have related above, and treated with the utmoſt civility, had raiſed a ſedition among the troops that were left in Macedon. Hereupon he turned back, quelled the tumult, and having put Caius under cloſe confinement in the city of Apollonia, purſued his march, and paſſed over into Aſia, where he was joined by all the princes of that country, and among the reſt by Dejotarus, king or tetrarch of Galatia, tho' he had refuſed to ſend any ſuccours to Caſſius. While Brutus was in Aſia, Caius Antonius, having found means, even in his confinement, to debauch many of the ſoldiers, attempted to make his eſcape; but the plot being diſcovered, Antonius was more cloſely confined, and the guilty ſoldiers forced to take refuge on a neighbouring hill, where they ſeemed determined to ſtand it out, and rather undergo any hardſhips, than ſubmit to the will of their officers. Hereupon Caius Clodius, to whoſe cuſtody Brutus had committed the ſeditious priſoner, fearing he might raiſe new diſturbances, and at length make his eſcape, put him to death; but whether of his own authority, or by Brutus's orders in uncertain. Thus Dion Caſſius [b]. But Plutarch tells us, that Brutus no ſooner heard the news of Cicero's Death, than he ſent orders to Hortenſius to kill Caius Antonius; and adds, that on this account, Antony having afterwards taken Hortenſius in the battle of Philippi, ſlew him on his brother's tomb. However that be, Brutus, fearing the death of Antonius might occaſion diſturbances in Macedon, left Aſia, and haſtened back thither. On his arrival, he put

Brutus paſſes over into Aſia.

Caius Antonius put to death.

[a] Plut. in Brut. Appian. l. iv. p. 625, & l. v. p. 675. Dio. l. xlvii. [b] Idem ibid. p. 340, 341. & l. xlix. p. 241.

put himself at the head of a legion, and marched against the mutineers, whom he soon forced to sue for mercy. As Brutus was a man of an extraordinary mild nature, great magnanimity, and insensible of the passions of anger and revenge, he could not prevail upon himself to put any of the seditious legionaries to death, respecting, as Appian observes, the character of a Roman citizen even in an enemy. His officers pressed him to punish at least a small number of the mutineers, in order to deter others from the like practices. The good-natured general seemed to yield to their importunity; and having ordered a galley to be got ready, caused the ringleaders of the late tumult to be put on board of it, as if he intended to have them thrown into the sea, and drowned; but in the mean time, he gave private orders to the commander of the galley to convey them to some place of safety, and there leave them [c].

The great clemency of Brutus.

Brutus, having thus quieted all disturbances in Macedon, hastened back into Asia. It was, as is commonly believed, on his march thither, that he coined a new piece of money, which was for some time current in all the eastern countries. On one side was the head of Brutus, and on the reverse a pileus or cap, the badge of liberty, between two poniards, with this legend, Eid. Mar. to revive the remembrance of the ides of March, which was the last day of Cæsar's life and usurped empire. Brutus, arriving in Asia, advanced in all haste to Smyrna, where he had appointed to meet Cassius, who accordingly came after him. As they had not seen one another since they parted at Pireæus, the one for Syria, and the other for Macedon, we may easily imagine how great their joy was at their first meeting. They had been [illegible] friends long before the death of Cæsar, were nearly [illegible], Cassius having married Julia the sister of Brutus, and looked upon themselves as the only protectors of their oppressed country. Their joy was doubled, when they compared their present circumstances with the despicable condition they were both in when they left Italy. Cassius shewed all possible respect for Brutus, having a great opinion of his virtue, honesty, and integrity. On the other hand, Brutus, considering Cassius as the elder man, and of a more weakly constitution than himself, desired that their conferences might be held in his camp; for their two armies encamped separately. When they

Brutus and Cassius meet at Smyrna.

[c] Dio, Appian. ibid.

they came to deliberate about the proper meaſures to be taken with relation to the great war with which they were threatened, Brutus was for tranſporting all their forces over into Macedon and Theſſaly, and there making head againſt the triumvirs, who, in all likelihood, would land their numberleſs troops in one of thoſe countries; but Caſſius was of opinion, that they ſhould firſt reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, that they might not leave two ſuch formidable maritime powers unſubdued behind them; for both theſe nations had refuſed to pay them any contributions, or to take part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a ſtrict neutrality, though it was well known, that they had ſent ſuccours underhand to the triumvirs. As for the numberleſs forces of the enemy, "Their great number," ſaid Caſſius, "renders "them leſs formidable; they will find a powerful enemy to "contend with in Greece, Macedon, or Theſſaly, famine. "Where will they find proviſions for ſo great a multitude? "Let us therefore turn our arms againſt their friends the "Lycians and Rhodians, and in the mean time leave them "to fight with want and famine[d]." Brutus readily came into the opinion of Caſſius, who was deemed an officer of great experience, and had given extraordinary proofs of his conduct after the unhappy battle of Carrhæ, as we have related in our hiſtory of the Parthians[e]. It was therefore agreed, that, before they paſſed farther weſtward, Brutus ſhould march againſt the Lycians, and Caſſius ſail with his fleet againſt the Rhodians; but as Brutus had ſpent great ſums in equipping a fleet, he deſired Caſſius to ſhare with him the immenſe treaſure he had amaſſed in Aſia. This demand was taken ill by the friends of Caſſius, who endeavoured to diſſuade him from complying with the juſt requeſt of Brutus, ſaying, That it was not reaſonable the money which he had ſaved with ſo much parſimony, or got with ſo much envy, ſhould be diſpoſed of to enrich Brutus's ſoldiers, and to make him popular. But Caſſius, without hearkening to their remonſtrances, generouſly gave him a third part of the great treaſure he had heaped up; after which the two generals parted, Caſſius marching againſt the Rhodians, and Brutus againſt the Lycians[f].

Reſolutions taken at their interview.

As the city of Rhodes was at that time in a very flouriſhing condition, and had a powerful fleet at ſea, Caſſius, before he attempted to make a deſcent on the iſland, took care to exerciſe

[d] Appian. ibid. p. 626. Liv. l. cxxii. [e] Vide Vol. XI. p. 39. [f] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 626. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 346.

exercise his mariners at Mindus, a maritime city of Caria. Thither the Rhodians sent embassadors to him, putting him in mind of the victories they had formerly gained over Demetrius king of Macedon, over Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, and many others, and representing, that their nation was not easily to be conquered; that he might, in so dangerous an attempt, lose, as many others had done, all the glory he had hitherto acquired; that they had a numerous fleet at sea; that their naval forces had been always dreaded by all nations, &c. As they were going on, Cassius interrupted them: "Since you have so great an opinion of your "own valour," said he, "I will soon give you an opportu- "nity of exercising it. You have sent succours to Dola- "bella, and unless you assist me in the like manner, "neither the numerous fleet you have at sea, nor the dread "of your naval forces, shall deter me from invading your "island, and laying siege to your proud capital." This answer terrified the wiser citizens, who were for complying with Cassius's demands; but the populace, conceited of their own valour, opposed all their measures; and two orators, Alexander and Mnaseas, by magnifying the strength of the nation, the number of their ships, the experience of their mariners, the fortifications of the city and its port, prevailed upon the multitude to reject all propofals of an accommodation; nay, the people, in an assembly which was held at this time for the electing of new magistrates, appointed Alexander commander in chief of the land forces, and Mnaseas of the fleet, who immediately began to make the necessary preparations for war. However, the nobility, who dreaded the valour of the Romans, sent a second embassy to Cassius, employing for that purpose [illegible], who had formerly taught him the Greek tongue in Rhodes, and for whom the Romans had on all occasions shewed great respect and veneration. Archelaus put him in mind of their antient friendship, of the alliance that was still subsisting between the republic of Rhodes and that of Rome, and of the education he had received in that city. Cassius answered, That if Archelaus had consented to the hostilities of his countrymen against him, he had, by that means, renounced his friendship, and effaced all former obligations; but if he had advised them to embrace his interest, and they had rejected his advice, he was determined to be revenged on them for the contempt they had shewn for him. As to their alliance with Rome, he said, that in virtue of that treaty

The Rhodians send an embassy to Cassius.

They refuse to submit.

Cassius's speech to the Rhodian envoy.

with the republic, they were obliged to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe who were uſing their utmoſt efforts to overturn the republican government, and introduce arbitrary power in its room; that he demanded ſuccours of them as prætor and proconſul appointed by the ſenate and the moſt honeſt part of the Roman people, and that, if they refuſed to acknowledge him in that character, or would not ſend him the ſuccours he demanded in the name of the ſenate and Roman people, he could not look upon them otherwiſe than as enemies to Rome, and would treat them as ſuch. Archelaus finding Caſſius inflexible, and the reaſons he alledged for making war upon the Rhodians unanſwerable, took his leave, and returned to Rhodes, where he found Alexander and Mnaſeas ready to put to ſea with a fleet of thirty three ſhips of war, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels. Theſe two commanders no ſooner heard the Roman general's final anſwer, than they weighed anchor, and went in queſt of the enemy's fleet, which they met off Cnidos, where they had formerly defeated the navy of Mithridates the Great. This they looked upon as a good omen, and therefore immediately attacked the Roman fleet, which was commanded by Statius Murcus, with incredible bravery and reſolution. The fight was long and bloody, on account of the great experience of the Rhodian mariners, and the nimbleneſs of their ſhips; but at length the Rhodians were put to flight, after having loſt a great number of ſoldiers, as well as mariners, and five of their beſt ſhips, three whereof were taken, and two ſunk. After the engagement, Caſſius, who beheld it from a neighbouring mountain, marched his army to Loryma, a maritime city of Caria, ſituated over-againſt the iſland of Rhodes, and there, without loſs of time, put his forces on board a great number of tranſports, which he had aſſembled before-hand, and ordered them to land in the iſland, and fortify themſelves there, while he with a fleet of eighty ſhips of war, inveſted the city of Rhodes by ſea, in hopes of ſtriking terror into the inhabitants, and obliging them, without further bloodſhed, to ſubmit, and comply with his demands. With this view he continued ſome days inactive before the place; but was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the enemy's fleet unexpectedly ſail out of the harbour in good order, and offer him battle. In this ſecond engagement the Rhodians were defeated anew, with the loſs of two galleys, and forced to take ſhelter under the walls of their city, which was immediately inveſted both by ſea and land, and after a ſhort but moſt vigorous reſiſtance, forced to ſurrender at diſcretion

The Rodians overcome in a ſea-fight.

The Rhodians defeated anew, and their town taken.

cretion[g]. Appian tells, that some of the rich citizens to save their estates, betrayed the city to Cassius, after he had solemnly promised not to destroy it. The inhabitants seeing him master of the place, whether by force or treachery is uncertain, flocked to him from all quarters, calling him their king and master, But Cassius abhorring those titles, "I am "neither your king nor master," said he, "but the destroy-"er of a tyrant, who would have been your king and "master." He then caused a tribunal to be raised in the market-place, and seating himself on it, with a spear planted before him, as it was customary among the Roman generals, when they had taken a city by storm, he first forbad his soldiers, upon pain of death, to plunder the houses, or offer any sort of violence to the inhabitants. He then summoned fifty of the citizens before his tribunal, who had been most sanguine for war, and pronounced sentence of death upon them, which was immediately put in execution. He condemned twenty five more, who had made their escape, to perpetual banishment. Afterwards he commanded all the gold and silver, whether belonging to the temples, to the public, or to private persons, to be brought to him in a limited time, threatening those with death who should conceal any part of their wealth, and promising rewards to such as should discover it, viz. a tenth to persons of a free condition, and liberty to slaves. At first some concealed their treasures, not thinking he would proceed with so much rigour; but when they saw three or four of the richest citizens die by the hand of the public executioner, for having put out of the way part of their wealth, they desired that the time prefixed might be prolonged; which being granted, they brought to light what they had hid in tombs, wells, and other places, and laid it before Cassius, who by that means raised, at the expence of private persons, the sum of eight thousand talents, as we have related more at length in the history of Rhodes[h]. Cassius, having thus reduced and pillaged the city of Rhodes, returned to the continent, leaving Lucius Varus with a strong garrison on the island, to exact a fine of five hundred talents more, which at his departure he laid on those refractory islanders. On the continent, he was informed, that Cleopatra had left Egypt, and was sailed with a numerous fleet to join Antony and Octavianus. Upon this intelligence he sent Statius Murcus with sixty

Cassius treats the Rhodians with severity.

[g] Appian. l. iv. p. 627--632. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 346. [h] Vide Vol. VII. p. 457.

ſhips of war, and a legion on board to cruize on the coaſt of Peloponneſus, pillage that rich country, and keep near the promontory of Tænarus, in hopes of meeting there with Cleopatra's fleet; but the queen's navy was diſperſéd by a violent ſtorm, and moſt of her ſhips daſhed to pieces on the coaſt of Africa; which misfortune obliged her to return home, and lay aſide for the preſent all thoughts of ſending any ſuccours to the triumvirs. Caſſius, having now no enemies behind him, began his march to rejoin Brutus, obliging all the provinces of Aſia, as he paſſed through them, to pay, without the leaſt abatement, ten years taxes [i].

Cleopatra's fleet diſperſed by a ſtorm.

WHILE Caſſius was thus employed againſt the Rhodians, Brutus was making war in Lycia, agreeable to the ſcheme concerted between the two republican generals. Before he began hoſtilities, he ſent to the Lycians to demand a ſupply of men and money; but one Maucrates, a popular man among them, perſuaded them not to comply with Brutus's requeſt, and taking upon him the whole management of the war, poſted ſeveral bodies of troops on the frontiers, to prevent Brutus from entering the country. But the Roman general detached a party of horſe againſt them; which coming upon them unexpectedly, killed ſix hundred of them, drove the reſt from their poſts, and opened a paſſage into the country for the whole army [k]. Dion tells us, that the Lycians, who were a brave and warlike people, met Brutus on their frontiers, with all the forces of their nation, and gave him battle; but were overcome by the Romans, who made themſelves maſters of the enemy's camp, and all their baggage [l]. However that be, Brutus, after this firſt ſkirmiſh or battle, entered their country, and finding no enemy in the field to contend with, made himſelf maſter of all their cities and villages, except Xanthus (F) their capital, whither the flower of the nation retired, with a deſign to ſtand a ſiege. Brutus, who was of an extraordinary mild nature, and

Brutus enters Lycia after having defeated the inhabitants who oppoſed him.

[i] Appian. & Dio. ibid. & Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 70. [k] Plut. in Bruto. [l] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 347.

(F) Xanthus was, according to Strabo (49), the metropolis of all Lycia. The river, which watered it, is ſaid by Stephanus to have borrowed its name from the city, and the city from its founder Xanthus, who was, according to ſome, an Egyptian, according to others, a native of Crete.

(49) Strabo, l. xiv. p. 981.

and great magnanimity, being unwilling to ſhed the blood of thoſe unhappy wretches, ſet all the priſoners he had taken free without ranſom, hoping to win the whole nation by his clemency; but the Lycians, deſpiſing his humanity, and good-nature, would hearken to no terms; ſo that Brutus was forced, to his great grief, to lay ſiege to the place, which, he foreſaw, would bring innumerable evils on a brave and gallant people. Xanthus was reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Aſia; its walls were of an extroardinary height and thickneſs, and ſurrounded with a ditch fifty foot deep, and broad in proportion. The inhabitants had cut down the woods to a great diſtance, deſtroyed all the neighbouring villages, and conveyed away the materials; which obliged Brutus to ſend parties a great way off to fetch the neceſſary timber for building his machines, and even the earth to fill up the ditch, the country round about being very rocky; but notwithſtanding the many difficulties which he had to ſtruggle with, and which he did not himſelf expect to ſurmount in many months, as Appian tells us, he in a few days built his machines, filled up the ditch, and began to batter the walls with the ram: ſo great was the eagerneſs and ardour of the ſoldiery, animated by the example of their general, who ſhared with them all the toils and dangers of ſo difficult an undertaking. The beſieged made a moſt vigorous defence, and behaved in their ſallies with unparalleled bravery; but were always beaten with great loſs, Brutus keeping the half of his army night and day under arms. A breach being at length made in the wall, the Xanthians began to think of making their eſcape; and accordingly ſome of them threw themſelves into the river, which ra[illegible]gh the city, hoping to ſave themſelves by ſwimmi[illegible]d diving under water; but they were taken in nets let down for that purpoſe, with little bells faſtened to them, to give preſent notice when any of the unfortunate wretches were intangled in them; but the greater part, deſpairing to hold out any longer, reſolved to make a general ſally, and, forcing their way through the enemy's camp, to retire to the neighbouring mountains. Brutus, ſuſpecting their deſign, ordered his men to retire from before the gate; which the Xanthians ſuppoſing to have happened through the negligence of the guard, ſallied out in the dead of the night; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by the Romans, who lay in wait for them. The next day about noon, they made another ſally, ſet fire to the engines of the aggreſſors, and retired in great haſte within their walls. The Romans

The memorable ſiege of Xanthus.

purſued them cloſe, and entered the city, to the number of two thouſand, with the beſieged; but the port-cullis falling, either by a ſtratagem of the enemy, or by the breaking of the ropes from which it hung, many of the Romans were cruſhed to pieces, and others ſhut in, without any poſſible means of retiring, or receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance from their friends. In this deſperate condition they reſolved at leaſt to ſell their lives dear, and with this view marched in good order through ſhowers of darts, which were diſcharged upon them from all parts, to a temple dedicated to Sarpedon king of Lycia, who was ſuppoſed to have been killed in the Trojan war. There they fortified themſelves, and ſuſtained a ſiege in the very heart of the city. In the mean time, Brutus and his men exerted their utmoſt efforts to relieve their fellow-ſoldiers; but all their endeavours were to no effect, the Xanthians defending it with a bravery and reſolution which ſurpriſed the Romans themſelves. As they could neither move nor break down the port-cullis, which was trelliſed with iron-bars, they endeavoured to ſcale the walls, uſing for that purpoſe not ſcaling-ladders, (for the beſieged had burnt them together with the wooden towers when they firſt ſallied out) but long ropes, to which they faſtened iron hooks. Theſe they threw upon the walls, and by that means attempted to get over them; but the beſieged by puſhing the aggreſſors down with their bucklers, or cutting the ropes with their ſwords, rendered this attempt likewiſe unſucceſsful. While Brutus was under the utmoſt concern for his men, who were to the number of two thouſand, ſhut up in the city, a company of Oenoandes (G), who ſerved under him and bore an irreconcileable hatred to the Xanthians, climbing up a ſteep rock adjoining to the walls, threw themſelves from thence into the city, and opening a poſtern to ſome Romans who followed them, they went all in a body to one of the chief gates, which they broke down, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with, and let in the reſt of the Roman army. But, in the mean time,

The city taken.

ſome

(G) Oenoanda, or, as others write it, Oeneanda, was, according to Pliny and Stephanus, ſituated on the confines of Cabalia, a ſmall province of Lycia. It was ſtill in being in the ſixth century of the chriſtian æra, and is mentioned in the notitia of the empire of Conſtantinople, commonly aſcribed to the grammarian Hierocles. The inhabitants of this city bore an irreconcileable hatred to the Xanthians their neighbours, and therefore readily joined Brutus againſt them.

ſome ſparks of fire being carried by a violent wind from the machines, which burnt with great fierceneſs, to the battlements, and from thence to the adjoining houſes, the flame was in a trice ſpread all over the city, and the conflagration became general. Brutus, fearing the whole city ſhould be deſtroyed, ordered his ſoldiers to lay aſide all thoughts of revenge, and aſſiſt the inhabitants in quenching the fire; but the Xanthians, ſeized with a kind of frenzy, which Plutarch calls "a violent deſire of dying," ſtrove to drive away the ſoldiers who came to their aſſiſtance; nay, they themſelves, gathering together reeds, wood, and other combuſtible matter, ſpread the fire over the whole city, feeding it with what fuel they could get. Brutus, ſeeing the flame blaze out in a moſt frightful manner, and extremely deſirous of having an opportunity to ſhew his clemency to a gallant people, who had fought with ſuch bravery in defence of their liberty, mounted on horſeback, and riding round the walls, ſtretched forth his hand to the inhabitants, begging of them that they would ſpare their own lives and ſave their town. But his entreaties were not regarded; the Xanthians were immoveably determined not to outlive the loſs of their liberty, and therefore repulſed with ſhowers of arrows the Romans, whom the good-natured general ſent to their aſſiſtance. Some of them cut the throats of their wives, their children, and their ſlaves, before the ſoldiers faces, and then leaped into the flames. Not only the men, but the women, nay, even the children, ran like wild beaſts, on the enemy's ſwords, or threw themſelves headlong from the top of the walls. Some children were ſeen offering their throats, or opening their breaſts to their fathers ſwords, and begging they would take away that life which they had given. How great is the power of education! The Xanthians had inſpired their children, from their very infancy, with the moſt heroic ſentiments of liberty, and an utter abhorrence to ſlavery and ſubjection, often relating to them, how their forefathers had ſuffered themſelves to be buried under the ruins of their country, rather than ſubmit either to Harpagus, Cyrus's lieutenant, or to Alexander of Macedon, the famous conqueror of Aſia; for they had in the Perſian and Macedonian wars ſet fire to their city after the ſame manner, and deſtroyed themſelves. When the city was almoſt wholly reduced to aſhes, a woman was found, who had hanged herſelf with her children faſtened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which ſhe had ſet fire to her own houſe. When this was related to Brutus, he burſt into tears, and declining to

The deſperate reſolution of the Xanthians.

Inſtances of the fury and deſpair of the Xanthians.

ſee

ſee ſo tragical an object, he proclaimed a reward to any ſoldier who ſhould ſave a Xanthian; but with all his care and good-nature he could only preſerve one hundred and fifty, and thoſe much againſt their will [m]. Appian tells, that only ſome ſlaves were ſaved, and one hundred and fifty women, who wanted huſbands to kill them; and adds that Brutus found means to preſerve ſome of the temples from ſo general a conflagration [n].

Brutus endeavours to gain the Patarenſes by gentle methods.

FROM Xanthus Brutus led his army againſt Patara (H), another city of Lycia; but being deſirous to ſave the place and the lives of the inhabitants, before he began hoſtilities, he ſent deputies to them, begging they would not force him to treat them as he had done the Xanthians. With the deputies he ſent the few priſoners he had taken at Xanthus, hoping, that they, by giving the Patarenſes an account of their misfortunes, might deter them from following their example. But all was to no purpoſe; the inhabitants ſeemed determined to ſtand a ſiege, and undergo any miſeries, rather than ſubmit. This gave Brutus great uneaſineſs; he ſtudied all means to win them by gentle methods, fearing the ſame frenzy which had driven the Xanthians to deſtruction, might ſeize them. Notwithſtanding the anſwer they ſent him, which was "That they choſe rather to die like "brave men, than purchaſe their lives at the expence of "their liberty and reputation," the humane general withdrew his troops, and granted them the reſt of that day to reflect more ſeriouſly on their preſent circumſtances. In the mean time, to get the better of their obſtinacy, he ſet at liberty ſuch of the Xanthian captives as were any ways allied to them, ſending them into the city as a preſent from him to their relations: but the Patarenſes ſtill continued inflexible. Brutus therefore, finding he could not gain them by gentle methods, had

[m] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 633---635. [n] Appian, ibid.

(H) Patara ſtood on the peninſula, which Stephanus calls the Lycian Cherſoneſus. Livy (50) honours this city with the title of caput gentis, the metropolis of the nation. In our hiſtory of Lycia we have given an account of this city, and of the famous oracle of Apollo, who was ſuppoſed to reſide ſix months at Patara, and as many at Delos (51).

(50) Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 15. (51) Vide Servium in Æneid. 4. ver. 143.

had recourſe to ſeverity, and cauſing the Xanthian captives to be brought out one by one, he ordered them to be ſold to the beſt bidder under the very walls of Patara; but as this was contrary to the bent of his inclination, after a few of thoſe unfortunate wretches had been ſold, he ſet the reſt at liberty, declaring, that he could not find in his heart to reduce brave men to ſlavery, who had fought ſo valiantly in defence of their liberty. While he was under the greateſt concern imaginable for the Patarenſes, whoſe obſtinacy rendered all the meaſures abortive, which his good-nature could ſuggeſt for their preſervation, a lucky accident put him at length in the way of triumphing over their ſtubborn and inflexible temper. One of his parties, in ſcouring the country, happened to meet ſome of the chief women of Patara, whom they took priſoners, and carried to Brutus, who immediately diſmiſſed them all without ranſom. Theſe returning into the city, and there crying up the politeneſs, juſtice, and temperance of Brutus, prevailed upon their huſbands and relations, who were all leading men, to ſubmit to ſo good-natured a general, and put the city into his hands. Brutus treated them with great humanity, pardoning even thoſe who had been to the very laſt for ſtanding a ſiege. Plutarch tells us, that the Roman general exacted only an hundred and fifty talents of the whole nation, a very inconſiderable ſum, if compared with that of eight thouſand talents, which Caſſius extorted from the Rhodians. Appian writes, that Brutus, after the example of Caſſius, ordered the Patarenſes, on pain of death, to bring to him all their gold and ſilver, promiſing rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſcover any hidden treaſures. Upon this a ſlave belonging to a rich citizen, informed againſt his maſter, and diſcovered to a centurion, who was ſent for that purpoſe, the place where he had buried the greateſt part of his wealth. The citizen was immediately ſeized, and brought, together with the treacherous informer, before Brutus. The mother of the accuſed followed them, declaring with many tears, that ſhe had hid the treaſure without her ſon's knowledge, and conſequently ought to be puniſhed. On the other hand, the ſlave ſtood to his firſt information, maintaining, that his maſter, and not his mother, had tranſgreſſed the edict. Brutus heard both parties with great patience, and being in the end convinced, that the accuſation of the ſlave was chiefly founded on the hatred he bore to his maſter, he commended the tenderneſs and generoſity of the mother, reſtored the whole ſum to the ſon, and condemned the ſlave to be crucified. This judgment, which

And at length ſucceeds.

Inſtances of Brutus's good nature, juſtice, &c.

was

was immediately publiſhed all over Lycia, gained him the hearts of the inhabitants, who came in flocks to him from all quarters, offering him, of their own accord, what ready money they had by them [n].

AND now Brutus, having reduced, more by the fame of his clemency than by force of arms, all Lycia, left that country, and entered Ionia, where he found the famous rhetorician Theodotus, who had the moſt contributed to the death of Pompey the Great, as we have related in the hiſtory of Egypt. The unhappy wretch had fled out of Egypt on the arrival of Cæſar at Alexandria, and ever ſince that time ſculked about in Aſia, wandering from town to town, hated and abhorred by all men. Brutus no ſooner heard he was in Ionia, than he cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſacrificed to the manes of the illuſtrious Roman, who, by his advice, had been inhumanly murdered, as he himſelf had the impudence to boaſt [o]. This memorable act of juſtice was greatly applauded by every honeſt Roman, and all the princes of Aſia, who had a great veneration for the memory of Pompey. From Ionia Brutus marched into Lydia, and ſtopping at Sardis, the metropolis of that country, waited there for Caſſius, who, after the reduction of Rhodes, was, by agreement, to rejoin him in the neighbourhood of that city. As Caſſius drew near, Brutus went out to meet him; and the joy, both of the generals and armies, was exceeding great on this occaſion. The ſoldiery expreſſed their ſatisfaction in ſeeing each other again with joyful acclamations, and ſaluted both generals with the title of imperator. As ſeveral jealouſies of each other and complaints had paſſed between the two generals, as ſoon as the uſual compliments and civilities were over, they withdrew into a private apartment, with a deſign to ſettle all differences between them, before they entered upon any other buſineſs. What was the ſubject of their debate, we know not; but they diſputed with great warmth, reproaching and accuſing each other with hard words, and at laſt burſting out into tears. Their friends, who ſtood without, hearing them ſo loud and angry, began to be afraid, leſt their quarrel ſhould be attended with dangerous conſequences; but yet they durſt not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the room. But, notwithſtanding this prohibition, M. Favonius, a wild and frantic pretender to virtue, and one who valued himſelf

Theodotus put to death by Brutus's order.

Brutus and Caſſius meet at Sardis.

A private diſpute between the two generals.

[n] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 347. Appian. l. iv. p. 635, 636.
[o] Plut. in Pomp. & Bruto.

himſelf more upon a ſort of Cynical liberty of ſpeaking what he pleaſed, than upon the dignity of a ſenator, breaking through the attendants who kept the door, entered the room, and, without knowing the ſubject of the diſpute, pronounced with a mimical voice this verſe, which Homer puts in the mouth of Neſtor;

"Be rul'd, for I am elder than you both.

This made Caſſius laugh; but Brutus, offended at the impertinent behaviour of the pretended Cynic, thruſt him out, calling him "a dog," in alluſion to his ſect, and "a "counterfeit philoſopher." This, however, put an end to the diſpute; Caſſius provided a ſupper that night, and Brutus invited his friends to it. As they were ſitting down, Favonius came in, and took the moſt honourable place, tho' Brutus, calling out aloud, told him, that he was not invited; but, after all, he diverted the company, and the entertainment was ſeaſoned both with mirth and learned diſcourſes [P].

THE next day, Brutus, upon the accuſation of the inhabitants of Sardis, publicly condemned and branded with infamy Lucius Pella, who had been formerly cenſor, and often employed by Brutus himſelf in offices of truſt, for having embezzeled the public money. This ſentence offended Caſſius, who but a few days before had abſolved in public two of his own friends, and continued them in their offices, tho' accuſed of the ſame crime, contenting himſelf only with reprimanding them in private. He did not conceal his ſentiments on this head from Brutus, whom he accoſted in a friendly manner of too much rigor and ſeverity, when gentleneſs and favour were more neceſſary, and would prove of greater ſervice to their cauſe. In anſwer to this, Brutus put him in mind of the ides of March, the day on which they had killed Cæſar, who himſelf neither vexed nor oppreſſed mankind, but was the ſupport of thoſe who did. He deſired him to conſider, that if juſtice could be neglected under any colour or pretence, it had been better to have ſuffered the injuſtice of Cæſar's friends, than to give impunity to their own; "for then," ſaid he, "we could have been ac- "cuſed of cowardice only; whereas now, if we connive at "the injuſtice of others, we make ourſelves liable to the "ſame accuſation, and ſhare with them in the guilt." From this

Brutus's equity.

[P] Plut. in Bruto.

this we may perceive, as Plutarch obſerves, what was the rule of all Brutus's actions [q].

Antony and Octavianus paſs over into Macedon.

AND now the two republican generals, being maſters of all the eaſtern provinces from Macedon to the Euphrates, after ſeveral conſultations, reſolved to march from Sardis to Abydus, and, croſſing the Helleſpont, advance into Macedon againſt Antony and Octavianus, who, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they had met with from Statius Murcus, Caſſius's admiral, had tranſported their troops, without the loſs of one ſingle ſhip or man, to Dyrrachium. From thence they detached Decidius Saxa and Caius Norbanus, with eight legions, to ſeize on the ſtreights leading from Thrace into Macedon, in order to prevent Brutus and Caſſius from coming upon them, and ravaging the country, before they had filled their magazines, and got together the neceſſary proviſions for the ſupport of their two armies. Brutus and Caſſius, upon the firſt intelligence of thoſe motions, left Sardis, and marched in all haſte to Abydus, where they had appointed the Lycian fleet to meet them, and tranſport their forces out of Aſia into Europe.

Brutus ſees a ghoſt.

It was on this march that Brutus is reported to have ſeen a ghoſt or ſpectre in his tent. This memorable ſtory is thus related by Plutarch [r], Florus [s], and Appian [t]: Brutus, being uſed to great moderation in his diet, was much given to watching, and allowed but a very ſmall portion of time for ſleep. Plutarch tells us, that he never ſlept in the day-time, as was cuſtomary among the Romans, and in the night then only when he had diſpatched his affairs, and when, every one elſe being gone to reſt, he had no body left to keep him company. At this time the war being begun, and he very careful and ſolicitous about the event of it, he uſed to lie down for a ſhort while juſt after ſupper, and ſpend the reſt of the night either in diſpatching his affairs, or reading till the third watch, when the centurions and tribunes uſed to wait on him for their orders. According to this cuſtom, he was one night, before he paſſed out of Aſia, very late alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by him, there being a general ſilence all over the camp, eſpecially about his tent. As he was muſing with himſelf and very thoughtful, he heard on a ſudden an unuſal noiſe at the door of his tent, which at the ſame time flew open. Brutus, caſting his eye towards the place whence the noiſe came, ſaw a ter-

[q] Plut in Bruto. [r] Idem, ibid. [s] Flor. l. iv. c. 7.
[t] Appian. l. iv. p. 665.

a terrible and ſtrange figure of a huge and frightful body coming towards him without ſpeaking; but he undauntedly addreſſed the ſpectre, aſking it, "What art thou? a god, "or a man? or upon what buſineſs doth thou come to us? "I am," ſaid the ghoſt, "thy evil genius, Brutus; thou "ſhalt ſee me again near Philippi." Brutus, without betraying the leaſt fear, anſwered boldly, "Well, I will "ſee thee there:" upon which the apparition vaniſhed. Brutus inmediately called his ſervants, who all told him, that they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing. He continued watching the reſt of the night, and, as ſoon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to Caſſius, who, as he had been bred up in the principles of the Epicurean philoſophy, aſcribed the viſion wholly to the weakneſs of his ſenſes and the force of imagination, which eaſily moves and varies them into all manner of ideas. This he maintained by the example of dreams, where the fancy, forming different images, affects the organs of the body after the ſame manner, as they would be moved by outward objects. "But that there "is any ſuch thing as ſpirits or demons," ſaid he, "let us "never believe it, much leſs that ſpirits can have human "ſhape or voice, or any power over us; tho' I could ear-"neſtly wiſh it were ſo, that we might not only rely on "the powerful armies and fleets that attend us, but "likewiſe on the aſſiſtance of thoſe immortal beings who "could not but be favourable to a cauſe ſo juſt and ſacred "as ours is (I)." This diſcourſe ſatisfied Brutus, who was not under the leaſt apprehenſion for himſelf, but very

Caſſius ſatisfies him with reaſons from the Epicurean philoſophy.

(I) As Caſſius had been bred up in the principles of the Epicurean philoſophy, and had often diſputed with Brutus concerning matters of this nature, he ſpoke to him thus, as Plutarch informs us: "It is the opinion of our ſect, O Brutus, "that all we feel or ſee is not real and true; but that our ſen-"ſes, being apt to receive all ſorts of impreſſions, are very treach-"erous; and the imagination, which is more quick and ſubtle, "moves and varies them into all manner of ideas which have "no real exiſtence in nature, as readily as we imprint any "form upon wax; ſo that it is eaſy for the ſoul of man, which "has in itſelf both that which forms, and that which is form-"ed, to vary it into what ſhapes it pleaſes. This is evident "from the ſudden changes of our dreams, in which the ima-"gination, upon very ſlight principles, repreſents to us all ſorts "of paſſions of the ſoul, and appearances of things; for it is

"the

very ſolicitous about the fate of his friends and country. Both generals purſued their march to Abydus, and croſſing the Helleſpont, took their rout through Thrace, with a deſign to diſlodge Saxa and Norbanus, who had ſeized the paſſes between that country and Macedon. Plutarch tells us, that on their march two eagles flew to them, and lighting upon the two foremoſt enſigns, continually attended the army, and were fed by the ſoldiers, till they came to Philippi, where the day before the battle they diſappeared. Upon their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Rhaſcupolis, a petty king of that country, at the head of three thouſand horſe, and conducted by him, as he was well acquainted with the country, through by-roads to the place where the two generals of the triumvirs were encamped with their eight legions. There Brutus and Caſſius thought it adviſeable, before they attempted to force the paſſes which were guarded by ſo numerous a body of the enemy, to review their forces, offer a ſolemn ſacrifice for

Brutus and Caſſius paſs over into Europe.

They review their forces.

" the nature of the mind to be in perpetual motion, and that
" motion is our imagination, and thought. But beſides all this,
" in our caſe, the body, being tired and worn out with con-
" tinual labour and cares, naturally works upon the mind, and
" keeps it in ſuſpenſe and trouble; but that there ſhould be any
" ſuch thing as demons or ſpirits, or, if there were, that they
" ſhould have human ſhape or voice, or power that can reach
" us, is altogether improbable, though, I confeſs, I could wiſh
" there were ſuch beings, that we might not rely upon our
" arms only, and our horſes, and our navy, but might be
" likewiſe confident of the aſſiſtance of the gods in this our
" moſt ſacred and honourable attempt (52)". 'Tis true, as Caſſius obſerves, that our imagination, when heated, may impoſe upon us falſe objects, which we ſee with the ſame certainty as if they were real; but to ſay, that there are no ſuch beings as ſpirits, who can appear to us, ſpeak to us, and foretel future events, is carrying this principle too far. Caſſius, after inſinuating that the notion of ſpirits is falſe and groundleſs, makes it appear that it were to be wiſhed there were ſuch ſpirits; for in that caſe, they would not come to foretel to them unfortunate, but happy, events; an effectual way of removing Brutus's apprehenſions: for, by this way of reaſoning, be there ſpirits, or be there not, the phantom which Brutus imagined to ſee was falſe, and a mere illuſion of the imaginative faculty of the mind.

(52) Plut. in Bruto.

for the ſucceſs of their arms, and put their ſoldiers in mind of the juſtice of the cauſe in which they were engaged. Accordingly both armies paſſed in review before the two generals, and were found to conſiſt of eighty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, counting Romans and auxiliaries. In the next place, a ſacrifice was offered with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and innumerable victims killed. When this ceremony was over, the two generals appeared on a tribunal erected for that purpoſe, having on their right hand the Roman ſenators and magiſtrates of their party, and on the left the foreign kings and princes who had joined them. Caſſius, who was the elder man, took upon him to ſpeak, and, after having enlarged on the juſtice of their cauſe, on the unheard of cruelties committed by the triumvirs in Italy, on the miſerable condition to which Rome was reduced, &c. he concluded with acquainting them, that Brutus and he had agreed to give immediately two thouſand five hundred drachmas to each ſoldier, five thouſand to each centurion, and double that ſum to each tribune. This cauſed an univerſal joy in the army; nothing was heard but ſhouts of joy and loud acclamations, the ſoldiers and officers ſtriving to outdo each other in proteſtations of fidelity, and an inviolable attachment to the intereſt of their leaders, which, they ſaid, was the ſame with that of their country. The money was immediately diſtributed, and, beſides, conſiderable preſents made to the officers and commanders of the foreign troops; ſo that the whole army marched with great alacrity towards the plain of Oricum, which was bounded towards Macedon by the ſtreights we have mentioned above. Norbanus, who was encamped there, upon the firſt notice of the enemy's march, diſpatched an expreſs to Decidius, who guarded the coaſt of the Meliac gulf, entreating him to make what haſte he could to join him. The two bodies thus united, poſted themſelves ſo advantageouſly in the narrow paſſes, that it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge them. Hereupon Brutus, being greatly at a loſs what to do, adviſed with Rhaſcupolis, who, as he was by birth a Thracian and well acquainted with that country, told him, that there was another paſſage over the mountains; but that they could not go that way in leſs than three days, and beſides would meet with no water during their march; but, if they would take water with them, he engaged to conduct them the fourth day to the river Arpeſſus, which was but one day's march from the city of Philippi, by ways unknown even to the wild beaſts.

And diſtribute large ſums among the ſoldiers.

They get beyond the ſtreights of Symbolon poſſeſſed by the enemy.

The ſoldiers took courage, provided themſelves with water, and, truſting entirely to the conduct of Rhaſcupolis, ſet out on their march, Bibulus, ſon-in-law to Brutus, marching with the Thracian prince in the van, and Brutus and Caſſius bringing up the rear. The hardſhips they underwent on their rout can hardly be expreſſed. The fourth day they were ready to fall upon Rhaſcupolis, ſuſpecting him of treachery, when their ſcouts, diſcovering the river, ſignified their joy to the haraſſed troops with loud ſhouts, which were anſwered by the whole army, and heard even in the camp of Norbanus and Saxa, who thereupon abandoned their poſt, and retired in all haſte to Amphipolis, for fear of being ſurrounded. At the ſame time they diſpatched an expreſs to Antony and Octavianus, acquainting them, that the enemy had paſſed the ſtreights, and were advancing towards the frontiers of Macedon. Hereupon Antony, to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing themſelves of Amphipolis on the Strymon, which the triumvirs deſigned to make their place of arms, quitted the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, and by long marches reached Amphipolis. His arrival was ſo ſudden, and his march ſo expeditious, that Brutus and Caſſius could not believe he was come, till they ſaw his van-guard advancing into the plains of Philippi. This city, famous for the battle which was fought here, and for the epiſtle which St. Paul afterwards wrote to its inhabitants, belonged, properly ſpeaking, to Thrace, but is placed by moſt geographers in Macedon, purſuant to the diviſion which obtained ever ſince the time of Philip the father of Alexander, who, having reduced the country lying between the Strymon, the antient boundary of Macedon, and the Neſſus or Neſtus, added it to his hereditary kingdom; whence that tract was ever after looked upon as part of Macedon, and is called in the Acts, *The chief city of that part of Macedon*, that is, of that part beyond the Strymon, which was added to antient Macedon [u]. The city of Philippi, ſo called from Philip the father of Alexander, who fortified it againſt the incurſions of the Thracians, was ſituated on a riſing ground, which abounded with ſprings and had on the north ſeveral hills covered with woods, on the ſouth a marſh, which reached to the Ægean ſea, on the eaſt the ſtreights we have mentioned above, which ſome writers call the ſtreights of Topiris, others the ſtreights of Symbolon; and on the weſt a large plain

Who abandon that poſt.

Antony arrives with his troops in the plain of Philippi.

[u] Acts, c. xvi. ver. 12.

plain extending as far as the river Strymon. In this plain, at a ſmall diſtance from the city, was a riſing ground, and there Brutus entrenched himſelf, while Caſſius took poſſeſſion of a poſt equally advantageous, about three miles from Brutus's camp, and nearer the ſea. They drew lines of communication from one camp to the other, aud built a ſtrong wall, which covered the interval between the two entrenchments; ſo that they could not have wiſhed for a more advantageous ſituation, having the plains of Philippi before them, the Strymon and the marſh on their left, the ſtreights of Topiris on their right, and behind them the ſea, by which means they could be eaſily ſupplied with all manner of proviſions from Aſia and Sicily, which iſland was in the hands of young Pompey [w].

Brutus and Caſſius poſt themſelves advantageouſly in the ſame plain.

ANTONY was informed at Amphipolis of the advantageous ſituation of the enemy; but nevertheleſs, having left in that city one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced boldly into the plain, and encamped in ſight of the republican generals; but did not attempt any thing till the arrival of Octavianus, who came up ten days after, having been detained at Dyrrachium by a fit of ſickneſs, which ſeized him the ſame day he landed there. And now, the two moſt powerful armies Rome had ever raiſed being in ſight of each other, the world ſtood with dread and terror, expecting the ſucceſs of a general action, which they foreſaw, would ſoon enſue and decide the fate of the Roman empire. The army of Brutus and Caſſius conſiſted of nineteen legions and twenty thouſand horſe, and that of the triumvirs of the ſame number of legions, but more complete, and thirteen thouſand horſe; ſo that the forces of both parties were pretty equal: but the troops of Brutus far excelled thoſe of the triumvirs in the richneſs of their apparel and arms, which were for the moſt part adorned with gold and ſilver; for tho' Brutus in other things had accuſtomed his ſoldiers to uſe all frugality and moderation, yet he thought, that the riches, which they carried about them in their hands and on their bodies, would inſpire them with courage, and make them more bold in action to preſerve their arms, which were in a manner their eſtates. This was likewiſe the ſentiment of Cæſar [x] and Sertorius [y], though Mithridates and other great commanders have been of a different opinion. Antony lay encamped oppoſite to

[w] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 840.

[x] Suet. in Cæſare, c. 67.

[y] Plut. in Sertorio.

Caſſius, and Brutus to Octavianus. The latter did nothing worth relating; but Antony was continually haraſſing the enemy, in order to draw them to a battle; for the triumvirs forces began very ſoon to be ſtreightened for want of proviſions, having only Macedon and Thrace open to them, ſince Pompey, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus had, with their ſeveral navies, cut off all communication with Africa, Spain, and Italy. But, on the other hand, Brutus and Caſſius received daily ſupplies from Aſia and Sicily, and had amaſſed great ſtore of neceſſaries in the neighbouring city of Neapolis, and in the iſland of Thaſus, whence they were conveyed without the leaſt danger to their reſpective camps. Antony indeed attempted to cut off their communication with the ſea, by opening a paſſage through the marſh, which lay between them and the ſhore, and completed this great and bold undertaking before the enemy had notice of his deſign; but Caſſius no ſooner ſaw, to his great ſurprize, caſtles and turrets appearing among the reeds, than ſetting all hands to work, he drew a line croſs the marſh, from his camp quite to the ſea, and, fortifying it with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, maintained, in ſpite of Antony's utmoſt efforts, a free and open communication with the ſea and the cities on the coaſt. In the mean time, Thrace and Macedon being quite exhauſted, the numerous troops of the triumvirs were daily more ſtreightened for want of neceſſaries, with which thoſe countries could no longer ſupply them. This made Antony extremely deſirous of coming to a battle; which the enemy, well acquainted with the ſad condition his troops were in, and which, they knew, would become every day worſe, carefully avoided. Had they continued in this reſolution, the triumvirs muſt either have marched back to Dyrrachium, and from thence returned to Italy, or attempted to force their ſtrong entrenchments, which, in all probability, would have proved fatal to them; but Brutus ſoon changed his mind, and in a council of war, which conſiſted of all the chief officers of the army, declared, that he was for putting the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, that ſo he might either reſtore Rome to her former liberty, or elſe deliver from their miſery ſo many nations, who were haraſſed with the expences, troubles, and dangers of the war. Caſſius, on the other hand, very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a battle, enlarged on the bad poſture of the enemy's affairs, on their want of proviſions, on the extremities to which they muſt be ſoon reduced: "Their forces," ſaid he, "muſt

The triumvirs begin to be ſtreightened for want of proviſions.

Brutus inclined to fight, contrary to the opinion of Caſſius.

" muſt moulder away of themſelves : if we can but reſtrain
" for a while that unſeaſonable ardour which tranſports us,
" we ſhall ſee the enemy fly before us, and leave us in
" poſſeſſion of their camp and baggage, without ſtriking a
" blow. But whither can they fly ? Macedon and Theſſaly
" are drained of proviſions ; the ſeas are beſet with our
" fleets ; ſo that a battle is their only reſource, which,
" indeed, as they are ſomewhat ſuperior to us in the num-
" ber of men, may retrieve their affairs, and deliver them
" from the miſeries of their preſent condition." Brutus yielded to theſe unanſwerable reaſons, and both generals kept cloſe in their entrenchments, deſpiſing the bravadoes of Antony, who advanced every day with his army in battalia to the very gates of their camp ; but, in the mean time, the undiſcerning ſoldiery began to complain, and aſcribe to cowardice the prudent meaſures of their generals ; nay, they deſerted in troops to the enemy ; which, together with the advantages the light-horſe of the republican generals had gained in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, inclined Brutus again to venture an engagement. Caſſius ſtill oppoſed it, for the reaſons we have alledged above (K) ; but moſt of the officers, fearing a general deſertion, changed their opinions to that of Brutus ; ſo that a general engagement was agreed to by a great majority, to which Caſſius himſelf yielded at laſt after having ſolemnly declared, that he was ſtill of a contrary

A general engagement agreed to by moſt of the officers.

(K) Some writers ſay, he was alſo deterred from fighting by the following omens : at the time of luſtration, one of Caſſius's officers preſenting him with a garland, which he was to wear at the ſacrifice, gave it him with the inſide outward. Some time before, at a certain ſolemn proceſſion, the perſon who carried, according to cuſtom, a golden image of victory before Caſſius, ſtumbled, and fell. Many birds of prey appeared daily about the camp, and ſeveral ſwarms of bees, which were looked upon as a bad omen, were ſeen in a place within the trenches, which the ſoothſayers ordered to be ſhut out from the camp, to remove the ſuperſtition which began to prevail among the ſoldiery (44). Theſe pretended prodigies, which a man of common ſenſe would now deſpiſe, are ſaid to have terrified and confounded Caſſius himſelf, in ſpite of his Epicurean philoſophy ; which is a plain proof both of human frailty, and of the inſufficiency of philoſophy, as to the ſtrengthening our minds againſt the leaſt terrors and apprehenſions.

(44) Plut. ibid.

trary opinion. Beſides Caſſius, one of Brutus's friends, by name Atellius, was ſtill for putting off the engagement, and ſpinning out the war till the next winter. Brutus aſked him, "What advantage he promiſed himſelf from ſuch a "delay! If I gain nothing elſe," anſwered Atellius, "yet "I ſhall live ſo much the longer." This anſwer offended Caſſius and all the officers who were preſent; but they all agreed, before the council broke up, to give battle the next day. Brutus that night invited his friends to an entertainment, at which he appeared very chearful and full of hope, diverting his gueſts with learned diſcourſes till he went to reſt. Caſſius ſupped privately with a few of his moſt intimate friends, and, during the repaſt, appeared thoughtful and ſilent, contrary to his temper and cuſtom. Valerius Meſſala, a young nobleman of great wit and learning who ſupped with him, tells us, that as Caſſius roſe from the table, he took him by the hand, and preſſing it cloſe in token of his good-will and affection, "Bear witneſs for "me, Meſſala," ſaid he to him in Greek, "that I am "forced, in the ſame manner as Pompey the Great was be"fore me, to expoſe the liberty of the Roman people to "the hazard of one battle; yet we ought to take courage, re"lying on fortune, which it were unjuſt or miſtruſt, though we "have taken bad meaſures." Theſe, Meſſala ſays, were the laſt words Caſſius ſpoke before he withdrew [z] (L).

THE

[z] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. l. iv. p. 652, 653.

(L) Plutarch tells us, "That, in taking his leave, he invited "him to ſup with him the next night, being his birth-day." The ambiguous manner in which the Greek writer expreſſes himſelf, leaves it a doubt, whether Caſſius invited Meſſala, or Meſſala Caſſius; whether it was the birth-day of Caſſius, or of Meſſala. Mad. Dacier has made choice of the latter conſtruction; for Caſſius, ſays ſhe, penſive and gloomy as he was, muſt have been but little diſpoſed to make an invitation for the next night. It muſt therefore have been Meſſala who did it on account of his birth-day, as the cuſtom was among friends on the like occaſion. But this learned lady ſeems here to have forgot what ſhe muſt have read in Appian, who tells us in expreſs terms, "that Caſſius was killed on the very day "he was born (45);" ſo that it was the birth-day of Caſſius and not of Meſſala. Neither was Caſſius ſo gloomy and penſive as Mad. Dacier imagines; he was only grieved to ſee himſelf

(45) Appian. l. iv. p. 655.

THE next morning by break of day, a ſcarlet coat of armour, among the Romans the ſignal of battle, was expoſed on the tents of the two generals, who, while the troops were putting themſelves in a readineſs to march out of their entrenchments, met in the middle ſpace between the two camps. Caſſius, deſirous to know what Brutus intended to do in caſe fortune ſhould prove their enemy, addreſſed him at their firſt meeting thus: "The gods grant, O Brutus, that we may "now overcome our enemies, and paſs the reſt of our days "together in repoſe and proſperity; but ſince the greateſt of "human concerns are the moſt uncertain, and ſince it will be "very difficult for us to ſee one another again, if the ſucceſs "of the battle ſhould not anſwer our expectation, tell me, "what are you determined to do, to ſave your ſelf by flight, "or to die?" Brutus anſwered, "When I was young, Caſſius, "and unſkilful in affairs, I condemned Cato for laying vio-"lent hands on himſelf, thinking it irreligious in itſelf, and "unworthy of a man to quit the poſt in which providence "has placed him, and not to take and bear patiently what-"ever the gods are pleaſed to ſend him. But my preſent "ſituation has made me alter my opinion; ſo that if provi-"dence ſhall not diſpoſe what we now undertake according "to our wiſhes, I am reſolved to make no further attempts "nor preparations for war, but to die contented with my for-"tune; for I ſacrificed my life to the ſervice of my country "on the ides of March, in recompence for which I have "ever ſince lived with liberty and honour[a]." At theſe words Caſſius ſmiled, and tenderly embracing him, "With "theſe noble ſentiments, ſaid he, let us advance boldly a-"gainſt the enemy; for either we ourſelves ſhall conquer, "or have no cauſe to fear thoſe who do." After this they conſulted with their friends about the order of battle. Brutus deſired of Caſſius, that he might command the right wing; which was readily granted him, tho' it was thought a poſt more fit for Caſſius, in regard both of his age and experience; nay, Caſſius placed Meſſala in the ſame wing, at the head of his beſt legions, ordering him to aſſiſt and ſupport Brutus. While the tribunes and centurions were drawing up their men, Brutus retired for a few minutes into his tent, and wrote a letter to his friend Atticus, telling him, "That his affairs "were

What paſſed in the interview between Brutus and Caſſius before the battle.

Brutus's letter to Atticus before the battle.

[a] Plut. ibid. Appian. l. iv. p. 653, 655. Dio. l. xlvii.

ſelf obliged to hazard a battle, when he thought himſelf ſure of victory without running any riſques.

" were in the beſt ſtate he could wiſh; for that either he " ſhould overcome, and reſtore liberty to the people of Rome, " or die, and be himſelf free from ſlavery." In the ſame letter he blamed the conduct of Antony, " who, when he " might have been ranked among the Bruti, the Caſſii, and " the Catos, had joined Octavianus;" adding, that " if they " were not both defeated in the enſuing battle, they would " ſoon fall out and quarrel with one another [b];" which happened accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

THE two republican generals, having drawn up their men in battalia, marched out of their entrenchments, and advanced in good order into the plain, where the army of the triumvirs waited for them in battle-array. Antony commanded the right wing, and Octavianus the left; but the latter withdrew juſt before the charge was given, upon a dream, which his phyſician, by name Artorius, had the preceding night. He dreamt that he ſaw a viſion, which directed Octavianus to be removed out of the camp. The viſion was immediately obeyed, and he conveyed away very ſeaſonably. This Octavianus himſelf tells us in his memoirs quoted by Plutarch, which Dion ſeems not to have conſulted, ſince he writes, that Octavianus was in the action, but, like a ſick perſon, without his armour, not being yet recovered from his former indiſpoſition. Brutus, before he began the charge, ſent to all the commanders tickets with the parole or word of battle, which, according to ſome, was liberty, according to others, Apollo, and rid through the ranks, exhorting his ſoldiers to behave with their uſual bravery. They were ſo animated by his ſpeech, that few of them had patience to ſtay for the word or command to charge; but, before it could be given, ruſhed with loud ſhouts upon the enemy. This cauſed a great confuſion in the army, the legions being ſcattered and ſeparated from one another. Meſſala, at the head of his legions, inſtead of attacking the enemy in front, took a compaſs about, and having put ſome of the ranks in Octavianus's rear in diſorder, and killed a ſmall number of his men, fell upon his camp, and entered it ſword in hand, made a dreadful havock of thoſe he found there, and cut off among the reſt two thouſand Lacedæmonians, who were newly come to the aſſiſtance of Octavianus. He himſelf had but juſt before been conveyed away, upon the perſuaſion of Artorius, as we have related above; but the ſoldiers pierced the litter, in which he uſed to be carried, on account

Octavianus retires before the battle.

Brutus's men charge without orders.

Defeat the enemy's left wing, and ſeize their camp.

[b] Plut ibid.

account of his indiſpoſition, in many places with their darts and pikes; whence a report was ſpread, and for ſome time believed, that he was ſlain. In the mean time, Brutus, charging the enemy in front, eaſily put them to flight, as they were in great conſternation for the loſs of their camp, cut three whole legions in pieces on the ſpot, and purſued the fugitives with great ſlaughter, the plain being, to a great diſtance, ſtrewed with dead bodies. Thus was the enemy's left wing entirely defeated by the brave Brutus, who as Octavianus was no-where to be found, began to believe, that the republic was delivered from the worſt of her tyrants. He was confirmed in this belief by ſome of his ſoldiers, who preſenting themſelves to him, told him, that they had killed Octavianus, ſhewed him their ſwords all bloody, and deſcribed his age and perſon [c]. But the coward was ſafe enough, either in Antony's camp, or lurking in the mire of the neighbouring marſh [d], Brutus took a great many of the enemy's enſigns and three eagles.

The cowardice of Octavianus.

Brutus, by engaging too far in the puiuit, left the wing, which Caſſius commanded, naked and ſeparated from the reſt of the army. Hereupon, Antony, who well knew how to take advantage of this overſight, charged the enemy in front, and at the ſame time detached ſome legions with orders to croſs the marſh, and fall upon their flank which was left and unguarded. The firſt ſhock was terrible; Antony, cording to ſome writers, retired into the marſh to avoid the fury of it, and did not appear again till the enemy began to give ground. Be that as it will, both parties fought with unparallelled bravery and reſolution. Antony's men, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, could make no impreſſion upon Caſſius's front; but, in the mean time, the detached legions, having opened a paſſage through the marſh, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy's flank, and, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, put them to the rout. The run-aways fled to their camp, whither the triumvir's men purſued them, and, finding it ill guarded, made themſelves eaſily maſters of it. This occaſioned ſo general a conſternation in the reſt of the army, who were ſtill maintaining their ground in the plain with great intrepidity, that firſt the cavalry, and afterwards the foot began to make their eſcape, and fly towards the ſea. Caſſius on this occaſion did all that could be expected from a man of courage. He returned ſeveral times to the charge at the

The left wing commanded by Caſſius defeated and his camp taken.

[c] Idem. ibid Flor. l. iv. c. 7. Vel. Pat. l. ii. c. 70. [d] Suet. in Octav. Plin. l. vii. c. 45.

the head of his guards and the few men he could rally, and ſnatching an enſign out of the hand of the ſtandard-bearer, who fled, carried it himſelf; but being no longer able to keep together even his prætorian band or guards, he was forced to retire with a ſmall number of attendants to a riſing ground near the city of Philippi [d].

In the mean time, Brutus, believing he had gained a complete victory, was leading back his troops, loaded with the plunder of Octavianus's camp, when caſting his eyes upon that of Caſſius, he was ſurpriſed that he could not ſpy any tents ſtanding there, not even the general's, which uſed to appear at a great diſtance above the reſt. Some who were about him, and had a more quick and diſcerning ſight, acquainted him, that they diſtinguiſhed a great many arms ſhining about his tent, and ſilver targets moving to and fro, which, they thought, could not belong to thoſe who had been left to guard the camp. On the other ſide, there did not appear ſo many dead bodies about the place, as would have been after the defeat of ſo many legions.

Brutus marches to the aſſiſtance of Caſſius.

However, Brutus ſuſpecting Caſſius's misfortune, left a ſufficient guard in the enemy's camp, called back his troops from the purſuit, and marched with all poſſible expedition to the relief of his collegue, who, from the top of the hill, whither he had retired, diſcovered nothing as he was ſhort-ſighted, except the deſtruction of his camp, and even that in a confuſed manner; but thoſe who were with him, acquainted him, that they ſaw a great body of horſe moving towards him. As Caſſius knew nothing of the victory and march of Brutus, he took them to be a party of the enemy ſent in purſuit of him. However, he ordered out Titinius, one of his moſt intimate friends, to get more certain intelligence. As ſoon as Brutus's horſe ſaw him, thoſe who were his more familiar acquaintance, ſhouting for joy and alighting from their horſes, ſaluted and embraced him, while the reſt who knew him to be one of Caſſius's chief favourites, rid round him, as it were in triumph, aſking him, "What news of his general?" Caſſius obſerving this, and believing the horſemen, who diſmounted to embrace Titinius, had taken him priſoner, cryed out, "Alas! to preſerve the remains of a miſerable life, I have "expoſed my beſt friend to be taken by the enemy before "my face." Having thus ſpoke, he retired into a tent with

[d] Plut. ibid.

with Pindarus, one of his freed-men, whom he had reserved for such an occasion ever since the unhappy battle of Carrhæ. We have no good account of what passed there; but Cassius's head was found lying severed from his body, and Pindarus never appeared afterwards, whence some suspected he had killed his master without his command [e]. Livy [f] and Plutarch [g], in the life of Cæsar, tell us, that Cassius dispatched himself with the same dagger with which he had killed Cæsar; but all other historians, nay, Plutarch himself in the lives of Brutus and Antony, agree in the circumstances of his death, which we have related. A few minutes after Cassius's death, his attendants perceived who the horsemen were, and saw Titinius, crowned with garlands in token of Brutus's victory, making what haste he could towards them with the cavalry: but their joy was soon turned into the deepest melancholy and affliction. Titinius especially was inconsolable, when he was informed of the unfortunate mistake and death of his general. He burst into tears, and crying out, "My long "stay has been the occasion of his death," he drew his sword and killed himself upon the body of his friend. Brutus, upon the first advice of the defeat of Cassius, flew to his assistance; but heard nothing of his death till he came near his camp. Then shedding many tears over his body, he called him "the last of the Romans," meaning thereby that Rome would never produce another man equal to him. He caused his body to be privately conveyed to the island of Thasus, lest the celebrating of his funeral within the camp might dishearten the troops, and occasion some disorder. He then assembled the soldiers of the deceased general, comforted them, and, to make them amends for the losses they had sustained, promised to each man two thousand drachmas. Cassius was generally esteemed one of the best commanders of his age, and had given signal proofs of an extraordinary courage and consummate knowledge of the military art, in Crassus's unhappy expedition against the Parthians. He was to the very last against engaging the triumvirs, and would, in all probability, if he had lived, brought over Brutus to his opinion; which could not but prove fatal to the enemy, who were already reduced to great streights for want of provisions, and must in a short time have

Cassius's death.

Brutus's concern for, and elogium upon, Cassius.

His character.

[e] Idem. ibid. Appian. p. 655. Vell. Paterc. l. vii. c. 70. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 354. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 8. [f] Liv. l. cxxiv. [g] Plut. in Cæs. prope finem.

have inevitably periſhed with famine. The good opinion which Brutus entertained of his honeſty and virtue, and the elogium, with which he honoured him after his death, are a ſufficient confutation of the many ill-natured reflections, with which the mercenary flatterers of the Cæſars have endeavoured to blacken his reputation and aſperſe his memory. It was indeed commonly ſaid, as Plutarch informs us, "that Brutus hated the tyrannical power, and Caſſius "only the tyrant," on account of ſome private grudge (M); but that writer, tho' no friend to Caſſius (N), clears him from this

(M) Caſſius pretended to have received many injuries from Cæſar. Among the reſt he complained of his having taken ſome lions from him; for when Caſſius was deſigned for ædile, he had cauſed many lions to be taken, and conducted to Megara, in order to make uſe of them in the ſhews, which, in virtue of his office, he was to exhibit to the people. But Cæſar finding them in Megara, when that city was taken by Fuſius Calenus, one of his lieutenants, after the defeat of Pompey, ſeized them for himſelf. This, ſome writers ſay, was what chiefly ſtirred up Caſſius againſt Cæſar; but Plutarch clears him from this imputation, as we have obſerved in the text. Caſſius bore a private grudge to Cæſar on another account: he and Brutus ſtood both for the prætura urbana, or the prætorſhip of the city; and Cæſar is ſaid to have given privately each of the competitors hopes of his favouring their pretenſions, with a view to foment ſome ſmall differences that had ariſen between them on other accounts. When they came to lay their claims before Cæſar, Brutus had only the reputation of his honour and virtue to oppoſe to the many gallant actions, which Caſſius had performed in his youth againſt the Parthians. However, the dictator, having heard both parties, ſaid, in deliberating about the matter among his friends. "Caſſius indeed pleads with moſt juſtice; but Brutus muſt have "the firſt prætorſhip." Accordingly the prætorſhip of the city was given to Brutus, and another to Caſſius; but the gaining of this did not ſo much oblige him, as he was incenſed for the loſs of the other (46). Caſſius, who was of a harſh and paſſionate temper, was, no doubt, fired againſt Cæſar on account of theſe private injuries, which, it is not improbable, contributed in ſome degree to the reſolution he afterwards took; but what chiefly prompted him to it was, as Plutarch himſelf owns, his natural rancour and hatred againſt the whole race of tyrants (47).

(N) Plutarch was highly prejudiced againſt Caſſius, as muſt evidently appear to every impartial reader, who peruſes his

(46) Plut. ibid. (47) Idem ibid.

this charge, and tells us, that from his infancy he bore an irreconcileable hatred to the whole race of tyrants, whereof he gives us the following inſtance: when he was but a boy, and went to the ſame ſchool with Fauſtus the ſon of Sylla, hearing him one day bragging of the unlimited power of his father, he roſe up, and gave him two or three boxes on the ear. The relations of Fauſtus complained of this affront to Pompey, who thereupon ſummoned the two boys to appear before him; but young Caſſius was ſo far from yielding to the remonſtrances of Pompey, or giving any ſatisfaction to Fauſtus, that he threatened to ſtrike him again, even in Pompey's preſence, if he dared to utter the words which had provoked him. He was ſomewhat inclined to covetouſneſs, naturally paſſionate, and commanded rather by fear than love. But who is without faults? Caſſius in the mean meant well, and would, in all likelihood, if he had lived a little longer, ſaved his country from utter ruin.

BRUTUS, now the ſole commander of two numerous armies, thought it adviſeable to withdraw his troops from the camp of Octavianus, which he had taken. Antony likewiſe, when informed of the total overthrow of his colegue, abandoned Caſſius's camp, which he did not think himſelf in a condition to defend againſt the victorious troops of Brutus; ſo that both armies returned to their former poſts. Brutus was under the utmoſt concern for the loſs of Caſſius, having no commander of reputation to put in his room. On the other hand, the triumvirs, not yet informed of the death of Caſſius, were quite out of heart, having loſt above ſixteen thouſand of their beſt legionaries: whereas

The two armies return to their former poſts.

works. This prejudice was probably owing to the ſeverity with which the republican general uſed the Rhodians, a Greek nation. "Caſſius having taken Rhodes," ſays Plutarch, "behaved himſelf there with great cruelty." But, with his leave, we cannot look upon the puniſhment of fifty mutiniers as an inſtance of cruelty. As he took the city by ſtorm, he might, after the example of other Roman generals, put all the inhabitants whom he found in arms to the ſword, but he contented himſelf with puniſhing fifty of the ringleaders. As for the wealth of the inhabitants, it belonged to him by right of war; but, as Plutarch was a Greek, the love of his country has, on ſeveral occaſions, got the better of his philoſophy; a proof that no man, however philoſophical, can boaſt an entire exemption from prejudices.

whereas on the enemy's ſide there were not ſlain eight thouſand men, reckoning even the ſuttlers and ſervants of the army. Beſides, proviſions were become very ſcarce in their camp, without any poſſible means of receiving new ſupplies, either by ſea or land. Theſe melancholy reflections had almoſt reduced them to deſpair, when a ſervant of Caſſius, by name Demetrius, coming in the evening to Antony, gave him an account of the tragical end of Caſſius, and at the ſame time delivered to him the garment, which he had taken from his maſter's dead body, and his ſword ſtill bloody. Antony, overjoyed at this news, immediately imparted it to his collegue; and they both agreed to draw out their men next morning by day-break, to try whether they could bring Brutus to a battle, before his men recovered themſelves from the terror and conſternation, which, they were well appriſed, the defeat and death of Caſſius muſt have occaſioned; but Brutus, having his own camp filled with priſoners, who required a numerous guard, and finding that of Caſſius in great diſorder, the ſoldiers, who had been defeated, burning with a ſecret envy and indignation againſt thoſe who had conquered, kept cloſe in his entrenchments, and deſpiſed the enemy's bravadoes. As his troops, elated with their late victory, ſhewed a great eagerneſs to venture a ſecond engagement, he aſſembled the ſoldiers of both armies, and, after having commended their valour, and ſlightly reproved his own men for falling upon the enemy in diſorder, without waiting either for the word, or the command of their general, he enlarged on the deplorable ſtate to which the enemy was reduced, and aſſured them, that if they could but reſtrain their ardor for a while, they would have the pleaſure of ſeeing the armies of Antony and Octavianus either periſh with famine, or, by a ſhameful flight, abandon Greece and Macedon. "But "to hazard a ſecond battle," ſaid he, "is to put ourſelves "in the power of fortune, when we are ſure of victory "by continuing inactive in our camp." After this he cauſed a thouſand drachmas to be given to each ſoldier of both camps, and diſmiſſed them highly ſatisfied with the generoſity of their leader, to whoſe orders they promiſed an entire obedience and ſubmiſſion, whether he thought proper to engage the enemy, or continue in a ſtate of inaction [h].

Antony and Octavianus, upon the news of the death of Caſſius, endeavour in vain to draw Brutus to a ſecond battle.

In

[h] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. p. 656. Dio. p. 355.

In the mean time, provisions growing daily more scarce in the enemy's camp, Antony and Octavianus, finding they could not bring Brutus to a battle, were greatly at a loss what measures to take. All their dependence was on a fleet which they expected hourly from Italy, having on board great store of provisions, two legions of veterans, one of which was that of Mars, a prætorian cohort, and a considerable body of cavalry; but while they were comforting themselves with the hopes of the speedy arrival of this powerful supply, news was brought them that their fleet under the command of Cneius Domitius Calvinus, had been entirely defeated, and most of their ships, with the soldier on board, either sunk or taken by Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus and Lucius Statius Murcus, the two admirals of the adverse party. Some of their ships indeed found means to save themselves among the rocks of the Adriatic sea; but being there blocked up by the enemy, both the soldiers and mariners, after having consumed all their provisions, were forced by famine to feed upon the sails and tackle of their ships, which they boiled with the pitch and grease, they had prepared for the careening of their vessels. This victory was gained by the admirals of the republic the same day in which the battle of Philippi was fought; and the news of so great an overthrow, which soon reached the triumvirs, so disheartened them that they now began to look upon their affairs as quite desperate, being not only streightened for want of necessaries, but without any prospect or possible means of procuring new supplies. Besides, as they were encamped in a low ground, surrounded with marshes, and a great quantity of rain, as it usually happens in autumn, had fallen after the battle, which filled their tents with mire and water, distempers began to reign in both armies, and daily carry off great nnmbers of men. On the other hand Brutus had sufficient provisions to support his army for a long time, was very advantageously posted, his camp being safe from the injuries of the weather, and inaccessible to the enemy; and, as he was absolute master of the sea, he could receive whatever he stood in need of from Asia, Africa, Sicily, and Spain. The triumvirs, finding themselves in this desperate condition, left nothing unattempted which could provoke Brutus's men, and make them mutiny against their general for declining an engagement. They drew out their troops day after day, and marched in battle array up to the very gates of the enemy's camp; but Brutus, who knew that their boldness and courage proceeded from despair, kept within his entrenchments, not doubting,

The triumvirs fleet destroyed by Brutus's admirals.

The bad situation of the triumvirs affairs.

doubting, but he ſhould ſoon ſee them moulder away, and, by a ſhameful flight abandon both Greece and Macedon to the mercy of his troops. The triumvirs, finding they could by no means bring Brutus to a battle, detached two legions to take poſſeſſion of a a riſing ground, which, tho' cloſe to Caſſius's camp, Brutus had thought proper to abandon after the late battle. About ſix hundred paces from thence, towards the ſea, they poſted ten legions, and two more at a ſmall diſtance from them, with a deſign to cut off the communication between the enemy's army and fleets. On the other hand Brutus cauſed ſeveral works to be carried on from his camp quite to the l[illegible]e, and by that means kept in ſpite of all the enemy's efforts, a free communication with the ſea; but as ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the ſoldiers of the oppoſite parties, who covered their workmen, in which Brutus's men had all the advantage, they were ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that they began to mutiny, and, aſſembling in crowds, aſk their general, "What cowardice "he had lately obſerved in them, that they muſt be thus, "like priſoners, kept within their entrenchments, and not "ſuffered to make uſe of their arms, and exert that courage, "which had but a few days before proved ſo fatal to the "enemy, who now inſulted them?" Brutus endeavoured to ſatisfy them, and reſtrain their unſeaſonable ardor, by repreſenting to them the deſperate poſture of the enemy's affairs, and the happy ſituation of their own; but all to no purpoſe, tho' the triumvirs forces were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and a conſiderable body of German troops, to avoid ſtarving in their camp, had deſerted, and given the mutineers a full account of the miſeries, which the want of proviſions occaſioned in the enemy's army; yet, by an unaccountable obſtinacy and perverſeneſs, they ſtill perſiſted in demanding to be led out againſt the enemy, whom they deſired to conquer not by famine, but valour; nay, becauſe the prudent general refuſed to comply with their requeſt, ſeveral Romans, as well as auxiliaries, abandoned him and went over to the enemy. Among the latter were Amyntas, commander in chief of the Galatians ſent by the old king Dejotarus, and Rhaſcupolis, who had proved ſo ſerviceable to Brutus and Caſſius on their march through Thrace. Some writers indeed ſay, that Rhaſcupolis did not join the enemy, but returned home with the troops he commanded. Be that as it will, this deſertion gave Brutus great concern, which was encreaſed by the diſorders that happened daily in Caſſius's camp, whoſe ſoldiers, become headſtrong and

Brutus's troops begin to mutiny, and demand to be led out againſt the enemy.

and intractable since the death of their general, refused to obey the officer whom Brutus had put in his room. In these circumstances Brutus yielded at last to the importunity of his soldiers and resolved to put an end to his own cares and those of the Roman world, by a general and decisive action; which, all the antients tell us, he would never have done, had he been informed of the late advantage gained by his fleet; but of that important victory he received no intelligence till twenty days after, that is, till the very evening before the fight. This some writers ascribe to the negligence, others to the treachery, of his officers, but Plutarch to providence which, as the state of Rome, says he, now necessarily required a monarchy, prevented Brutus from receiving notice of his good success, that it might remove the only man who was able to resist the person whom destiny had appoined to be the sole governor of the Roman state (O). However that be, the evening before the battle, when it was too late for Brutus to alter his measures, one Caius Clodius, a deserter from the enemy, came to acquaint the republican general, that the triumvirs had received advice, of the loss of their fleet, and for that reason were in such haste to come to a battle. But the intelligence he brought met with no credit; nay Brutus would not so much as admit him to his presence, taking it for granted, that he had invented the news to please him, and bring himself into favour [i].

Brutus yields to the importunity of the soldiery.

And

[i] Plut. ibid.

(O) For the empire, says Mad. Dacier, was no longer able to support itself. It was necessary for it to come under the dominion of a single person. So long as there were so many competitors on foot, so many pretenders either to the empire or the royalty, that competition would have been an inexhaustible source of civil war and dissension; and nothing was more incompatible with monarchy than Brutus. Brutus therefore was to be removed. All this, adds this learned writer, strongly proves the truth of Plato's sentiments, who maintains, that of all governments monarchy is the most perfect; but then the monarch must govern according to law. So far we agree with Mad. Dacier. But is it to be left to the monarch to govern, or not to govern, by law, as he thinks fit? Is he to have nothing but his own will and inclination to restrain him? Is mankind to depend for security and happiness upon uncertain inclinations? This surely is wide of the opinion of so wise a philosopher as Plato, who, in preferring monarchy to all other governments, could not mean by monarchy a power without controul.

AND now Brutus, determined to put the whole to the iſſue of a general action, found himſelf obliged to uſe violence to his good-nature, and take a precaution, which, tho' neceſſary, may ſeem not altogether free from the reproach of cruelty. He had taken in the late battle a great number of priſoners, partly ſlaves and partly freemen, who required a numerous guard, which he could not well ſpare. As Antony therefore and Octavianus had ordered all their priſoners, without diſtinction, to be inhumanly maſſacred, Brutus, having reaſon to ſuſpect that the ſlaves he had taken were tampering with his ſoldiers, commanded them all to be ſlain. Though they deſerved to die, and their death was but a kind of retaliation upon the enemy, yet the flatterers of the Cæſars have, with great partiality and injuſtice, made long deſcants on this pretended act of cruelty, without taking notice of his clemency towards the freemen and Roman citizens. Of theſe he openly diſmiſſed great numbers, telling them, "That with the enemy they were captives and ſlaves; but "with him freemen and citizens of Rome." Others he concealed himſelf, and helped to eſcape privately, perceiving that ſome of his commanders and friends were implacably bent upon their deſtruction. Among the captives was one Volumnius a mimic, and Sacculio a buffoon, who, by their unſeaſonable jeſts, of which Brutus took no manner of notice, provoked ſome of the chief officers of his army. Theſe brought them before their general, and accuſed them of not being able, even in their preſent ſituation, to refrain from their abuſive jeſts and ſcurrilous language. Brutus having his mind taken up with other affairs, returned no anſwer to the accuſation; but Meſſala Corvinus was of opinion, that they ſhould be whipt publicly upon a ſcaffold, and, after that ignominius puniſhment, be ſent back naked to Antony and Octavianus, which, he thought, would reflect no ſmall diſhonour on thoſe two generals, who were not aſhamed to chuſe ſuch ſcoundrels for their bottle-companions. At this ſome who were preſent laughed; but Publius Caſca, who gave the firſt wound to Cæſar, "It does not become "us," ſaid he with a ſerious air, "to be thus merry after "the loſs of Caſſius. And as for you, O Brutus, you will "ſhew what reſpect you bear to the memory of your fellow-"commander, by puniſhing or pardoning thoſe who can-"not forbear ſcoffing and ſpeaking abuſively of him." "Why then, Caſca," replied Brutus, "do you tell me of this, "and not do yourſelf what you think proper?" This anſwer was

Brutus puts the captive ſlaves to death and ſets moſt of the freemen at liberty.

Volumnius and Sacculio, two mimics, taken priſoners.

was taken for his consent to the death of those unhappy wretches, who were accordingly carried away and slain [k]. And put to death.

BRUTUS, having got rid of most of his prisoners, assembled his soldiers the day before the battle, and in order to rouze their courage, promised them the pillage of Thessalonica and Lacedæmon, two cities which had sided with the triumvirs. This, in the opinion of Plutarch, is the only inexcuseable fault which Brutus was ever guilty of; for, if in the end Antony and Octavianus, says that writer, were much more cruel in the rewards they gave their soldiers after victory; if they drove out almost all the ancient inhabitants of Italy, to put their soldiers in possession of their lands and cities; it is well known, that their only design and end in undertaking the war was, to obtain dominion and empire: but the great opinion the world had conceived of Brutus on account of his virtue, would not allow him either to conquer the enemy, or save himself, but by means truly just and honourable, especially after the death of Cassius, who was generally accused of putting Brutus upon several actions, not entirely agreeable to his mild and generous temper. But after all, Plutarch entertained so great an opinion of Brutus's virtue, good-nature, and integrity, that he could not prevail upon himself to believe, that he made this promise of his own motion; but thinks he was in a manner forced to it by his officers, according to whose advice he both did and said many things, contrary to the bent of his own inclination, especially in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of Cassius's soldiers into better order, who were become bold and insolent in the camp after the death of their general, but in the field cowardly and fearful, remembering, that they had suffered themselves to be shamefully overcome [l]. Brutus promises his soldiers the spoil of two Greek cities.

BRUTUS, having encouraged his men with promises of ample rewards after the victory, and made the necessary preparations for the next day's engagement, retired late in the night to his tent, when the spectre, which had promised to meet him at Philippi, is said to have appeared to him again, in the same shape as it had done before, but to have vanished in an instant, without one single word being uttered on either side; but Publius Volumnius, a man given to the study of philosophy, who was then in Brutus's camp, and wrote an account of several other prodigies, which he The spectre appears again to Brutus.

[k] Plut. ibid. [l] Idem ibid.

ſuppoſed to have happened before this great battle (P), makes no mention of this apparition [m]. Be that as it will, Brutus, without taking the leaſt notice of this or any other prodigies, drew out his men the next morning, with a firm reſolution of reſtoring liberty to his country, or dying in the attempt. He choſe his ground like an able general, forming his lines at a ſmall diſtance from his camp, that he might have a ſafe retreat, in caſe of any misfortune. Then riding through the ranks, "Fellow-ſoldiers," ſaid he, "you have deſired to engage the enemy in the open field, when you might have obtained a complete victory, by continuing inactive within your entrenchments; but this kind of victory you deſpiſe, as not honourable enough for men of your bravery; you are for purchaſing glory at the expence of your blood. It is therefore now incumbent upon you to ſummon all that boldneſs, with which you demanded battle, to maintain the honour of your firſt victory, and to anſwer the truſt which I have repoſed in your valour. Whether Rome is to enjoy an uninterrupted happineſs and liberty, or to be condemned to eternal ſlavery and endleſs calamities, this day will decide." As for Antony and Octavianus, they could ſcarce believe their own eyes, when they firſt obſerved a coat of arms, the uſual ſignal of battle, expoſed on Brutus's tent. Overjoyed at this unexpected reſolution, they ordered their men to prepare for battle; but did not quit their entrenchments before three in the afternoon, when they marched out like famiſhed lions, as Appian expreſſes it, againſt their prey. Their generals, the more to encourage them, promiſed to each ſoldier five hundred drachmas after the victory, painting to

Brutus's ſpeech to his ſoldiers before the battle.

[m] Plut in Brut. & Cæſ. prope finem. Appian. l. iv. p. 668.

(P) The firſt ſtandard, that is, the ſtandard belonging to the firſt legion, was covered with a ſwarm of bees. A kind of ſweat in the nature of oil, and having the ſmell of roſes, iſſued from the arm of a centurion, which, tho' often wiped and dried, yet continued ſweating. The firſt man, whom Brutus's troops met at the opening the gate of the camp to march into the plain, was an Æthiopian, or negro, whom they cut in pieces, interpreting that circumſtance as an unlucky omen. When the two armies were advanced within reach of each other, two eagles, appearing in the air, fought in the ſpace between the armies, the ſoldiers on both ſides being ſilent and intent on the fight, till that, which was on the ſide of Brutus, yielded and fled, &c. (48).

(48) Plut. ibid.

to them at the ſame time in moſt lively colours the inexpreſſible miſeries and calamities, which they muſt unavoidably endure, if overcome. "You have but two things to chuſe" ſaid they, "to conquer, or periſh by the moſt miſerable of "all deaths, famine." Having thus ſpoke, they ordered their men to advance with a ſlow pace againſt the enemy, who kept their ground ready to receive them. When the two armies were in preſence of each other, Brutus had the mortification to ſee a brave knight, by name Cumulatus, whom he highly eſteemed for his valour, abandon his poſt and riding cloſe by him, go over to the enemy. Hereupon Brutus, fearing others might follow the example of the treacherous knight, cauſed the ſignal of battle to be given immediately, and charged the enemy's left wing, commanded by Octavianus, with ſuch intrepidity, vigor, and reſolution, that all gave way before him. As Octavianus's cavalry was put into the utmoſt diſorder at the very firſt onſet, Brutus's horſe broke in among the enemy's foot, and made a moſt dreadful havock of the legionaries. But while the brave Brutus was thus ſignaliſing himſelf in the right wing, his left, commanded by the lieutenants of Caſſius, men no-ways equal to that charge, was hard preſſed by Antony. Caſſius's cavalry immediately gave way, leaving the flank of the wing, in which they were poſted, naked and unguarded. Hereupon the foot, fearing to be encompaſſed, widened their ranks to the right and left, that they might make head every way; but as this weakened them, they were at the firſt onſet broken and diſordered by the cloſe battalions of Antony. The plain was in an inſtant covered with the runaways ſcattered up and down, ſome of them making towards the camp, others flying to the ſea-ſide, but moſt of them repairing to the right wing to take ſhelter among the victorious troops of Brutus. Antony did not purſue the fugitives; but, like an experienced general, marched directly againſt Brutus, and fell upon his rear with incredible fury. That brave commander performed on this occaſion all that could be expected from an expert general and valiant ſoldier, giving proofs in the greateſt danger of a courage and conduct, which well deſerved to be crowned with victory; but Caſſius's troops, which were overthrown in the left wing, crouding in among his ranks, and carrying with them, where-ever they came, deſpair and confuſion, turned the ſcale in favour of the enemy, after Brutus had, for a long time, maintained his ground, with unparallelled bravery, againſt all the forces of their united armies. His lines

The ſecond battle of Philippi.

Brutus defeats the enemy's left wing.

But his left is defeated by Antony.

Which occaſions the defeat of the whole army.

were at length broke and put into diſorder, notwithſtanding all he could do to rally them. He attempted ſeveral times to bring them back to the charge; but all his endeavours proved unſucceſsful, Caſſius's men, who were terrified with their own defeat, communicating their fear to the reſt of the army. Brutus ſtood his ground with the few men he could rally; but, being ſurrounded on all ſides and overpowered by the numerous forces of Antony and Octavianus, was in imminent danger of being either cut in pieces, or falling alive into the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies. And on this occaſion it was, that moſt of Brutus's beſt officers were killed in endeavouring to ſave their general, who, with their aſſiſtance, breaking through the enemy's battalions that ſurrounded them, withdrew, when abandoned hy his men, from the field of battle. Among the few who attended him was one Lucilius Lucinus, an intimate friend of his, who obſerving a body of Thracian horſe, under the command of Rhaſcus, the brother of Rhaſcupolis, taking no notice of any other in the purſuit, but making directly towards Brutus, reſolved to ſtop them, and ſave the life of his general, at the hazard of his own. Accordingly, without acquainting Brutus with his deſign, he halted, till the Thracians came up and ſurrounded him. Then he cried out that he was Brutus, and, begging quarters, deſired they would carry him to Antony, pretending that he feared Octavianus, but durſt truſt him. The Thracians, overjoyed with their prey, and thinking themſelves wonderfully happy, immediately detached ſome of their own body to acquaint Antony with their good fortune; and in the mean time giving over the purſuit, returned to the field of battle with their priſoner. The report being ſpread in an inſtant all over the army, that Brutus was taken, and that the Thracians were bringing him alive to Antony, both ſoldiers and officers flocked together from all parts to ſee him. Some pitied his misfortune, others accuſed him of a meanneſs unbecoming his former glory, for ſuffering himſelf, out of too much love of life, to be a prey to barbarians. As for Antony, he was not a little concerned at this adventure, being quite at a loſs in what manner he ſhould receive, and how he ſhould treat, his illuſtrious captive: but he was ſoon delivered from his uneaſineſs; for as the Thracians drew near, he knew the priſoner, who had paſſed himſelf upon the Thracians for Brutus, and now addreſſing the triumvir with a generous confidence; "Be aſſured, Antony," ſaid he, "that no "enemy either has, or ever ſhall take Marcus Brutus alive.

"Forbid

Brutus's gallant behaviour.

The contrivance of Lucilius to ſave Brutus.

" Forbid it, ye gods, that fortune ſhould ever prevail ſo much " above virtue! But let him be found dead or alive, he " will certainly be found in ſuch a ſtate as is worthy of him. " As for me, I have delivered myſelf up to ſave him, and am " now ready to ſuffer whatever torments you think proper to " inflict upon me, without demanding or expecting any " quarter." Antony, wonderfully taken with the fidelity, virtue, and generoſity of Lucilius, turned to the Thracians, now ſenſible of, and enraged at, their diſappointment, and addreſſed them thus: " I perceive my fellow-ſoldiers, " that you are concerned, and full of reſentment, for having " been thus impoſed upon by Lucilius; but be aſſured, that " you have met with a booty better than that which you " ſought for; you were in ſearch of an enemy, and have " brought me a friend. I was truly at a loſs how I ſhould " have uſed Brutus, if you had brought him to me alive; " but of this I am ſure, that it is better to have ſuch a man " as Lucilius, our friend than our enemy." Having thus ſpoke, he embraced Lucilius, and commended him to the care of one of his friends. Such a generous behaviour won the heart of Lucilius, who ever after continued inviolably attached to the intereſt of his friend and benefactor [m]. After this both Antony and Octavianus marched with their victorious legions in purſuit of the enemy's broken and diſperſed forces, making a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, and ſtrewing the whole plain with dead bodies. Some of Brutus's officers, not caring to outlive the liberty of their country, would neither fly nor give ground; but died, ſword in hand, in the poſts aſſigned them. Among theſe were Marcus, the ſon of the great Cato; L. Caſſius, nephew to the deceaſed general; C. Flavius, one of Brutus's beſt friends; Marcus, the ſon of Lucullus who conquered Mithridates the Great; Demetrius, Apollonides, and ſeveral other commanders of great diſtinction. Young Cato diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner; for after the body he commanded was put to the rout, he returned ſeveral times to the charge with the few forces he could rally, overthrew all who oppoſed him, and declaring who he was, and often repeating his father's name, fell at laſt upon a heap of dead bodies of the enemy, whom he ſacrificed to the manes of his father and the expiring republic. Such a behaviour was very ſurpriſing in a man of young Cato's character; for, degenerating from the virtue of his father, he had, to that time,

The glorious death of young Cato.

[m] Plut. ibid.

led an idle, indolent, and debauched life; but the glory he had acquired by his death, has recommended him to poſterity, as a worthy ſon of ſo great a father [n].

What happened to Brutus after the loſs of the battle.

As for Brutus, the contrivance of Lucilius gave him an opportunity of paſſing a little brook, encompaſſed with rocks, and ſhaded with trees. Being there overtaken by the night, he ſtopped in a hollow place at the foot of a great rock, being attended with a ſmall number of his friends and officers. There lifting up his eyes to heaven, he repeated two Greek verſes, one of which Volumnius, who attended him, forgot, but remembered the other, which was the following out of the Medea of Euripides;

" Puniſh, great Jove, the author of theſe ills;

By which it was thought he meant Antony, who remembered and repeated it, when, after the battle of Actium, he was reduced to the neceſſity of laying violent hand on himſelf. Afterwards Brutus named ſeverally all his friends, who had been ſlain in the battle before his face, and fetched a deep ſigh, eſpecially at the mentioning of Flavius and Labeo, whereof one was his lieutenant, and the other maſter of his workmen. In the mean time, one of his followers, who was very thirſty, and ſaw Brutus in the ſame condition, ran to the brook, and brought him ſome water in his helmet. While he was drinking, a noiſe being heard from the other ſide of the rivulet, Volumnius, taking Dardanus, Brutus's armour-bearer, with him, went out to diſcover what had occaſioned it. They both returned ſoon after; but finding no water, aſked what was become of it; " It is all drank," replied Brutus ſmiling; " but you ſhall have ſome more fetched immediately." But he, who had brought the firſt water, being ſent again, narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, by whom he was dangerouſly wounded. Brutus, underſtanding by this that he was inveſted, exhorted thoſe who were with him to make ſome attempt to get to their camp before day-light; for he conjectured, that he had not loſt many of his men, and that thoſe who had eſcaped had taken refuge there. Statilius undertook to paſs through the enemy, and go by himſelf to the camp, promiſing, if it was not taken, to hold up a lighted torch, for a ſignal, and return immediately. Statilius got ſafe to the camp, and held up the torch, which gave Brutus ſome hopes of retrieving his affairs. He waited a long time for the return of Statilius, ſaying, " If " Statilius

[n] Plut. ibid. & in Catone.

" Statilius be alive, he will come back; " but he was ſlain on his return by the enemy. At length Brutus, tired with waiting, and day now beginning to dawn, whiſpered ſomething in the ear to one of his domeſtics, by name Clytus, who returned him no anſwer, but burſt into tears. Hereupon Brutus taking aſide Dardanus his armour-bearer, had ſome diſcourſe with him in private, and afterwards addreſſed himſelf to Volumnius in Greek, conjuring him, by their common ſtudies and antient friendſhip, to draw his ſword and put an end to his life. Volumnius, and after him ſeveral others, anſwered him only with their tears. One of them, to divert Brutus from the thoughts of laying violent hands on himſelf, ſtarting up, " There is no ſtaying here " any longer," ſaid he; " we muſt all fly. Yes, an- " ſwered Brutus, we muſt fly indeed, not with our feet, " but with our hands." Then taking each of them by the hand, told them with a cheerful countenance, " That it was " an infinite ſatisfaction to him to find, that none of his " friends had proved falſe to him; that he did not complain " of fortune for his own, but for his country's ſake? that " as for himſelf, he thought he was much more happy than " thoſe who had conquered, not only in regard of what " was paſſed, but even in his preſent condition, ſince he " ſhould enjoy that reputation, which always follows virtue, " and which tyranny and injuſtice could never deſerve" (Q). Having thus ſpoke, he beſeeched his friends to provide for their own ſafety, telling them, That he hoped Antony and Octavianus, ſatisfied with his death, would purſue their revenge no further. He then withdrew, with two or three only of his peculiar friends. Among theſe was an Epirote, by name Strato, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance when they ſtudied rhetorick together. To him Brutus had recourſe, conjuring him, by their antient friendſhip, to give him the laſt proof of his affection, by performing that

His laſt words to his friends.

(Q) Some writers tell us, that when Brutus in the morning ſaw no way of eſcaping, he cried out, " O unhappy virtue! I followed thee as a ſolid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or at beſt a ſlave of fortune (49). But Volumnius, who was preſent, and from whoſe memoirs Plutarch copied the particulars of his death which we have related, makes no mention of ſuch a ſpeech, no-ways ſuitable to the character of Brutus.

(49) Flor. l. iv. c. 7. Dio. l. xlvii. ſub finem Vide Plut. de ſuperſtit. init.

that friendly office which the others had declined. As Strato could not by any means be prevailed upon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his friend, Brutus called one of his ſlaves; and then the faithful Epirote, crying out, "Forbid, ye gods, it ſhould ever be ſaid, that Brutus died "by the hand of a ſlave for want of a friend," covered his eyes with his left arm, and preſented the point of his ſword to Brutus, who threw himſelf upon it with ſuch violence, that it pierced him through, and he expired immediately [o]. Some hiſtorians relate the circumſtances of his death otherwiſe, and tell us, that taking his ſword by the hilt with both his hands, he fell upon the point of it, and ran himſelf through, without the aſſiſtance of his faithful friend Strato. But all authors agree in this, that Meſſala, having ſome time after made his peace with Cæſar Octavianus, preſented Strato to him, ſaying with tears in his eyes, "This, O Cæſar, is the man who paid the laſt friendly "office to my beloved Brutus."

The death of Brutus. Year of the flood 2962 Before Chriſt 37. Of Rome 711.

THUS fell Brutus in the forty-third year of his age (R), and with him fell the liberty of Rome and of the Roman people. He was a man, in whom the malice of his enemies could diſcern no fault (S); in whom the virtues of humanity

His character.

[o] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. cxxiv. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 74. Appian. l. iv. p. 665, 666.

(R) Brutus died, according to Velleius Paterculus, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age; but to the authority of Velleius we prefer that of Cicero, who tells us, that Brutus was born ten years after Hortenſius appeared firſt at the bar; and that celebrated orator made his firſt public eſſay of eloquence in the conſulate of Lucius Craſſus and Quintus Scævola, in the year of Rome 658; ſo that Brutus was born in the year of the city 668, and conſequently was, at the time of his death, which happened in 711, in the forty-third year of his age (49).

(S) "Thoſe who were moſt his enemies," ſays Plutarch (50) "on account of his conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, if in that whole "affair there was any honourable and generous action done, refer "it wholly to Brutus, and lay whatever was barbarous and "cruel to the charge of Caſſius, Brutus's moſt intimate and familiar friend; but not at all like him in honeſty and virtue." Upon which words Madam Dacier comments thus: "It appears from this paſſage, that even in the days of Plutarch, "there

(49) Cic. in Bruto. (50) Plut in Bruto.

ty were eminent; in whom the conſtant, firm, and inviolable attachment to the public good (T) which formed the principal and moſt diſtinguiſhable part of his character, and was the uninterrupted buſineſs of his life, ever in view, and ever purſued, proceeded from no other ſource, but the inherent

" there were ſome remaining, who hated the memory of Brutus, " for the ſhare he had in the murder of Cæſar; and I am of " opinion, that the ſame hatred continues, and will do ſo to the " end of the world." Among ſlaves, ſhe ought to have added, and perſons brought up in ſlaviſh principles, who are taught to look upon the diſarming of a tyrant, and the ſaving of their country from havock and oppreſſion, as an heinous crime; but the memory of that truly virtuous and generous patriot will be, to the end of the world, revered by all, who have any ſpark of zeal for the welfare of their country and the good of mankind.

(T) The public good was, as Plutarch obſerves, the only end and ſtandard, which he propoſed for his hatred and friendſhip. This of an enemy made him a friend to Pompey, and of a friend made him an enemy to Cæſar. When Cæſar and Pompey took up arms againſt each other it was generally believed that he would have taken Cæſar's ſide; for his father not long before had been put to death by Pompey: but he, thinking it his duty to prefer the intereſt of the public to his private reſentment, and judging Pompey's to be the better cauſe, took part with him, tho' formerly he uſed not ſo much as to ſalute him, or take any notice of him, deeming it a great crime to have the leaſt converſation with the murderer of his father. But afterwards looking upon him as the general of his country, he liſted himſelf under his command, and ſet ſail to Sicily, in quality of lieutenant to Seſtius, whom Pompey had appointed governor of that iſland; but finding no opportunity there of exerting his zeal for the good of his country, and hearing that Cæſar and Pompey were encamped near one another and would come to a battle, upon which the whole empire depended, he haſtened into Macedon to ſhare in the danger. Pompey was ſo ſurpriſed at his arrival, and at the ſame time ſo pleaſed, that riſing from his tribunal, in the ſight of all his guards, he ſaluted and embraced him, as one of the chiefeſt men of his party. Thus Brutus embraced the party even of his father's murderer, becauſe he thought it more juſt than that of Cæſar, and conſidered Pompey as the head of the ſtate, of which Cæſar was the declared enemy. The ſame conſideration of the public good, which reconciled him to Pompey, eſtranged him from Cæſar, notwithſtanding the innumerable favours he had received at his hands. And what can be more generous, more heroic, for a man, than to ſacrifice his higheſt obligations, as well as his greateſt injuries, to the welfare of his country?

inherent equity of his mind; for he was, as his hiſtorian well obſerves, by nature exactly framed for virtue (U), without one breach of that never to be omitted diſtinction of fas and nefas, right and wrong. And here it may not be altogether foreign to our purpoſe to illuſtrate this tranſcendent rectitude of his mind, by inſtancing his refuſal, contrary to the opinion of Cicero and his other friends, to employ the arts of oratory in gilding even the faireſt cauſe, when, after the death of Cæſar, he addreſſed himſelf to the Roman

(U) "Brutus," ſays the author of his life, "for the ſake of "his virtue, was eſteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, "admired by all good men, and hated by none, no, not even "by his enemies; for he was of an extraordinary mild nature, "great magnanimity; inſenſible of the paſſions of anger, pleaſure, "or covetuouſneſs; ſteady and inflexible in his opinion, and "zealous for whatever he thought juſt and honeſt. That which "gained him the greateſt credit and reputation among the peo-"ple was, their inviolable opinion of his uprightneſs and inte-"grity in all his undertakings; whereas no man ever imagined, "that Pompey, even Pompey the Great himſelf, if he had over-"come Cæſar, would have ſubmitted his power to the laws, but "would have retained the ſovereign authority in his own hands, "under the ſpecious name of conſul or dictator, or ſome other "mild and more popular title, with which he would have "ſoothed the people. As for Caſſius, a man inclined to paſſion, "and carried often by his covetuous humour beyond the bounds "of juſtice, they well knew, that he endured all theſe hard-"ſhips rather to obtain dominion to himſelf, than liberty to the "people. As to the former diſturbers of the peace of Rome, whe-"ther a Cinna, a Marius, or a Carbo, it is manifeſt, that they, "having ſet their country as a ſtake for him who ſhould win, "did almoſt own, in expreſs terms, that they fought for em-"pire. But even the enemies of Brutus cannot lay this ac-"cuſation to his charge; nay, many have heard Antony him-"ſelf ſay, That Brutus was the only man who conſpired againſt "Cæſar out of a ſenſe of the glory of the action; but that all the reſt "roſe up againſt the man, and not the tyrant, from their own private "malice and envy (51)." In this Paſſage Plutarch does juſtice to Brutus's virtue; but at the ſame time betrays his prejudice againſt Caſſius, the motives of which we have aſſigned elſewhere (52). What a high opinion Cicero had of Brutus's virtue, the orator ſufficiently declares in the following words: "Bruto certe meo "nullo loco deero, idque etiam ſi mihi cum illo nihil fuiſſet, fa-"cerem propter ejus ſingularem incredibilemque virtutem.

(51) Idem. ibid. (52) Vide ſupra. note (N).

man people. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that Brutus, who had long been famed for eloquence (W), could be ignorant of ſpeaking to the paſſions of men, an art too ſucceſsfully made

(W) Plutarch tells us in his life, that in Latin he was a good ſpeaker, and had, by conſtant exerciſe, attained a ſufficient excellence in making public orations and pleading cauſes; but in Greek he was remarkable for affecting the ſentiments and ſhort Laconic way of ſpeaking, eſpecially in his epiſtles, a collection of which has been publiſhed by Aldus in Greek, and by Ranutius Florentius in Latin. Plutarch inſtances three of them, the firſt whereof he wrote in the beginning of the war to the Pergamenſes, or inhabitants of Pergamus, thus: "I hear you have "given Dolabella money; if you gave it willingly, you muſt "own you have injured me; if unwillingly, ſhew it by giving wil-"lingly to me." The ſecond inſcribed in the Greek copy to the Bithynians, in the Latin to the Galatians, and in Plutarch to the Samians, is couched in the following terms: "Your "deliberations are tedious, your actions ſlow; what do you think "will be the end?" The third was to the Rhodians, thus: "The Xanthians, ſuſpecting my kindneſs, have made their coun-"try their grave of deſpair. The Patarenſes, who have ſubmit-"ted to me, have loſt nothing of their former liberty. It is "in your power to chuſe the opinions of the Patarenſes, or the "fortune of the Xanthians (53)." This epiſtle is likewiſe exhibited by Velleius Paterculus, but in a more diffuſed ſtyle (54). The ſpeech which Brutus made before Cæſar at Nice, the capital of Bithynia, in behalf of Deiotarus king of Galatia, is commended by Cicero (55), and the author of the dialogue on the Latin orators, which is commonly aſcribed to Tacitus. Tho' the king was charged with crimes of a high and dangerous nature, yet the eloquence of Brutus was ſo prevalent, that he preſerved to him great part of his kingdom. The liberty and vehemence with which he ſpoke on this occaſion, gave riſe to that memorable ſaying of Cæſar concerning him, as Cicero relates it in the firſt letter of his fourth book to Atticus: "De "quo quidem ille ad quem diverti, Cæſarem ſolitum dicere, "Magni refert hic quid velit, ſed quidquid volt, valde volt. "Idque eum animadvertiſſe cum pro Deiotaro Niceæ diceret, "valde eum vehementer & libere dicere." And truly the natural firmneſs of his mind, as his hiſtorian obſerves (56), when once ſet on foot by the motives of right reaſon, and the principles of honeſty, which way ſoever it turned itſelf,

(53) Plut. ibid.
(54) Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 70.
(55) Cic. in oratore.
(56) Plut. ibid.

made uſe of by Antony on the ſame occaſion. Such then was the integrity of Brutus's mind, that he could not ſtoop to employ any indecent means even in the purſuit of virtue.

ſelf, moved with great vigor and impetuoſity, and generally effected its deſigns.

Brutus was, as we have obſerved above, a good orator; but, as he had made choice of the conciſe and grave ſtyle (57), he judged Cicero's eloquence to want ſtrength (58); and Cicero on the other hand thought his ſtyle negligent and unconnected (59). Brutus's ſtyle had another fault; it was often crouded with verſes. "Verſus hi fere excidunt," ſays Quintilian, "quos "Brutus ipſo componendi ductus ſtudio ſæpiſſime facit (60)." Cicero acknowledges, that Brutus very freely found fault with his taſte in point of ſtyle (61); but nevertheleſs that orator was highly pleaſed with the harangue which Brutus made on the death of Cæſar; "Eſt autem oratio," ſays he, ſpeaking of this piece, after he had peruſed it with great attention, "ſcripta elegantiſſime, ſententiis, verbis, ut nihil poſſit ul-"tra (62).

Brutus was not only a good orator, but an excellent philoſopher. Of all the ſects of the Greek philoſophers, there was not one of which he had not been a hearer, and in which he had not made ſome proficiency; but he chiefly eſteemed the Platoniſts, and applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the antient academy (63). He was likewiſe well acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and wrote ſeveral books, viz. one de officiis, cited by Chariſius and Priſcian, without all doubt the ſame which Seneca calls περὶ καθήκοντος (64); another, de virtute mentioned by Cicero (65) and Seneca (66); and a third de patientia, quoted by Diomedes. He abridged the Roman hiſtory of Fannius (67), and that of Antipater (68); but whether he finiſhed the abridgment of Polybius's hiſtory, which he had undertaken, we know not; for Plutarch (69) only tells us, that the day before the great battle of Pharſalia, while the others were taken up with the thoughts of the next day's action, Brutus ſpent his whole time, till the evening, in writing that epitome. He likewiſe compoſed a panegyric on Cato, which Cæſar did not think extraordinary well penned (70).

(57) Quintil. l. xii. c. 10. (58) Vide dialog. de cauſis corr. eloq. (59) Auctor de cauſis corr. eloq. (60) Quintil. l. ix. c. 4. (61) Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epiſt. 20. (62) Idem ibid. l. xv. epiſt 1. (63) Plut. in Bruto. (64) Seneca epiſt. 95. (65) Cic. Tuſcul. 1. & de finibus 1. (66) Senec. conſol. ad Helviam, c. 9. (67) Cic. ad Attic. l. xii. epiſt. 5. (68) Idem ibid. l. xiii. epiſt. 8. (69) Plut. ubi ſupra. (70) Cic. ad Attic.

virtue. The death of Cæsar was undoubtedly justifiable under the government which then prevailed in Rome (X), notwithstanding all the dirt that has been thrown at this transaction by the mean and grovelling abettors of arbitrary power. We may see what the Romans, and Tully, the least adventurous of men, thought of this action, by a passage in one of his letters to his friend Atticus, bemoaning the misfortunes of the times; where he says, "But notwithstanding the cloud that hangs over us, I con-
"sole

(X) By the laws of Rome, the dominion of one, and consequently the dominion of Cæsar, was tyranny; and any man was warranted to kill the tyrant: "eum jus fasque esset occidi, neve "ea cædes capitalis noxa haberetur." The only reason that can be alledged against killing Cæsar is, that the state was irretrieveable, and an usurper become a necessary evil. This argument Seneca urges against the enterprize of Brutus and his followers (71). But Brutus, Cicero, and the senate, that is, the greatest and wisest men in Rome, judged otherwise, and who was better quailified to judge? Nay, liberty was for some time actually restored; why it subsisted no longer, was owing to casualties, and to the treachery of Octavianus, who, after he was emperor, thought it possible to resettle the old free state, and proposed once or twice to resign. Drusus, his wife's son, was of the same opinion, and declared his resolution to effect it. Cæsar himself might, by his dictatorial power, have suppressed the insolence of particulars, revived the force of the laws, and reduced the commonwealth to her first principles. This would have been true glory, the only right use of his absolute power, and the only amends for having assumed it; but, instead of this, he continued more and more to debauch the people, and trample upon the most sacred laws of his country. Liberty and the republic were a jest to him; he treated the very name with contempt; "nihil esse rempublicam; appellationem modo sine cor-"pore ac specie (72). He ridiculed Sylla for resigning his usurped power; he had nothing in his head or heart but absolute rule, a diadem, the title of king, and controuling the world according to his lust; "nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit & "dedit, spreto patriæ more;" nay, he would have his very words to go for laws, "debere homines pro legibus habere quæ "dicat (73)." He was therefore lawfully slain, tho' not by the forms of law, which his usurped power had rendered impossible. "Abusus dominatione & jure cæsus existimaretur," says Suetonius (74).

(71) Senec. de benefic. l. ii. c. 26. (72) Suet in Cæs.
(73) Idem ibid. (74) Idem ibid.

" ſole myſelf in the ides of March. Our heroes have " done every thing within their power, and with a re- " ſolution by which they have acquired immortal glory." Nor was the putting the deſtroyer of their conſtitution and liberties to death, by violent hands, without precedent in the Roman hiſtory (Y). And as to the method they made choice of, it appears adequate to the dignity of the action;

(Y) Nor in Brutus's family; for his mother Servilia was of the family of Servilius Ahala, who ſlew Spurius Manlius, as we have related elſewhere, for ſtirring the people up to a rebellion, and aſpiring at the ſovereign power. The famous dictator Quintus Cincinnatus, whoſe general of the horſe he was, commended the zeal of Servilius, and approved of the action (75). Whether Brutus was deſcended from the celebrated Junius Brutus, who expelled Tarquin the Proud, is uncertain. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus maintains, not out of any prejudice to Brutus, that he was not deſcended from him. This, ſays he, is the opinion of thoſe hiſtorians, who have examined the affairs of the Romans with the greateſt exactneſs (76). Dion poſitively affirms, that none of the race of Junius Brutus was left after the execution of his two ſons (77). On the other hand, Plutarch tells us, that Junius Brutus had a great many children by a ſiſter of the Vitellii (78); and adds, upon the authority of the philoſopher Poſidonius, that two indeed of Brutus's ſons, who had attained to man's eſtate, were, by their father's order, put to death; but that a third, yet an infant, was left alive, from whom the family was propagated down to Marcus Brutus. The ſame philoſopher writes, that in his time there were ſeveral famous perſons of the family of M. Brutus, and of his own acquaintance, who very much reſembled the ſtatue of Junius Brutus (79). Cicero likewiſe in his Philippics ſpeaks of our Brutus as deſcended from L. Brutus: " L. Brutus was the man," ſays he, " who both himſelf freed the commonwealth from the " ſovereignty of kings, and has now, almoſt five hundred years " after, propagated deſcendants, famed for the like virtue and " the like atchievement (80.)" And elſewhere (81); " If leaders " were wanting to free our country, I would ſtir up the Brutuſes, " who both daily behold the image of L. Brutus, and one of " them that of Ahala alſo. Should theſe men therefore, de- " ſcended from ſuch anceſtors, aſk counſel of ſtrangers, rather " than

(75) Plut. ibid. & Liv. l. iv. (76) Dio. Hal. l. v. (77) Dio. l. xliv. (78) Plut. in Valerio. (79) Plut in Bruto. (80) Cic. Philip. 1. (81) Idem Philip. 2.

action; for who more proper to compass such an event, than a number of senators distinguished by their attachment to liberty? or what place could be more justly fixed on for the tyrant of Rome to expire in, than that dictatorial chair, which he possessed in violation of the laws of his country? We often see the love of one's country the bent and inclination of very different men, influenced either by passion, acrimony of temper, vanity, resentment, a lust of power, or any other inducement: nor were all those, who joined in that glorious cause, altogether free from such suspicions; for an uniform, steady, constant attachment to the public good was to be met with in Brutus alone. Men generally differ from themselves as much as from one another; Brutus was always the same. If we have dwelt too long in considering the virtues of this great man, the mighty excellence of his character and his inviolable attachment to the public cause may plead our excuse. We are not only indebted to history for the enlargement of our minds, but likewise for the improvement of our moral virtues; and to an Englishman, the foremost of the rank in the pursuit of liberty, who more properly can become the object of contemplation than Brutus, the genius of liberty.

The generosity of Antony, and cowardly spite of Octavianus.

LET us now return to the plains of Philippi. Antony, being informed the next day of the death of Brutus, flew to the place where the body still lay, beheld it with grief and tears, cast his purple mantle of a great value over it, and charged one of his freedmen to take care of the funeral of the illustrious deceased. Some time after, being told that the servant had not burnt the mantle with the corpse, and had detained part of the money which was to be expended in the funeral, he ordered him to be put to death. Octavianus, who had not greatness of soul enough for

" than of their own family, abroad rather than at home?" But after all, Cicero, who speaks here as an orator, and not as an historian, is not a proper evidence to invalidate the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Dion. An orator little cares whether such facts be certain or not; it is enough for him, if the facts he relates be believed by the greater part of the people. Nothing can be with any certainty determined on this head; but, all things well considered, we are inclined to prefer the authority of Dion, and of Dionysius, a most accurate writer, to that of Cicero and Plutarch.

for ſuch generous humanity, could not forbear ſhewing a cowardly ſpite to the dead body of Brutus, before whom he had a little before fled for his life. He cauſed the head of that excellent perſon to be cut off, and charged one of his friends to carry it to Rome, and there lay it ignominiouſly at the feet of Cæſar's ſtatue [p]; but in the paſſage from Dyrrachium, a violent ſtorm ariſing, it was, probably out of ſuperſtition, thrown into the ſea [q]. The reſt of the body was burnt by Antony's orders, and the aſhes conveyed in an urn to Servilia, Brutus's mother. As for Porcia his wife, Valerius Maximus and Nicolaus, the Peripatetic philoſopher, tell us, that being reſolved not to outlive her huſband, but ſo narrowly watched by her friends, that ſhe could neither make uſe of poiſon or a dagger, ſhe ſnatched ſome burning coals out of the fire, and ſhutting them cloſe in her mouth, ſtifled herſelf, and expired in the arms of the women who watched her [r]. But we have a great deal of reaſon to look upon this account as fabulous, ſince Plutarch aſſures us [s], that, in his time, was ſtill extant a letter of Brutus to his friends, wherein he lamented the death of Porcia, and complained of them for ſuffering her to die of melancholy; ſo that the hiſtory of the live-coals, which has been the ſubject of a fine epigram [t], is no better than a fable.

The death of Porcia.

Many of Brutus's men ſubmit to the conquerors.

THE death of Brutus was no ſooner known in his camp, than thoſe who had retired thither, to the number of fourteen thouſand men, ſubmitted upon honourable terms to the two victorious generals. Others fled into the iſland of Thaſus, and from thence eſcaped into Aſia. Antony and Octavianus found in Brutus's camp great ſtore of arms and proviſions, and immenſe ſums of money, which enabled them to ſatisfy immediately ſome of their veterans, whom they diſbanded ſoon after the battle, being glad to get rid of men, who, proud of their victory, began to uſurp an authority even over their generals. By this famous overthrow the triumvirs eſtabliſhed, on the ruins of the republic, the authority they had uſurped, and became maſters of the whole Roman empire, Sicily alone excepted, which was ſtill held by Sextus, the ſon of Pompey the Great; but the oppoſition they met with from him was not very conſiderable, as we ſhall ſee in the following chapter.

CHAP.

[p] Plut. in Anton. & Brut. Appian. l. iv. p. 668. Suet. in Octavio, c. 13. [q] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 356. [r] Plut. in Brut. [s] Idem. ibid. [t] Vide Mart. l. i. epig. 43.

CHAP. XVI.

The Hiſtory of Rome, from the death of Brutus and Caſſius to the perfect ſettling of the empire by Octavianus.

THE firſt days after the battle were ſpent by the triumvirs, in puniſhing ſuch of their enemies, as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Antony, after having reproached Hortenſius with the death of his brother Caius, of whom we have ſpoken above, cauſed him to be ſlain on his tomb. He likewiſe put Varro, an illuſtrious ſenator, to death, who had on all occaſions betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to him, and could not forbear reproaching the triumvir, even when he was in his power, with his debauched and ſcandalous life, which, he ſaid, he would one day end with an unhappy and tragical death. Livius Druſus, the father of that Livia who was afterwards married to Auguſtus, not caring to outlive the liberty of his country, laid violent hands on himſelf in his tent. Quintilius Varus, after having adorned himſelf with all the enſigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, choſe rather to die by the hands of his freedmen, than to be expoſed to the inſults of a mercileſs enemy. Octavianus on this occaſion betrayed a cruelty unworthy of a Roman, which ſome of his flatterers endeavour to excuſe, by aſcribing it, not to the natural bent of his temper, but to the long and tedious indiſpoſition, which had ſoured his humour. However that be, it is certain, that he ſhewed as much cruelty and inſolence after the battle, as he wanted courage in it. We have ſeen above what cowardly ſpite he ſhewed to the body of his deceaſed enemy, which Antony treated with great reſpect and tenderneſs. The mean ſoul of Octavianus was not capable of ſuch generous humanity: he inſulted every illuſtrious captive with bitter words and outrageous invectives, putting them to death without mercy. To one, who earneſtly begged as a particular favour, that he would ſuffer his body to be buried after his death, he anſwered, "that the ravens would ſoon regulate that matter." When a father implored mercy for his ſon, and the ſon for the father, he commanded, with an exceſs of cruelty hardly to be met with in the hiſtory

The triumvirs puniſh their enemies.

The cruelty of Octavianus.

of the moſt barbarous nations, the father and ſon to fight for their lives; this barbarous fight he beheld, beheld unconcerned the ſon to ſtab his father, and then himſelf for having done it. Others tell us, that he obliged the father and ſon to draw lots for their lives, and that the father gave himſelf voluntarily up to execution to ſave his ſon, who, diſdaining to owe his life to the murderer of his father, ſtabbed himſelf in the preſence of the tyrant. Had not therefore the remaining priſoners reaſon, when they were brought before Antony and him, loaded with chains, to ſalute the former with the honourable title of imperator, and the latter with bitter invectives, curſes, and reproaches? Among theſe were the famous M. Favonius, who with the ſword at his throat reproached the mercileſs Octavianus, with all the freedom of a Cynic philoſopher [w] (Z).

The republican party ſtill powerful.

THE triumvirs, having thus glutted their revenge with the blood of many illuſtrious citizens, who on that fatal day fell into their hands, began now to deliberate about the proper meaſures for the eſtabliſhing of their authority, and the utter ſuppreſſion of thoſe who ſtill ſtood up in defence of their antient laws and liberties. For Pompey was ſtill in poſſeſſion of Sicily; Domitius Ahenobarbus and Statius Murcus, Brutus's admirals, commanded two powerful fleets, the former on the coaſts of Macedon, the latter in the Ionian ſea; Caſſius Parmenſis (A), one of the conſpirators, having been left in Aſia by Brutus and Caſſius, with

[w] Vide Suet. in Julio, & Dio. l. xlvii.

(Z) M. Favonius had been always very intimate with Brutus, but nevertheleſs by him left out of the conſpiracy for the following reaſon. As Brutus was diſcourſing one day with him and Statilius, who was by ſect an Epicurean, and propoſing ſome queſtions to be diſputed, with a deſign to diſcover their ſentiments, Favonius declared his judgment to be, that a civil war was worſe than the moſt unjuſt tyranny. Though he had no ſhare in the death of Cæſar, nor approved of the action, yet he joined Brutus, ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity to the laſt, and died with a conſtancy worthy of a Roman ſenator and philoſopher (81).

(A) Caſſius Parmenſis was one of the conſpirators, but ſome time after the battle of Philippi he joined Antony, and ſerved under

(81) Plut. in Bruto.

with a conſiderable fleet and a competent number of forces, to keep the eaſtern provinces in awe, upon the news of Brutus's overthrow and death, reinforced his fleet with thirty Rhodian ſhips, which he manned with Romans, and being joined by Clodius, governor of Rhodes, at the head of three thouſand men, by Lepidus governor of Crete with the garriſon which Brutus had left there, by Clodius, Torulus, young Cicero, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who had fled into Aſia, he gave no ſmall umbrage to the triumvirs. In a private conference therefore between them, it was agreed, that Antony ſhould march into the eaſt and ſettle thoſe provinces, and that Octavianus ſhould lead the old troops into Italy, put them there in poſſeſſion of the lands which had been promiſed them, and to force young Pompey out of a retreat, which ſerved for an aſylum to all the zealous republicans. Before they parted they diſbanded all their veterans, except eight thouſand, after having ſatisfied them in part with the money they had left, and what they found in Brutus's camp. Of the remaining forces Octavianus took with him into Italy four legions and four thou-

ſand under him at the battle of Actium. Upon his defeat he returned to Athens, where he was murdered by Octavianus's orders. He was a native of Parma, and thence called Parmenſis. As that city ſtood within the bounds of antient Hetruria, which extended, as Cluverius ſhews, to the banks of the Po, no wonder that Horace calls him an Hetruſcan (82). He was, in the opinion of that inimitable writer, a great verſifier, but no extraordinary poet. He left ſuch a vaſt heap of writings behind him, that it was pleaſantly ſaid he wanted no other materials for his funeral pile.

——————— Hetruſci
" Quale fuit Caſſi rapido ferventius amni
" Ingenium, capſis quem, fama eſt, eſſe libriſque
" Ambuſtum propriis ——————— (83).

Quintilius Varus, by whom he was aſſaſſinated, is ſaid to have found a tragedy among his papers, intitled Thyeſtes, which he publiſhed as his own. It is at leaſt certain, that Quintilius, having put him to death, ſeized all his writings, among which were ſeveral tragedies, he having a particular talent at that ſort of compoſure. The verſes upon Orpheus, which Achilles Tatius publiſhed under his name, are by the beſt judges thought to be of a later date.

(82) Horat. 1. Sermon. ſatyr. 10. (83) Idem. ibid.

ſand horſe; Antony keeping with him ſix legions and ten thouſand horſe. It was alſo agreed, that Octavianus ſhould yield two of his legions to his collegue, and receive two others in their ſtead belonging to Antony, which had been left in Italy under the command of Calenus, one of Antony's lieutenants [x]. Though the forty-three legions they had in the beginning of the war were by this time reduced to twenty-eight, yet they wanted vaſt ſums to pay five thouſand drachmas to each private man, and reward all the officers in proportion: this was the principal motive of Antony's expedition into Aſia, whither he carried with him for his guard four thouſand veterans, beſides the above-mentioned forces, who were prevailed upon, though the time of their ſervice was expired, to attend him in quality of volunteers, the like number remaining with Octavianus in the ſame quality and poſt [y].

Antony and Octavianus part.

AND now the two conquerors parted, Octavianus taking his rout towards Dyrrachium, in order to return to Italy, and Antony marching into Greece, with a deſign to paſs over from thence into Aſia. Octavianus arrived in a few days march at Dyrrachium, where we ſhall leave him for a while to follow Antony in his memorable, but to him fatal, expedition into the eaſt. After ſo remarkable a victory, which was entirely owing to him (for Octavianus was not preſent in the firſt engagement, and in the ſecond was driven out of the field by the brave Brutus), he muſt needs viſit Greece, as being the country where flattery was managed with moſt delicacy. There laying aſide all majeſty, he took pleaſure in aſſiſting, like a private citizen, at the diſputes of the philoſophers in the ſchools and academies of Athens, in ſeeing the public ſports, and frequenting the religious ceremonies of the Greeks. As he was fond of being ſtyled, "the Lover of "Greece," but above all, "the Lover of Athens," he adminiſtered juſtice there with a great deal of equity, and made very conſiderable preſents to the city, though he was himſelf in great want of money, his military cheſt being almoſt quite drained by the vaſt ſums he and his collegue had diſtributed among the veterans after the battle. Before he left Attica he cauſed an exact ſurvey to be made of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he deſigned to repair it; but he dropt that project on his arrival in Aſia, whither he marched with all his forces, leaving Lucius Cenſorinus, one of his lieutenants to govern

The obliging behaviour of Antony to the Greeks.

[x] Appian. ibid. p. 672, 673. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 358. [y] Appian. ibid. Liv. l. cxxv. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 74. Plut. in Anton. Dio. ibid. p. 357, 358.

govern Greece in his abſence. In Aſia all the kings and princes, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to make their court to him, many of them bringing with them their wives and daughters, to gain the triumvir's favour by their charms. The queens rivalled one another, who ſhould make him the moſt magnificent preſent, or appear moſt charming in his eyes. This croud of ſovereigns, who daily attended his levee and waited upon him where-ever he went, with their praiſes and ſubmiſſions, moſt agreeably ſoothed his ambitious and voluptuous temper; but nothing pleaſed him ſo much as the reception he met with at Epheſus. There the women went out to meet him in the habit they uſed to wear when they ſolemnized the feaſts of Bacchus, and the men and boys dreſt like ſatyrs and fauns. Nothing was to be ſeen throughout the town but ſpears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and hautboys, while they ſtyled Antony in their ſongs, "Bacchus the Gracious and the Gentle;" and ſo indeed he was to ſome, but others he treated with great inhumanity. He pardoned all thoſe of Brutus's party, who ſurrendered themſelves to him, except Petronius, who was one of the conſpirators, and Quintus, who was charged with betraying Dolabella to Caſſius in Laodicea. But then he ſtript ſeveral rich citizens of their eſtates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons, who often begged and obtained the eſtates of men yet living and in perfect health, making Antony, to whom they alone had acceſs, believe they were dead. Thus one of his cooks having dreſſed him a ſupper to his taſte, begged and obtained as his reward the fine houſe of a wealthy citizen of Magneſia. But as the chief buſineſs, which had brought him into Aſia, was the raiſing of the neceſſary ſums for the ſatisfying of the victorious legions, he ſummoned the deputies of all the ſubjects and allies of Rome in thoſe parts to meet at Epheſus, and there, after having reproached them with aſſiſting Brutus and Caſſius, notwithſtanding the kindneſs Cæſar had ſhewn them, he acquainted them with the great promiſes he and his collegue had made to their twenty-eight conquering legions, amounting in all to an hundred and fifty thouſand men and upwards, and then concluded thus: "You "may judge of the ſums we want from the number of our "ſoldiers, and the promiſes we have made them. This has "obliged my collegue to go into Italy, where he has taken "upon him to reward them with lands and houſes, from "which he will be obliged to drive out the antient proprie-"tors. But as for you I will treat you with more humanity, "being unwilling to deprive you of your inheritances, or

In Aſia he is courted by kings, princes, &c.

His behaviour towards the Aſiatics.

His ſpeech to the deputies of the Aſiatic cities.

" drive you from the temples and ſepulchres of your forefa-
" thers. As you would needs run the fortune of our enemies
" in war; now that the gods have been pleaſed to grant the
" victory, not according to your wiſhes, but their own
" juſtice, we ought to treat you as the allies, or rather as
" the accomplices of our foes, and inflict upon you ſome
" exemplary puniſhment. But, as the laws of humanity
" will not always allow the puniſhments to be proportionable
" to the crimes, inſtead of other penalties, we ſhall content
" ourſelves with a ſum of money, the ſame you gave our
" enemies, ten years tribute: but as you paid it to them in
" two years time, we require it in one. This is the only
" puniſhment we intend to inflict upon you, which we ſhould
" very readily forgive, were not our exigencies very preſſing."
At theſe words the deputies threw themſelves at Antony's feet, remonſtrating with tears in their eyes, that their aſſiſting Brutus and Caſſius could not be laid to their charge as a crime, ſince they had been forced to it by ſuch cruel uſage, as made them rather objects of pity than puniſhment; and that as to the ſums which were demanded of them, it was not in their power to raiſe them, ſince Brutus and Caſſius had ſtript them, not only of all their gold and ſilver in ſpecie, but likewiſe of their plate, the furniture of their houſes, and of all the ornaments of their cities and temples. As Antony continued inflexible, Hybreas, an orator and agent for ſome of the Aſiatic cities, riſing up, " ſince you are determined,
" ſaid he, to double our taxes, pray take care that our ſum-
" mers and autumns be doubled too; otherwiſe we ſhall
" never be able to ſatisfy your demands." This liberty of ſpeech did not diſpleaſe Antony (B), who, as Plutarch tells us,

(B) The ſame Hybreas ſome time after told Antony, when he required more money; " Aſia has already furniſhed two hundred
" thouſand talents for your ſervice; if the money did not come
" to your hands, call thoſe to an account who levied it; but if
" it did, and you have already ſpent that ſum, we are all undone."
Theſe words, ſays Plutarch, touched Antony to the quick; for many things were done in his name, of which he was quite ignorant; not that he was by nature eaſily impoſed upon, but becauſe he repoſed too great confidence in the integrity of thoſe he employed. He was naturally very ſincere, but ſomewhat ſlow of apprehenſion; but as ſoon as he was made ſenſible of his faults, he was much troubled, and ready to aſk pardon of thoſe he had offended. He loved raillery, but was as well contented to be handſomely rallied, as he was pleaſed to rally others. This free-

dom

us, was as well contented to be handſomely rallied, as he was delighted in rallying others. The deputies prevailed at length, but with much ado, upon the triumvir, to be contented with the tribute of nine years to be paid in two [z]: ſo that all the princes, kings, and free ſtates of Aſia, were obliged to lay heavy taxes on their ſubjects for the payment of this ſum, which reduced them, after the exorbitant taxes with which Caſſius had loaded them, almoſt to a ſtate of beggary [a]. After this, Antony took a progreſs through the provinces of Aſia, giving every-where extraordinary demonſtrations of generoſity and good-nature. He pardoned Lucius, brother to Caſſius, and ſeveral others of the adverſe party, who upon the fame of his clemency, flocked to him from all quarters: but he continued implacable to thoſe who had any hand in the death of Cæſar. The Xanthians he freed from all tribute, and perſuaded them to rebuild their city. To the Rhodians, whom Caſſius had treated with great ſeverity, he gave the iſlands of Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus. The inhabitants of Tarſus and Laodicea he likewiſe exempted from all taxes. Neither was he unmindful of the Athenians, to whom he granted the iſlands of Ægina, Teos, Cea, Sciathus, and Peparethus [b]: ſo that the whole weight of the exorbitant contributions, amounting to two hundred thouſand talents, fell upon the inhabitants of Aſia, properly ſo called, of Syria, Phrygia, Myſia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Paleſtine. As he wanted ready money to pay his ſoldiers, while the tax was raiſing, he ſent all his horſe to Palmyra or Tadmor to take the plunder of that rich city, inſtead of their pay; but the inhabitants, having timely notice of the deſign, removed before their arrival, their families and effects to the other ſide of the Euphrates; ſo that the triumvir's cavalry returned empty. On their retreat the Palmyrenians returned to their habitations,

The Aſiatics loaded with heavy taxes.

His generoſity.

[z] Plut. in Anton. Appian. l. v. p. 673, 674. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid. p. 675.

dom had, as Plutarch obſerves, it's inconvenience; for he imagined, that thoſe friends, who uſed ſo much liberty in their mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any buſineſs of conſequence, not perceiving, that theſe ſubtle paraſites diſguiſed their flattery to make it go down the better. Upon examining any difficulty, they contrived matters ſo as not to ſeem to yield to him out of complaiſance, but becauſe his underſtanding was ſuperior to theirs (84).

(84) Plut. in Anton.

habitations, but, being exaſperated by this cruel uſage, put themſelves under the protection of the Parthians, which gave occaſion to the ſecond Parthian war[c].

He ſummons Cleopatra to give an account of her conduct.

ANTONY arriving in Cilicia, diſpatched from thence Dellius into Egypt, to ſummon Cleopatra to appear before him, and give him an account of her conduct during the war. For though ſhe had aſſiſted Dolabella, yet Serapion, her lieutenant in Cyprus, had joined Brutus and Caſſius, which the triumvirs had taken much amiſs, conſidering what ſhe owed to the memory of Cæſar. Dellius, who was ſent on this meſſage, was a famous hiſtorian and a man of great wit and learning, but of no principles, being one of thoſe who have always a baſe compliance for the inclinations of their maſters (C). As he was well acquainted with Antony's temper, after a ſhort converſation with the queen, he eaſily judged with what ſentiments a woman of her beauty, wit, addreſs, and ſprightly converſation would inſpire him; and therefore encouraged her to go in perſon into Cilicia, aſſuring her, that Antony, who was a brave and amorous ſoldier, would receive her with all the reſpect due to perſons of her high ſtation, extraordinary merit, and wonderful qualifications. She had great faith in the words of Dellius; but her chief dependence was in her own beauty; and indeed never had beauty been ſignalized by more illuſtrious conqueſts:

[c] Appian. ibid.

(C) Quintus Dellius wrote in Greek an account of Antony's unſucceſsful expedition againſt the Parthians, in which he attended him and had a chief command. He was one of Horace's moſt intimate friends, who addreſſed to him the third ode of his ſecond book, containing the ſoundeſt principles of the Epicurean philoſophy. He was a man of great wit and learning, but of a very bad character. Meſſala Corvinus uſed to call him deſultorem bellorum civilium, that is, the vaulter of the civil wars. For he left Dolabella to ſide with Caſſius, then quitted Caſſius to join Antony, and at laſt abandoned Antony to take party with Octavianus. During his ſtay at the court of Egypt, the fair queen captivated his heart, and is ſaid not to have been diſpleaſed with the addreſſes of a man of his fine genius. In the time of Seneca ſeveral letters of his to that queen were handed about, written with too much familiarity (85).

(85) Vide Senec. l. i. de clementia. c. 10 & M. Senec. ſuaſ. 1. Strabo, l. xi, & Lipſ. ad. 1. Annal. Tacit.

conqueſts: ſhe had captivated the heart of Julius Cæſar, of Pompey's eldeſt ſon, and formerly of Antony himſelf, when he ſerved under Gabinius, governor of Syria; and this when ſhe was young and ignorant in the arts of love; whereas ſhe was now to meet him in the flower of her age, with all the charms of beauty, and all the artifice of riper years. But what above all inſpired her with certain confidence of rekindling the flame in Antony's heart was, the quickneſs of her wit; for though there were ſome at Rome who rivalled her in beauty, none was to compare to her in the agreeableneſs of her converſation, and in a certain natural grace and ſweetneſs, which appeared in every thing ſhe ſaid or did, and made a deep impreſſion on all who heard her. In ſhort, the charms of her converſation were irreſiſtible, and the very tone of her voice ſo harmonious, that no inſtrument was capable of a greater variety of ſounds, and of equally ſoothing the ears of the hearers. Beſides, ſhe expreſſed herſelf with ſo much eaſe, and in ſo many different languages, that ſhe was looked upon by all as a prodigy. The moſt barbarous nations heard her with aſtoniſhment anſwer their embaſſadors without an interpreter. She underſtood, beſides many others, the Æthiopian, the Troglodite, the Hebrew, the Arabian, Syrian, Median, and Parthian tongues; which was the more wonderful in her, conſidering, that moſt of the kings, her predeceſſors, had not been able to learn the Egyptian tongue, and ſeveral of them had forgot the Macedonian, their original language [d]. The confidence ſhe placed in theſe extraordinary accompliſhments encouraged her more than the words of Dellius, or her own beauty, to appear before Antony. She made great preparations for her journey, taking with her vaſt ſums of money, and all the jewels, plate, and rich ornaments of the Egyptian kings. Many were the letters ſhe received from Antony, haſtening her coming; but ſhe ſeemed to make no account of his orders. At length ſhe ſet out, and arriving at the mouth of the river Cydnus, ſhe embarqued on a ſmall galley, and appeared before Antony at Tarſus in Cilicia, in the fantaſtical manner which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of Egypt [e]. The triumvir was ſo taken with the charms of her perſon, the quickneſs of her wit, and the agreeableneſs

Her charms.

She arrives at Tarſus in Cilicia.

of

[d] Plut. in Anton. Joſeph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. Appian. l. v. p. 673. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 371.

[e] Vide Hiſt. Univerſal. Vol. IX. p. 290.

of her converſation, that from the firſt day he conceived a paſſion for her, which occaſioned all the future misfortunes of his life. He was never after the ſame man, but wholly taken up with the thoughts of the beautiful Cleopatra, he neglected all other buſineſs, and followed her into Egypt, ſpending there the whole enſuing winter with her in a moſt ſcandalous converſation, well ſuited to his vicious temper, but highly unbecoming a man of his age and character [f].

And captivates Antony.

WHILE Antony was thus wallowing in pleaſures with his beloved Cleopatra in Egypt, his collegue was wholly taken up in ſettling the affairs of Italy, and dividing the promiſed lands among the veterans. Having imbarqued his troops at Dyrrachium, he croſſed the Adriatic gulf, without meeting with any of the enemy's fleets, and landed at Brunduſium; where he was taken ſo ill, that his phyſicians gave him over, and the news of his death was immediately ſpread all over Italy, and differently received according to the different inclinations of the people. Moſt of the ſenators looked upon this report as one of his uſual tricks to diſcover their intentions and real ſentiments; and therefore by a decree of the ſenate prayers and ſacrifices were offered up to the gods for his recovery, which ſoon followed by the favour of his native air and the vigor of his youth. As ſoon as he was in a condition to bear the fatigues of the journey he ſet out for Rome, where he was received with loud acclamations, eſpecially by the populace. Some time before his arrival the faſces had been transferred from Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus to L. Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, and P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus; but Fulvia, Antony's wife, a woman of a manly ſpirit and an unbounded ambition, had gained the aſcendant over the new conſuls, and governed Rome with an abſolute ſway. This Octavianus could not bear; and hence the mutual jealouſies and diſtruſts between her and the young triumvir, which at length kindled a war in the very bowels of Italy. Octavianus met with many, almoſt inſurmountable, difficulties in the diſtribution of the promiſed lands. As the public treaſury was quite exhauſted, he could not content the ſoldiery without giving up to them the ſeveral towns which he had promiſed them by way of reward after the victory; and this he was well appriſed would provoke the people. Moſt of the inhabitants of thoſe unhappy towns flocked daily in great multitudes to Rome: vaſt numbers of women with children

Octavianus greatly indiſpoſed.

Jealouſies at Rome between him and Fulvia.

[f] Plut. Appian. Dio. ibid. Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. ubi. ſupra.

children in their arms, whoſe tender years and innocence moved even the triumvir's friends to compaſſion, daily filled the temples and public places with their cries and lamentations. The people on this occaſion talked with a great deal of freedom and boldneſs; This war ſaid they, "has been undertaken not for the public good, but for the "private views of the triumvirs, who, ſince they have reap-"ed the advantage of it, ought to bear all the charges, "and not ſatisfy their ſoldiers at the expence of ſo many "diſtreſſed families." Octavianus heard and patiently bore theſe complaints, with a diſſimulation peculiar to himſelf. Unwilling to give occaſion to freſh diſturbances, he borrowed what money he could; but finding he could not raiſe the ſufficient ſums to ſatisfy his ſoldiers, he broke through all difficulties, and, purſuant to his firſt deſign, allotted them the lands for their inheritance which he had promiſed in the beginning of the war. Cremona a city greatly attached to the intereſt of Brutus, ſuffered moſt in this iniquitous diſtribution, and Mantua, which was but too near to a place abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable ſoldiery, had more than her ſhare in theſe misfortunes, The prince of the Latin poets had like to have periſhed on this occaſion, by the hand of a centurion, named Arrius, who purſued him with his drawn ſword, for daring to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion of his ſmall eſtate on the banks of the Mincius; and would have deprived the world of the greateſt poet Italy ever produced, had he not happily eſcaped the fury of the enraged centurion by ſwimming croſs the river. This very adventure ſeems to have moſt of all contributed to the reputation and good fortune of that divine and inimitable writer; for it put him upon going to Rome, where his extraordinary talents being known to Mæcenas and Aſinius Pollio, he obtained by their intereſt the reſtitution of his farm, which is the ſubject of that excellent eclogue, the firſt of his Bucolics, he being then about twenty-eight years of age.

The prince of the Latin poets in great danger.

Octavianus meets with great difficulties in the diſtribution of the lands.

Octavianus himſelf was expoſed to great dangers in this extremely nice and difficult undertaking, the ſoldiery and people being equally exaſperated againſt him. Few of the veterans were ſatisfied with the portion of the lands allotted to them; Antony's ſoldiers taxed Octavianus with partiality, as if he aſſigned the beſt lands to his own men and the worſt to them. Fulvia did not fail to improve theſe diſcontents; and being ſeconded by the conſul Lucius, her brother-in-law, whom ſhe eaſily gained over to her intereſt,

ſhe

ſhe left nothing unattempted to fire both the ſoldiers and people againſt one, who ſhe well ſaw, was engroſſing all the power to himſelf. And indeed ſhe was attended therein with good ſucceſs, as plainly appeared from the two following accidents. A private ſoldier having taken place among the knights at a public ſhew, Octavianus ordered an officer to drive him from thence; hereupon a report being ſpread, by the triumvir's enemies, that the ſoldier had been aſſaſſinated by his orders, as ſoon as the ſports were over, they all crouded round him, demanding with threatenings to ſee their comrade. Octavianus cauſed him immediately to be ſought for and brought before them; when the ſoldier declared, that he had not received the leaſt hurt or ill uſage: the mutinous troops were not eaſily prevailed upon to believe him, as if they had been incenſed againſt him for depriving them of ſo ſpecious a prence to murder their general. The other accident ſhews ſtill more plainly, to what a degree Fulvia and Lucius had eſtranged the minds of the ſoldiers from their general. He had appointed a day for his ſoldiers to meet in the field of Mars, in order to proceed to the diſtribution of the lands. The legionaries aſſembled accordingly, at the time agreed on, but Octavianus not coming as ſoon as they expected, they began to mutiny and ſpeak of their general with great diſreſpect; upon which Nonnius, one of the tribunes, ventured to remind them of their duty, and chide them for the indecency of their carriage. But the inſolent ſoldiery firſt rallied the zealous officer as a mercenary ſycophant, and then inſulted him in a moſt outrageous manner; inſomuch, that he was forced to ſave himſelf by flight from their fury, and throw himſelf, finding no other means to eſcape, into the Tiber, where he was drowned. The mutineers drew the body out of the river, and expoſed it on the way which led to the field of Mars, that Octavianus might ſee it, and learn what might be his own fate, if he provoked their reſentment. Octavianus, though acquainted with this diſorder, went, contrary to the advice of his friends, to the field of Mars, and only turning away his eyes from the dead body as he paſſed by it, appeared in the midſt of the aſſembly with an affected calmneſs and tranquillity. He artfully pretended to believe, that Nonnius had been killed in a quarrel by ſome private enemy, and, after having exhorted his ſoldiers not to carry their reſentment another time to ſuch extremities, without taking any further notice of ſuch a notorious breach of the military laws, he proceeded to the diſtribution of the lands, extending his liberality even to thoſe who

His ſoldiers mutiny.

His addreſs in quelling the mutiny.

who had loſt their lives in the battle of Philippi, on whoſe wives and children he beſtowed that portion, which would have fallen to their lot. This falſe and iniquitous generoſity, for he gave nothing of his own, but only what he had with the utmoſt injuſtice taken from the lawful owners, had ſo good an effect on the minds of the undiſcerning multitude, that they demanded the authors of Nonnius's death might be brought to condign puniſhment. The crafty general anſwered, that they would be ſufficiently puniſhed by the reproaches of their own conſcience, and the remorſe which ever attends wicked actions [g].

He divorces Clodia the daughter of Fulvia.

OCTAVIANUS, having thus regained the affections of his ſoldiers, and being no longer able to bear the haughty and imperious behaviour of Fulvia, divorced her daughter Clodia, after having ſolemnly declared upon oath, that for him ſhe was ſtill a virgin. This was touching the proud Fulvia in the moſt ſenſible part: ſhe reſolved thenceforth to keep no meaſures with Octavianus, and accordingly began openly to encourage the veterans, who had ſerved under her huſband, to take arms againſt his ungrateful collegue, who, though he had no ways contributed to the victory, was now reaping all the advantage of it, with a view to engroſs the whole power to himſelf, and exclude Antony, to whoſe valour the victory was entirely owing, from any ſhare in the adminiſtration. She appeared in all the aſſemblies of the people with the children ſhe had by Antony, and there made bitter complaints of the cruel uſage ſhe pretended they had received from one, who ought, with all the tenderneſs of a father, to have protected them againſt the inſults of their enemies. Lucius, her brother-in-law, joined her, giving out every-where, that Octavianus had nothing elſe in view but to enſlave Italy, deprive his collegue of all power, and make both the ſenate and people of Rome ſubſervient to his will. He pretended to act by the direction of, and in concert with, his brother, whoſe chief and main concern, he ſaid, was to preſerve the republic from the tyranny of the proud, crafty, and ambitious Octavianus. This diſagreement between the young triumvir on one ſide, and Lucius and Fulvia on the other, gave riſe to two different factions, and rent the republic anew into parties. The veterans, who had ſerved under Antony, and ſuch of the Italians, as had been driven from their antient inheritances, ſided with Fulvia and Lucius. The friends of the late dictator, and thoſe legionaries, who were ſatisfied with the lands

The republic rent anew into two factions.

[g] Appian. Dio. ibid.

lands fallen to their ſhare, took party with Octavianus: ſo that all Italy was in a flame, and threatened with a new war ready to break out within the very walls of Rome, where horrible diſorders and cruel murders were daily committed, by the inſolent populace and ungovernable ſoldiery of the two oppoſite factions. To complete the misfortunes of Rome and Italy, a famine began to be felt all over the country, great part of the lands lying uncultivated ever ſince the beginning of the civil war, the ſeas being beſet with the enemy's fleets, and Sextus Pompeius holding Sicily, whence the continent, and eſpecially the capital, was ſupplied with corn. In this diſtreſs Octavianus would fain have made up matters with Fulvia in an amicable manner; but ſhe would hearken only to the dictates of her own reſentment and the inſinuations of Manius, her husband's agent, who aſſured her, that nothing but a war could force Antony from the arms of Cleopatra, and bring him into Italy. Fulvia followed the pernicious advice of Manius, and, abandoning Rome, retired to Prænefte, a city which had declared for her. There, forgetting her ſex, ſhe appeared with an helmet on her head and a ſword by her ſide, aſſembled ſome legions, harangued them, gave the parole, and performed all functions of a general. Octavianus, fearing young Pompey might take advantage of the miſunderſtanding between him and Fulvia, ſent a deputation to the camp of Prænefte, exhorting the female general and her brother-in-law, who, tho' conſul, ſerved in a manner as her ſubaltern, to lay aſide all animoſities, and act in concert againſt their common enemies. The deputies, who were all of the ſenatorial order and common friends to the triumvirs, would have prevailed on Lucius to hearken to an accommodation, had he not been diverted from it by the implacable Fulvia and by Manius, whom Antony had appointed to manage his affairs in Rome, during his abſence. He in a ſtudied ſpeech accuſed Octavianus of unfair dealing with reſpect to Antony, as if he deſigned to ingroſs the whole power of the triumvirate to himſelf, and reduce his collegue to the ſtate of a private man, tho' the victory they had gained in the plains of Philipi was entirely owing to his valour: "And what other view," ſaid he, "can the ambitious "youth have in rewarding, as he has done, with lands and "poſſeſſions thirty-four legions inſtead of twenty-eight? "His only aim is to form a ſtrong party for himſelf, at the "expence of innumerable unhappy wretches, who have "been driven from their inheritances to make room for his "private friends and partiſans, who had no ſhare in the late "war,

Fulvia retires from Rome, and forms a camp at Prænefte.

Manius's ſpeech againſt Octavianus.

" war, and consequently no claim to rewards of any kind:
" for their sake he has over-run and plundered all Italy, not
" sparing even the temples of the gods. He is now raising
" troops under pretence of making war upon Pompey; but
" it is manifest, he has something else in view, which ought
" to give us umbrage, since, in the present situation of
" affairs, that expedition cannot so much as be thought of for
" want of provisions and shipping. His real purpose is with-
" out all doubt to make himself formidable and usurp a
" tyrannical power, not only over the people and senate,
" but even over his collegues. If therefore he is sincerely
" disposed to peace, let him disband his troops, give an ac-
" count of the immense sums which have passed through his
" hands, and for the future act in concert with those who
" have nothing in view but the public good [h].

Both parties prepare for war.

OCTAVIANUS, upon the report of his deputies finding a war unavoidable, began to draw together his legions, as did likewise Lucius and Fulvia. In the mean time, several manifestos and declarations were published by the opposite parties, and some very sharp letters passed between Lucius and Octavianus. The latter, seeing many of the veterans take party with his enemies, dispatched an express to Salvidienus, whom he had appointed his lieutenant in Spain, ordering him to hasten into Italy with the six legions under his command. Salvidienus, who had not yet reached his province, immediately turned back, repassed the Alps, and advanced with incredible expedition into Cisalpine Gaul to join Octavianus, who had left the capital and was assembling his forces in that province. Caius Asinius Pollio and Publius Ventidius, two of Lucius's lieutenants, who were encamped at the foot of the Alps, followed Salvidienus, haraffing him on his march, and cutting off his convoys, by which means they reduced him to great streights. At the same time, Lucius, having assembled a considerable body of troops, advanced to meet Salvidienus and attack him in front, while his two lieutenants fell upon his rear. By this means, Octavianus's lieutenant must inevitably have been cut off with all his men, had not Vipsanius Agrippa with a choice body of veterans come seasonably to his relief, and, posting himself between him and Lucius, attacked the city of Sutrium. As the inhabitants of that place had signalized

Salvidienus one of Octavianus's lieutenants rescued out of danger by Agrippa.

[h] Appian ibid. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 359, 360. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 74. Suet. in Octav. c. 62.

nalized their attachment to the intereſt of Lucius, he flew to their aſſiſtance, which gave Salvidienus an opportunity of joining Agrippa, and ſeizing with him, after he had taken Sutrium by aſſault, all the paſſes and defiles leading to the two camps of Pollio and Ventidius. Lucius, after having attempted in vain to open himſelf a way ſword in hand, reſolved to retire into the city of Peruſia, and wait there, as in a place of ſafety, for the arrival of his two lieutenants. But Agrippa and Salvidienus, following him cloſe, inveſted the place, before he had time to reflect on the danger, to which he expoſed himſelf and his troops. Octavianus was no ſooner informed of the bad ſituation of Lucius, than he flew to Peruſia, and in concert with his two lieutenants carried on the ſiege with great vigor; but as he found it impoſſible to take by aſſault ſo ſtrong a place, garriſoned by a whole army, he reſolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view ſurrounded it with a line of circumvallation fifty-ſix furlongs in compaſs. From his camp he drew lines quite to the Tiber, which he ſtrengthened with ramparts, and flanked with towers at equal diſtances, that is, about ſixty foot from one another. Theſe towers he filled with archers, ſlingers, and all ſorts of engines to prevent the enemy from receiving any convoys by water. Lucius on his ſide was continually haraſſing the workmen and the legions that covered them with briſk ſallies, in which his men, who were for the moſt part gladiators, had all the advantage. In one of theſe ſallies Octavianus himſelf narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. In the mean time, Fulvia detached from her camp at Præneſte L. Munatius Plancus with a numerous body of choſen troops, ordering him to join Ventidius and Pollio, and with their united forces oblige the enemy either to venture a battle, or raiſe the ſiege. Plancus, in ſpite of Agrippa and Salvidienus, whom Octavianus detached againſt him, joined Ventidius and Pollio, and together with them advanced as far as Fulginium, within an hundred and ſixty furlongs of Peruſia. Lucius was overjoyed at their approach, which they took care to ſignify to him by fires in the night and other ſignals. He did not in the leaſt doubt, but they would exert their utmoſt endeavours, and make ſome great puſh for his relief. And ſuch indeed was their deſign; but Plancus, after having viewed the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, declared, that they could not attempt the relief of the place without expoſing their troops, for which they were reſponſible to Antony, to the greateſt dangers. His opinion prevailed

Lucius Antonius beſieged in Peruſia.

Lucius's generals deſpair of relieving him.

vailed, and as none of them approved of Lucius's conduct, who had thus raſhly engaged in a war without his brother's knowledge, they retired, leaving their general and his troops in the utmoſt deſpair. As the beſieged were already reduced to the greateſt extremity for want of proviſions, they made a deſperate ſally, but were driven back into the city, after having fought with unparallelled bravery from nine at night till the next morning. Lucius, being determined to hold out to the laſt, took an inventory of all the proviſions in the place, which he daily meaſured out ſparingly to the ſoldiers and inhabitants of free condition, but allowed none to the ſlaves and ſervants of the army, though he kept them at the ſame time within the city, and had them narrowly watched, leſt they ſhould acquaint the enemy with the miſerable condition to which the garriſon was reduced. This was ſentencing an infinite number of innocent men to a moſt cruel death; a piece of inhumanity hardly to be matched in hiſtory! The unhappy wretches, reduced to this deſperate condition, wandered about the works in queſt of herbs, graſs, and roots, ſome of them even feeding upon their own ordure and the fleſh of their dead companions. At length the ſoldiers themſelves, no longer able to bear the famine, with which they were daily more and more pinched, begged leave of Lucius to make a general ſally, chuſing rather to die, like brave men, ſword in hand, than to live under the miſeries they endured. The general approved of their choice; telling them, that they had nothing to depend upon but their own valour, and that in their preſent circumſtances they muſt either conquer or die. They reſolved therefore to make a deſperate puſh, and ſally out by break of day, to avoid the diſorders that might happen in the dark. Accordingly, having firſt provided a great number of ſpades, hooks, ſcaling ladders, and all ſorts of neceſſary tools to break down the wall, with which Octavianus had incloſed the city, as ſoon as day began to appear, they ruſhed out like famiſhed tygers, cut in pieces the enemy's advanced guards, filled the ditch in an inſtant, plucked up the paliſades, and began to undermine the wall, while the rolling towers, which they had prepared for that purpoſe, and filled with archers and dart-men, diſcharged ſhowers of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The ground was immediately covered with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but groans and cries of dying men. Octavianus's ſoldiers made a dreadful havock of the aggreſſors, their ma-

The cruelty of Lucius towards the ſlaves.

The garriſon reduced to great ſtreights, make a deſperate ſally.

chines playing inceſſantly upon them from the ramparts, and overwhelming them with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, &c. But though many of them fell, the reſt, not ſo much afraid of death as of famine, continued fighting with an amazing reſolution, and climbing up the wall, in ſpite of all oppoſition, drove the enemy from their poſts. The diſpute continued many hours with an obſtinacy and fury hardly to be expreſſed, and Lucius's men, though they fought with all the diſadvantage imaginable, would have gained a complete victory, had the forces been equal; but Octavianus's troops being far more numerous, and conſtantly relieved with freſh ſupplies, the beſieged, weakened with hunger, overpowered with numbers, and quite ſpent with the length of the combat, were in the end driven from off the wall. Theſe gallant men, though ſtunned with their fall, ſtill ſtrove to climb up again, encouraging with their words and geſtures their companions, who had not yet given ground. At length Lucius, ſurpriſed at ſuch extraordinary valour and fidelity, and knowing that their courage only ſerved to deſtroy them, commanded a retreat to be ſounded. Hereupon Octavianus's men gave loud ſhouts of joy, ſtriking, according to the cuſtom of the Romans, when they had gained a victory, their ſwords againſt their bucklers. This thoſe brave men looked upon as an inſult, and therefore getting together the few ladders that remained, they returned to the charge with new fury; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, and not without tears, that Lucius prevailed upon them to retreat. Octavianus that night doubled his guards, and diſpoſed ſeveral bodies of troops on the ramparts in ſuch a manner, that they could eaſily relieve each other in caſe of a ſudden attack, which he apprehended [i].

Their gallant behaviour.

Lucius reſolves to capitulate.

LUCIUS, finding himſelf reduced to the utmoſt extremity without any hopes of relief, reſolved at length to capitulate, and by that means ſave the lives of ſo many brave men. Accordingly he diſpatched three of the chief officers of his army to treat with Octavianus in his name. The crafty general received the deputies in a very polite and obliging manner, and returned this anſwer to their propoſals, that he willingly pardoned all thoſe who had ſerved under Antony againſt the murderers of his father; but as for the others, he inſiſted upon their ſurrendering at diſcretion. Thus he ſpoke to the deputies in common, but afterwards

[i] Appian. Dio. ibid.

afterwards taking Furnius, one of them, aſide, he told him, that he intended to extend his mercy to the whole army, a few only excepted, who out of hatred to him had been the occaſion of all theſe diſorders. Upon the report of the deputies many illuſtrious Romans, who had been always declared enemies to the triumvirate, fearing to fall into the hands of Octavianus, with whoſe cruel and inhuman temper they were well acquainted, exhorted Lucius to inſiſt on the ſafety of all, and not to ſurrender upon any other terms. Lucius touched with compaſſion for ſo many brave men, whom he well knew Octavianus, if it were left to him, would ſacrifice to his revenge, reſolved to go out in perſon, and putting himſelf into the young conqueror's hands, intercede for his unhappy followers. Octavianus received him with great marks of eſteem and affection, and promiſed, out of the regard he owed to him and his brother, impunity to all who had taken part with him, on condition they ſurrendered without further reſiſtance, and put him in poſſeſſion of the city. Lucius, depending on Octavianus's promiſe, ordered his men to march out the next day, and acknowledge the young conqueror for their general; which they did accordingly, and were incorporated into his troops. As for the inhabitants of Peruſia, who had ſhewn an inviolable attachment to Lucius, he ordered thoſe who compoſed the ſenate or council of the city, to be brought before him in chains, and ſentenced them all to die, contrary to the articles of agreement and the promiſe he had made. Some of thoſe unhappy men pleaded innocence, others begged mercy; but they had all one and the ſame anſwer, "Moriendum eſt, You muſt all die." Accordingly, they were, to the number of three hundred, by his orders carried in chains to an altar raiſed to Julius Cæſar, and there inhumanly butchered, as victims to his manes, on the ides of March, the anniverſary of his death. With them were ſacrificed by the barbarous tyrant, Caius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and Canutius, three illuſtrious ſenators of Rome, and zealous defenders of their antient liberties. The city itſelf he delivered up to the luſt and plunder of his ſoldiers; but one Ceſtius, ſurnamed Macedonicus from his having ſerved a long time in Macedon, not caring to out-live the ruin of his country and the miſeries of his fellow-citizens, by ſetting fire to his own houſe, occaſioned the total deſtruction of that antient and once powerful city. For, an high wind ariſing, the flames ſpread from houſe to houſe, and burnt with ſuch violence, that in a very ſhort

Goes in perſon to treat with Octavianus.

The barbarous cruelty of Octavianus.

Perusia reduced to aſhes.

time the whole city was laid in aſhes. Such was the end of this unhappy war, commonly called "the war of Pe-"rusia." As for Pollio, Ventidius, Plancus, and the other commanders of Antony, tho' they had ſtill thirteen legions and fifteen hundred horſe, they all withdrew, and took refuge in the maritime cities, waiting there for ſuccours from Antony; but Octavianus purſuing them, Aſinius Pollio went on board the fleet commanded by Domitius Ahenobarbus, Brutus's admiral, carrying with him ſeven legions. Plancus, being purſued cloſe by Agrippa, abandoned the two legions he commanded, and went to join Fulvia at Prænesſte. The legions went over to Agrippa, but Plancus together with Fulvia fled from Prænesſte to Puteoli, and from thence to Brunduſium, where they both embarqued and paſſed over into Macedon. The other commanders made their eſcape into Sicily, where they were kindly received by Sextus Pompeius, who, had he not been of a ſlothful and indolent temper, might have improved theſe diviſions to his advantage, and with great eaſe made himſelf maſter of all Italy. For Statius Murcus, falling out with Domitius Ahenobarbus, the other republican admiral, had joined him with two complete legions and twenty-four ſhips, carrying with him immenſe ſums, which he had extorted from the maritime cities of Aſia. Beſides, he had received a ſtrong reinforcement from Cephalenia, conſiſting of veterans who had eſcaped from the battle of Philippi. But the indolent Pompey, though in condition to invade Italy and cruſh the party of the triumvirs there, contented himſelf with ravaging the coaſts, acting therein more like a pirate than a general[k].

Lucius's generals diſperſed.

Tiberius Claudius Nero maintains the party of Lucius in Campania.

AND now the other officers, who had ſerved under Lucius, being driven with their forces out of Italy, Tiberius Claudius Nero, at the head of a few veterans and a great number of ſlaves, whom he had drawn together by promiſing them their liberty, undertook to maintain the intereſt, and ſupport the ruined party, of Lucius in the neighbourhood of Naples. Tiberius was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of Rome, and had been honoured with great employments by Julius Cæſar, who had a particular eſteem for him. He had been his queſtor, and commanded his fleet in the war of Alexandria, when he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions in a very eminent manner. He was afterwards created prætor,

[k] Appian. ibid. p. 672. & ſeq. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 72--77. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 362--368.

prætor, and raiſed to the high ſtation of pontifex maximus. But notwithſtanding all the favours he had received at Cæſar's hands, after his death he was not only for granting a general pardon to the conſpirators, but exhorted the conſuls to reward them, as the deliverers of their country and the avengers of their oppreſſed liberty. He had by a timely flight avoided the fury of the proſcription, and, ſiding with Lucius at the beginning of this war, had ſhut himſelf up with him in the city of Peruſia, whence he found means to make his eſcape into Campania, where he raiſed the army we mentioned above. But his raw and undiſciplined troops being frightened at the approach of Octavianus's victorious army, they immediately diſperſed, abandoning their general to the mercy of his cruel and implacable enemy. Tiberius, thus deſerted by his forces, fled in diſguiſe with his wife Livia and his ſon Tiberius, not yet two years old, to the ſea-ſide, hoping he ſhould find there ſome veſſel to convey him over to Sicily. Livia was the daughter of Livius Druſus Claudianus, who was killed in the battle of Philippi, fighting for Brutus and Caſſius. Livius was deſcended from the Claudian family, whence he had the name of Claudianus; but his branch had been long ſince adopted into the Livian family. The only perſon of diſtinction, who followed Tiberius and Livia in their flight, was Caius Velleius, the grand-father of the famous hiſtorian Velleius Paterculus, who had ſerved with great reputation in the armies of Pompey and Brutus. But his great age and infirmities not ſuffering him to attend them over into Sicily, partly out of grief in parting with them, and partly through fear of falling into the hands of the mercileſs Octavianus, he put an end to his life with his own ſword, and by that means prevented the vengeance of the bloody tyrant. As for Tiberius and Livia, Octavianus purſued them cloſe; but they, after having eſcaped a thouſand dangers, attended only by one domeſtic, found a ſmall boat, which conveyed them over into Sicily. And here we cannot help reflecting with Velleius Paterculus on the ſtrange turns of fortune, which ought to teach us, that as to future events our fears are often as groundleſs as our hopes. Livia was flying from an enemy, whoſe affections ſhe was one day to gain and maintain to the hour of his death; and the infant ſhe carried in her arms was to ſucceed Octavianus, and after him rule the Roman empire with an abſolute ſway. Tiberius's troops being diſperſed, and he fled, Octavianus returned to Rome, which he entered in triumphant robes, and crowned with laurel. Public feaſts were celebrated for ſeveral days together, and it was enacted

Being abandoned by his troops retires with his wife Livia into Sicily.

The end of the war of Peruſia. Year of the flood 2964. Before Chriſt 35. Of Rome 713.

by a decree of the ſenate and people, that "whenever any "general ſhould for the future merit a triumph, Octavianus "ſhould have a ſhare in his honour[1]."

WHILE Cæſar Octavianus was making war in Italy with Lucius, and ſettling his affairs there with all the ſkill and addreſs of an able politician, Antony was paſſing his time inglorioufly at Alexandria, thinking of nothing but the enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures and diverſions with which the queen entertained him, every day heightening the reliſh of them by the charms of novelty (D). But, in the mean time, all Syria and Paleſtine

[1] Appian. Dio. Vell. Patercul. ibid.

(D) The poets have not given to Omphale, queen of Lydia, a greater aſcendant over Hercules, than hiſtory gives to the fair Egyptian queen over Antony. Like a ſecond Hercules, from the rough ſoldier and formidable conqueror, he became the ſlave of a bewitching woman, and the laughing-ſtock, not of Egypt only, but of all the nations who had any knowledge of the Roman name. Out of complaiſance to his admired idol, he exchanged the Roman for the Greek dreſs, piquing himſelf upon appearing among the effeminate Aſiatics, who compoſed the queen's court, as one of them. Laying aſide all other buſineſs, he was ſolely intent on pleaſing and diverting Cleopatra, who never left him night nor day: ſhe played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and when he thought fit to exerciſe the few troops he had with him, which he did more for her diverſion than their improvement, ſhe was always by him. Nothing was talked of at court but feaſts, ſhews, revels, &c. Mirth, jollity and pleaſures had baniſhed all buſineſs, all ſerious thoughts. They gave their way of living a particular name, calling it the inimitable life. They treated one another by turns, on which occaſion their expences were beyond all meaſure. Plutarch gives us two inſtances of Antony's extravagance, which he learnt of his grandfather Lamprias, who had them from one Philotas, a phyſician of Amphyſſa. Philotas, being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, was invited by him to ſee what ſumptuous preparations he was making for ſupper. Coming into the kitchen, he was ſurpriſed at the prodigious variety of the moſt ſcarce and expenſive things; but nothing ſtruck him ſo much as the ſight of eight wild boars roaſting entire; "Surely" ſaid he, "You have a "great number of gueſts:" but the cook, laughing at his ſimplicity, "There are not above twelve gueſts," replied he; "but "every diſh muſt be ſerved up juſt roaſted to a turn, and if any "thing is but one minute ill-timed, it is ſpoilt: for," added he, "may be Antony will ſup juſt now, may be not this hour, may "be

Paleſtine being grievouſly oppreſſed with the taxes that were impoſed upon them, the Aradians killed thoſe who were ſent to gather them; and, thereupon, joining the Palmyrenians and ſeveral petty princes of Syria, called in the Parthians, which put the whole country into the utmoſt confuſion. For the Parthians on this invitation paſſing the Euprates under the command of Pacorus, their king's ſon, and Labienus a Roman general

" be not theſe two hours, becauſe he may perhaps have a mind to " ſpend ſome time in drinking or talking; ſo that not one but " many ſuppers muſt be had in readineſs, it not being eaſy to gueſs " at his hour." The ſame Philotas related, that being afterwards in the ſervice of Antony's eldeſt ſon by Fulvia, and admitted with other domeſtics of a better rank to his table, when the young man did not dine with his father, it happened, that another phyſician, full of argument and noiſe, diſturbed and tired the company with the impertinence of his talk. Philotas, no longer able to bear the empiric, put this ſophiſtical ſyllogiſm to him: " There is ſome kind of fever, wherein cold water is " good; every one who has a fever has ſome kind of fever; " therefore cold water is good for all thoſe who have fevers. This ſophiſm quite ſilenced the quack; at which young Antony was ſo pleaſed, that addreſſing himſelf to Philotas, and pointing to a ſide-board covered with rich plate, " Philotas," ſaid he, " all that is yours." Philotas thanked him for his good-will, but could not conceive that the young man had a power of diſpoſing of things to that value. He therefore went home without ſo much as thinking of the preſent. But he was very much ſurpriſed, when ſoon after his departure he ſaw all the plate brought home to his houſe by ſlaves followed by an officer of young Antony, who deſired him to put his mark upon them. Philotas excuſed himſelf, fearing to accept from a young man a preſent of ſo great a value. But the officer, who brought it, " What " ails the man?" ſaid he, " dont you know that he, who " makes you this preſent, is Antony's ſon, who could very well " ſpare it, were it all gold? But if you will be adviſed by me, " I would counſel you to accept of the value in money; for a- " mong the plate there may be ſome pieces of antiquity, or the " work of ſome famous maſter, for which Antony may have a " particular eſteem.

But to return to Cleopatra; ſhe was daily contriving new diverſions for Antony's entertainment; and the moſt inconſiderable trifles, when managed by her, received ſuch an air as made them agreeable diverſions. They often rambled about the ſtreets in the night, hand in hand, Cleopatra dreſſed like an ordinary woman, and Antony like a ſlave, and in that diſguiſe entering the public houſes mixed with the mob. Cleopatra took great delight in theſe

general (E), overcame in a pitched battle Saxa, Antony's lieutenant in Syria, and forced him to take refuge in Cilicia. After this victory the two generals divided their army: Labienus with one part of it purſued Saxa into Cicilia, where he ſlew him, defeated his army, over-ran all Aſia-Minor, and, forcing Antony's lieutenants to make their eſcape into the iſlands, brought all places under him as far as the Helleſpont and the Ægean ſea. At the ſame time, Pacorus, with the other part of the army, reduced all Syria and Phænice as far as Tyre, which city alone held out againſt him, the remains of the Roman forces in that country having got thither before him [1]. An account of theſe ſucceſſes was brought to Antony at Alexandria, and at the ſame time news of the ill ſtate of his affairs in Italy, and of the unſucceſsful war which his brother Lucius had waged there with Octavianus. Hereupon recovering,

The Parthians over-run Syria, and gain great advantages over Antony's lieutenants there.

[1] Dio. Appian. ibid. & in Parthicis. Flor. l. iv. c. 9. Epit. Liv. l. cxxvii. Plut. in Anton. Joſeph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 23.

theſe expeditions, as they gave her room to diſplay her wit and humour in retorting the coarſe raillery of the vulgar, and relating her adventures, which ſhe did with an unparallelled grace. They frequently met with rough treatment, and ſometimes with blows. This kind of behaviour, highly unbecoming a queen and a Roman magiſtrate, a general and a conqueror who was at this time forty and upwards, ſeemed very ſtrange to the graver and better ſort of people; but the populace were highly pleaſed with their frolics, ſaying of Antony, that they had great obligations to him, for ſhewing them his comical countenance, and reſerving his tragical one for the Romans. Of Antony's other follies, eſpecially of the pleaſant adventure that happened to him, while he was angling with Cleopatra, we have ſpoke in our hiſtory of Egypt (86).

(E) This Labienus was the ſon of Titus Labienus, who had been Cæſar's lieutenant in Gaul, and one of his moſt intimate friends; but afterwards going over to Pompey, he became one of his moſt inveterate enemies, and was ſlain fighting againſt him in the battle of Munda (87). His ſon, purſuing the ſame intereſt, was ſent by Brutus and Caſſius, a little before the battle of Philippi, in quality of embaſſador to the Parthian king to ſolicit his aſſiſtance for that war; and was at the Parthian court, when the battle happened; by the ill ſucceſs of which being diſcouraged from returning, he continued in that country, and having prevailed with king Orodes to undertake this war, he was ſent with Pacorus, the king's ſon, to command under him (88).

(86) Vol. ix. p. 292. (87) Cæſar. comment. & Plut. in Cæſ. (88) Dio. l. xlviii. p. 371. Flor. l. iv. c. 9. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 78.

ing, as it were, from a drunken fit, he reſolved at length to leave Cleopatra, and march forthwith againſt the Parthians. With this view, having got together two hundred ſhips, he ſailed to Tyre; but finding, on his putting in there, all the country round in the hands of the enemy, and receiving at the ſame time moſt lamentable letters from Fulvia, he changed his mind, and reſolved to poſtpone the war with the Parthians, and ſail directly to Italy. Accordingly, he left Tyre, after having reinforced the garriſon of that place; and, ſailing by the iſlands of Cyprus and Rhodes, arrived at Athens, where he met Fulvia, whom he highly blamed as the chief cauſe of the late diſorders. In this city he received certain advice, that Octavianus had made himſelf maſter of Tranſalpine Gaul, and forced the ſon of Calenus after the death of his father to deliver up to him eleven legions, which he commanded in that province. As Tranſalpine Gaul had been, by a private agreement between the two triumvirs after the battle of Philippi, yielded to Antony, he looked upon ſuch a proceeding as an open declaration of war; and therefore putting to ſea without loſs of time, ſet ſail for Italy, without ſhewing the leaſt concern for Fulvia, whom he left ſick at Sicyon. This neglect and ſcorn completed what his infidelity had begun; for ſhe died in that city ſoon after her huſband's departure. Antony in croſſing the Ionian ſea was met by Domitius Ahenobarbus, the republican admiral, who, inſtead of oppoſing him, came on board his galley, and delivered up to him the command of his fleet, being induced thereunto by Aſinius Pollio, who had fled from Italy, as we have related above, after the ſurrender of Peruſia, and taken refuge on board Domitius's fleet (F). The two fleets thus joined came to

Antony reſolves to return to Italy.

The death of Fulvia.

(F) Appian tells us, that Antony, meeting Domitius in the Ionian ſea, drew up his fleet in line of battle, and advanced in perſon againſt him with five galleys only. Plancus, who was then with Antony, did not approve of his conduct, telling him, that Domitius, who had a fleet much more powerful than his, would neither ſubmit, nor ever be reconciled, to him. Antony, without hearkening to his reaſons, advanced boldly, and, as he drew near, one of his guards, who ſtood on the prow of his galley, cried out to Domitius to ſtrike his flag to the triumvir, who was of an higher rank than he. At theſe words the republican admiral, as if he had been thunder-ſtruck, ſubmitted to the ſummons, ſaluted Antony as his general, and, coming on board his galley, delivered up to him the command of his fleet. This event is thus related by Appian, but we have choſe to follow Velleius, who tells us with more appearance of truth, that Pollio had before-hand engaged

Domitius

Antony arrives in Italy, and lays ſiege to Brunduſium.

to an anchor on the coaſt of Epirus, and from thence ſet ſail for Brunduſium. In this city Octavianus had five legions, which ſhut the gates againſt Antony, refuſing admittance, not to him, they ſaid, but to Domitius, who was Octavianus's declared enemy. Upon this refuſal Antony immediately blocked up the place, and at the ſame time diſpatched one of his officers to Pompey in Sicily, inviting that general to join intereſt with him againſt Octavianus and invade Italy. Pompey came readily into the propoſal, made a deſcent, and took ſeveral cities on the coaſt, while Antony purſued the ſiege of Brunduſium with great vigor. Hereupon Octavianus, having drawn together his legions, and detached Agrippa with a conſiderable body againſt Pompey, marched with the reſt to the relief of the beſieged city. But his veterans refuſing to draw their ſwords againſt Antony, he was obliged to hearken to an accommodation, which at length was brought about by the interpoſition and management of Cocceius, Pollio, and the famous Mecænas (G). This dangerous breach be-

Octavianus and Antony come to an agreement.

ing

Domitius to take party with Antony, by which ſignal piece of ſervice he acquitted himſelf of the many obligations he owed him. To perpetuate the memory of this remarkable event, Antony cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, or rather a piece of money to be coined, which is ſtill to be ſeen, with the triumvir's head, and on the reverſe the prow of a ſhip with the names of the two generals.

(G) Caius Cilnius Mecænas, well known from the verſes of Virgil and Horace, was deſcended from the antient kings of Hetruria, but contented himſelf with the degree of a Roman knight. The Cilnian family was, according to Livy (89), one of the moſt illuſtrious of Hetruria. As for the ſurname of Mecænas, it was probably borrowed from ſome place belonging to the family; at leaſt Varro tells us, that all the latin names ending in as, denote ſome place. Pliny ſpeaks of the wines of Mecænatium, and ranks them among the beſt of Italy: "Cæſenatia vina," ſays he, "& Mecænatia "(90)." This illuſtrious Roman was a man of great politeneſs and generoſity, which towards men of letters knew no bounds, whence thoſe, who ever ſince his time have ſet up for encouragers of learning, have in all ages been honoured with his name. "Sint "Mecænates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones," ſays Martial. But Mecænas was not only a generous patron to the learned; he was himſelf thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and would have proved an excellent orator, had he not been given too much to his pleaſures. "Ingenioſus vir ille fuit, ſays Seneca of him (91), "magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ "daturus,

(89) Liv. l. x. (90) Plin. l. xiv. c. 6. (91) Senec. epiſt. 19.

ing made up, and all paſt offences and affronts mutually forgiven, the ſoldiers of the two armies, to make the friendſhip of their generals more laſting, deſired it might be cemented with the ties of blood, and propoſed a match between Antony and Octavianus's ſiſter Octavia, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. Octavianus had a great veneration and tenderneſs for his ſiſter; and to do her juſtice, none of her ſex ever had a better claim to the eſteem and veneration of mankind. For though ſhe excelled all the women of her age, Cleopatra herſelf not excepted, in beauty, yet the charms of her perſon were far inferior to thoſe of her mind. Though the queen of Egypt had ſo large a ſhare in Antony's heart, yet the match was no ſooner propoſed to him, than he agreed to it with inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, at leaſt in appearance. After this the two triumvirs had an interview, in which, after mutual embraces and promiſes of laſting friendſhip, they came to a new partition of the Roman empire; by virtue whereof Codropolis (H), a town of Illyricum, was to

They divide the Roman dominions.

" daturus, niſi illum enervaſſet felicitas, imo caſtraſſet :" and elſewhere (92), " Habuit Mecænas grande & virile ingenium, niſi ipſe " illud diſcinxiſſet." After the battle of Philippi he interceded with Octavianus in favour of Horace, and obtained his pardon, though he had ſerved under Brutus in quality of legionary tribune. He protected Virgil, and by his intereſt got his farm reſtored to him, which Octavianus's ſoldiers had ſeized. He was one of Auguſtus's chief favourites, and ſerved him to the laſt with the utmoſt fidelity. He was a man of great penetration and addreſs in managing the moſt difficult affairs; but liked his pleaſures too much to engage in buſineſs, when he could decline it without diſguſting his maſter, the gaining of whoſe favour was the height of his ambition. Several writers, eſpecially Juvenal and Seneca, reproach him, and not undeſervedly, with luxury, indolence, and effeminacy. But of this truly generous and bountiful patron of learning, Meibomius has wrote an entire volume under the title of Mecænas, to which we refer our readers.

(H) This city is called by Appian Scodra, the ſcituation whereof agrees with that of Codropolis. Scodra, now known to the Turks by the name of Eſcodar, and to the Italians by that of Scrutari, was antiently the capital of the country of the Labeates, a people of Illyricum, and is at preſent the chief city of Albania. It ſtands on the river Drilo, now the Drino, about ſixty miles eaſt of Raguſa. This city, which was the bulwark of Illyricum on the ſide of Macedon, and looked upon as one of the beſt fortified and

(92) Idem epiſt. 92.

to be the boundary of their dominions; all from that place weſtward was allotted to Octavianus, and all eaſtward to Antony: ſo that the former had Dalmatia, the two Gauls, Spain, and Sardinia, and the latter all the eaſtern provinces quite to the Euphrates. Africa was left to Lepidus, who had been ſent by Octavianus with ſix legions into that province ſome time before the arrival of Antony. It was agreed, that Antony ſhould make war upon the Parthians, and Octavianus upon Pompey, if he refuſed to ſubmit to reaſonable conditions. Italy was left common to both the triumvirs for the raiſing of forces wherewithal to carry on theſe wars. To theſe conditions Antony added, that Octavianus ſhould pardon Domitius Ahenobarbus, and likewiſe all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him in the war of Peruſia. The two generals thus reconciled marched together to Rome, where the marriage between Antony and the incomparable Octavia was ſolemnized with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. When the ceremony was over, Antony, to give Octavianus an undeniable proof of the ſincerity of his intentions, diſcovered to him, that Salvidienus (I), one of his lieutenants, had offered him his troops and his ſervice, when Octavianus ſent him into Spain, and that he had repeated the ſame offer at Brunduſium. Hereupon Octavianus accuſed him of treachery before the ſenate, who declared him an enemy to the people of Rome, ſentenced him to death, and ordered thanks to be publicly returned to the gods for the diſcovery of the treaſon. At the ſame time, Manius, of whom we have ſpoke above, was by Antony's orders put to death, as having been the chief author of the late diſturbances [m].

Antony marries Octavia, Octavianus's ſiſter.

In

[m] Plut. & Appian. ibid. Liv. epit. l. cxxvii. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 375.

and moſt inacceſſible cities in the world, is often mentioned by Livy, and the other Roman writers, who give an account of the war between the republic and Gentius king of Illyricum. Florus was certainly miſtaken, when he placed Scodra in Macedon, and ſtyled it the metropolis of that kingdom.

(I) Salvidienus was the ſon of a poor peaſant, and ſpent his youth in looking after cattle. While he was thus meanly employed, his head one day appeared to his companions, as if in a flame. This he looked upon as a prognoſtic of ſome extraordinary good fortune, and therefore ſoon after liſted himſelf in the army, where by his valour he roſe to the higheſt poſts. He attended Cæſar in moſt of his wars, and as he had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf

In the mean time, Pompey, who was maſter at ſea, keeping all the ports of Italy blocked up with his numerous fleets, Rome was reduced to the utmoſt extremety for want of proviſions, eſpecially of corn, which was become ſo dear, that the people were ready to ſtarve. Hereupon Antony preſſed his collegue either to come to an accommodation with Pompey, or oblige him by a vigorous war to recall his fleet, and leave the ſea open for trade and navigation. Octavianus was more inclined to war, Pompey having lately taken from him the iſlands of Sardinia and Corſica; but as he wanted money to carry it on, with Antony's approbation he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of Rome and Italy, the one of four drachmas and an half for every ſlave, the other on all legacies. This ſo provoked the populace, already pinched with hunger, that they roſe in oppoſition to theſe edicts, aſſaulted Octavianus in the forum, and would have torn him to pieces, had not Antony haſtened to his aſſiſtance with a body of troops, which was encamped at the gates of the city. The rabble was ſoon diſperſed, and ſeveral of them killed, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber; but as the famine ſtill continued, the populace, notwithſtanding the puniſhment of a few, grew daily more outrageous. Antony therefore, fearing a general inſurrection, wrote to Lucius Scribonius Libo, who was then in Sicily with Pompey his ſon-in-law, inviting him to Rome to treat there of an accommodation between Octavianus, Pompey, and himſelf. Pompey was overjoyed at this propoſal, as was alſo Statius Murcus; but Menas, whom ſome writers call Menodorus, one of Pompey's enfranchiſed ſlaves and a ſea officer of great experience and bravery, not only oppoſed it, but with groundleſs inſinuations entirely eſtranged Pompey from Murcus, who preſſed him with great earneſtneſs to make up all differences with the triumvirs, and reſtore Italy to it's former tranquillity. Hereupon Murcus retired to Syracuſe, where he was murdered by ſome ſlaves, whom Pompey afterwards cauſed to be executed to clear himſelf from the murder. It was, however, commonly believed, that

Rome in great diſtreſs for want of corn.

The people rife.

The triumvirs agree to come to an accommodation with Pompey.

himſelf in a very eminent manner, the dictator had named him one of his conſuls, who were to govern the republic in his abſence, though Salvidienus had not yet been admitted into the ſenate. Upon the dictator's death, he out of gratitude ſided with his ſon Octavianus, and had a great ſhare in all his victories. But afterwards, thinking Octavianus did not reward him according to his deſerts, he offered his ſervice to Antony, who, by baſely betraying him, was the occaſion of his death.

that Menas had put him to death by Pompey's orders. But notwithſtanding Menas's oppoſition, Pompey allowed Libo to go to Rome, in compliance with Antony's invitation, where he perſuaded Octavianus and Antony to come to an interview with Pompey, that they might, in perſon and face to face, diſcuſs their pretenſions, and put an end to their differences. To this Pompey conſented at the earneſt requeſt of his officers, and advanced with his fleet to the promontory formed by mount Miſenus, where he and Libo in a galley, and the two triumvirs on a kind of mole made for that purpoſe, expoſe their mutual claims and pretenſions. Pompey demanded to be admitted into the triumvirate inſtead of Lepidus, whoſe authority declined daily. This demand ſeemed very reaſonable to Pompey, but quite otherwiſe to Antony and Octavianus; ſo that, after a warm and long diſpute, they parted without coming to any reſolution. Pompey, who knew he had it in his power to reduce Rome and all Italy to the utmoſt extremity, and force the inhabitants to take up arms againſt the triumvirs, was for breaking off the conference and returning to Sicily. But Libo adviſed him to ſtay and continue the negotiations, at leaſt by deputies, which he did accordingly. The ſecond day he dropped his pretenſion to a place in the triumvirate, but propoſed the following preliminaries: 1. That thoſe who had been concerned in the death of Cæſar ſhould only be baniſhed, and be at liberty to chuſe for their exile what place they pleaſed. 2. That ſuch, as had been proſcribed on any other account whatſoever, ſhould be allowed to return to Rome. 3. That the latter ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands and fortunes. Antony and Octavianus abſolutely rejected the two firſt articles, and only conſented that thoſe, who were not in the number of the conſpirators, ſhould be allowed to purchaſe their eſtates. Moſt part of thoſe who were about Pompey, tired with ſo long and deſtructive a war, and dreading the fate of Murcus, declared that they were willing to return to Rome, even upon the conditions propoſed by the triumvirs; which ſo diſpleaſed Pompey, that in the tranſport of his paſſion he tore his robe, calling thoſe, who ſubmitted to ſuch ſhameful conditions, vile traitors and cowardly deſerters. "Menas," ſaid he, "is the only true friend I have in the "world; Menas alone has given me wholeſome and diſ- "intereſted advice." However, at the earneſt entreaties of his mother Mutia, of Julia, Antony's mother, and of Libo, his father-in-law, he conſented to a ſecond interview, in which, after three days debate, the following articles

An interview between the triumvirs and Pompey.

Pompey's demands.

articles were agreed to by the contending parties. "1. That "Pompey ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of Sicily, Sardinia, "Corſica, and the adjacent iſlands, and ſhould over and "above have Peloponneſus yielded up to him. 2. That "he ſhould have the privilege of demanding the conſulate, "though abſent, and of diſcharging that office by any of his "friends. 3. That the dignity of pontifex maximus ſhould "be conferred upon him, and ſeventy thouſand great ſeſter-"ces reſtored to him out of his father's confiſcated eſtate. "4. That ſuch as had taken refuge with him merely out of "fear ſhould be allowed to return, and enjoy their whole "eſtate; and that the proſcribed perſons, who were not "guilty of Cæſar's death, ſhould have only the fourth part "of their eſtates reſtored to them. 5. That trade and na-"vigation ſhould be free; that Pompey ſhould withdraw "his troops from Italy; that he ſhould ſuffer no inroads or "deſcents to be made upon the coaſts, nor build more "ſhips. 6. That he ſhould not for the future receive the "ſlaves who fled to him; that thoſe who had bore arms "under him ſhould be declared free, and that his legio-"naries, when the time of their ſervice was expired, ſhould "have their ſhare in the diviſion of lands with thoſe of An-"tony and Octavianus. 7. That he ſhould immediately "ſend to Rome the corn he had retained, oblige the Sicili-"ans to pay anually what corn was due to the republic out "of their iſland, and clear the ſeas of all pirates." This treaty was ſigned by the three chiefs, and ſent to Rome to be depoſited there in the hands of the veſtals [n]. They then agreed to treat each other in token of their ſincere reconciliation; and it fell to Pompey's lot to make the firſt entertainment. Antony asked him where he deſigned to receive them? 'In Carinis," anſwered Pompey pleaſantly: for the word carinæ in Latin ſignifies ſhips, and was likewiſe the name of a ward or part of the city, where Pompey the Great had a ſtately palace, which Antony had ſeized. Antony underſtood the raillery, but was not very quick at repartees. On the day appointed for the entertainment, Pompey, having brought his galley near the ſhore, and made a bridge to it from the promontory, received his two gueſts with great civility and politeneſs. And here Octavianus ſeemed to have forgot his uſual warineſs and circumſpection; and this entertainment

The articles of accommodation between the triumvirs and Pompey.

The triumvirs and Pompey treat each other.

[n] Appian. Dio. Plut. ibid.

tainment would have coſt both him and his collegue dear, had not Pompey been endowed with a truly great and generous ſoul. For while they were at table, and Pompey and Cæſar, growing warm with wine, began to rally Antony upon his amours and fondneſs for the fair Egyptian queen, Menas approaching Pompey, "You have now a fair oppor-
"tunity," he whiſpered him in the ear, "of revenging
"the death of your father and brother, and making your-
"ſelf maſter of the whole Roman empire; 'tis but cutting
"the cable, leave the reſt to me." The blow was ſure, and the temptation violent, Pompey's fleet being drawn up in order of battle, and all the triumvirs forces aſhore. However, the generous Roman ſcorning to purchaſe the empire of the world at the expence of his honour, after a ſhort pauſe, "Menas," ſaid he, "may forfeit his word and re-
"putation, but that is not becoming the ſon of Pompey."

Pompey's generoſity.

'Tis a great pity we have the characters of illuſtrious men only from hiſtorians, who, either out of fear or flattery, cry down the enemies of the princes, whoſe favour they courted. Velleius Paterculus, who wrote in the time of Auguſtus, and has in his hiſtory miſerably perverted truth, or utterly ſuppreſſed it, paints Pompey in the worſt colours. But the greatneſs of his mind which he diſplayed on this occaſion againſt his own intereſt, is ſufficient to bely that mercenary ſycophant, and the other flatterers of the Cæſars, who ought to have had ſome regard to his memory in conſideration of this generous action, which in ſpight of all their diſguiſes, and falſe repreſentations, will recommend his name to the lateſt poſterity. Plutarch relates this matter ſomewhat differently; for according to him Pompey returned this anſwer to the propoſal of Menas; "This you might have done with-
"out imparting it to me; but now let us make the beſt of
"our preſent condition, for I cannot prevail upon myſelf to
"violate my faith once given." From this anſwer it appears, that ſo great an advantage, joined to the pleaſure of revenge, was a kind of ſurpriſe upon his generoſity; but it ſerved only to make it break out with greater luſtre in rejecting a perfidious action, what profit ſoever might accrue from it [o]. Antony and Octavianus treated Pompey in their turns with great demonſtrations of ſeeming friendſhip; for the confirming of which, and cementing it with new ties, Pompey, who was ſincere, propoſed a match between his daughter and

[o] Appian. ibid. Plut. in Antonio.

and M. Marcellus, the ſon of Octavia by her former huſband; which Octavianus conſenting to, they both entered into the uſual engagements, Pompey for his daughter, and Octaviamus for his nephew, who was at that time but an infant. This is the famous M. Marcellus, whom Octavianus had appointed his heir in caſe he had no iſſue male of his own, and whoſe virtues are ſo highly commended by the prince of the Latin poets [p]. Before the three chiefs parted they named conſuls for the four following years, viz. Antony and Libo for the firſt, Octavianus and Pompey for the ſecond, Domitius and Soſius for the third, and Antony and Cæſar for the fourth. The conſuls of this year, in which the treaty was concluded, were Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Aſinius Pollio, who had ſucceeded L. Antonius and P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus; but before their year expired, others, namely L. Cornelius Balbus and P. Canidius Craſſus, on what account we know not, were ſubſtituted in their room [q].

Pompey's daughter betrothed to M. Marcellus Octavianus's nephew.

And now all differences being compoſed, and for a while an end put to the civil wars, Pompey, taking his leave of Antony and Octavianus, returned to Sicily, and the other two to Rome, where they were welcomed with loud acclamations of the people, overjoyed to ſee themſelves at length delivered from a cruel famine, which had begun to rage with great fury in the capital, and all the provinces of Italy. The joy of the people was doubled upon the return of many illuſtrious citizens, who had been proſcribed by the triumvirs, or forced to fly their country through fear of falling into Octavianus's hands after the ſurrender of Peruſia. Among theſe were L. Aruntius, M. Junius Silanus, C. Sentius Saturninus, M. Titius, M. Claudius Tiberius Nero, M. Cicero, the ſon of the orator, and many other citizens of great diſtinction; who after having aſſured Pompey of their eternal acknowledgments, returned to their native country, where they were received with thoſe marks of eſteem and affection which were due to their merit. The praiſes of Pompey, who had the glory of ſaving ſo many worthy men, and reſtoring them to their former rank, were in the mouth of every true Roman. And now Antony and Octavianus, after a ſhort ſtay at Rome (K),

The proſcribed citizens return to Rome.

[p] Vide Virg. Æneid. l. vi. v. 868, & ſeq. [q] Dio. l. xlix

(K) While Antony and Octavianus ſtaid together at Rome after the concluſion of the peace, they frequently diverted themſelves with drawing lots, playing at dice, &c. when Antony was conſtantly

Octavianus marches into Transalpine Gaul.

took leave of each other, and quitting the capital, set out, the former for Greece, and the latter for Gaul. Some nations beyond the Alps having attempted to shake off the yoke, Octavianus, to whose share Gaul was fallen, marched against them in person, and having easily reduced them, repassed the Alps, and stopped in Hetruria. As for Antony, he dispatched Ventidius into Asia to put a stop to the inroads of the Parthians, but went himself no farther than Athens, where he spent the winter with his new wife Octavia in the same excesses of luxury, folly, and childish diversions, as he had done the former with Cleopatra at Alexandria. Laying aside the ensigns of his authority, he appeared at all the public games and exercises in the Grecian habit, like a private citizen of Athens. He often visited the academy, and the Lyceum, spending sometimes whole days in hearing the disputes and conferences of the philosophers. While he thus led an idle life at Athens, Ventidius his lieutenant was signalizing himself in the war, which he had been appointed to carry on against the Parthians. We have given elsewhere [r] a distinct account of the remarkable victories gained over that war-like nation by the brave Ventidius, and therefore shall not trouble the reader here with a tedious repetition of the same transactions. When news was brought to Antony of the signal advantages gained by his lieutenant, he gave a public entertainment to all the Greeks of any rank, exhibited sports and shews, and presided at them in person as moderator. As he loved wine, he was wonderfully pleased with the title of Bacchus, which divinity he took upon him to personate

Antony passes the winter at Athens in idleness.

[r] Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. XI. p. 42. & seq.

constantly the loser. As this gave him a great deal of uneasiness, one day, while he was quite out of patience, an Egyptian, who was with him, and was deemed very skilful in the calculation of nativities, told him, that though the fortune that attended him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by that of Octavianus; he therefore advised him to keep himself at a distance from that young man: "For your genius," said he, "dreads his. Yours is proud and brave, when absent from him, "but in the presence of his unmanly and dejected." This, no doubt, the impostor said to make his court to Cleopatra by forcing Antony to leave Rome, and return to Egypt; wherein he succeeded; for Antony, who put great confidence in the skill of the Egyptian astrologer, left Rome soon after (93).

(93) Plut. in Anton.

ſonate in a proceſſion he made upon the joyful tidings of the ſucceſs of his arms in the eaſt. During theſe public rejoycings the Greeks ſet no bounds to their flattery; they fell proſtrate before the pretended Bacchus, beſeeching him to marry Minerva the tutelar deity of their city. Antony diſpleaſed with this groſs flattery, conſented to the match, but aſked a thouſand talents, for the portion of the goddeſs. "Your father Jupiter," anſwered one of the Athenians, "required no fortune with your mother Semele." 'Tis true," replied Antony; "but Jupiter was rich, and I want "money." Antony would abate nothing of the ſum, which was levied upon all the inhabitants, who revenged themſelves, according to their cuſtom, with ſatires and lampoons, of which his amours with Cleopatra were the chief ſubject. But he laughed at their jeſts, and took their money, though Delius, to mortify them the more, gravely repreſented to him, that he acted therein againſt the Roman laws, which allowed three years for the payment of a portion [s].

Puniſhes the Athenians for their flattery.

In the mean time news was brought to Antony of a ſecond victory gained by Ventidius over the Parthians, for which he made great rejoycings; but being informed at the ſame time, that Pacorus was making vaſt preparations with a deſign to invade Syria anew, and thinking it no ways conſiſtent with his reputation to continue idle at Athens, and ſuffer his lieutenant to rob him of the whole glory of this war, he aſſembled his troops early in the ſpring, and reaſſumed with the marks of his dignity all the majeſty of a Roman general. When his army was ready to march, he made himſelf a garland of the olive-tree conſecrated to Minerva, and filled a veſſel with the water of the Clepſydra to carry along with him (L). At length he left Athens after having made a grand entertainment for all the inhabitants of that populous city, and marched with all his forces into the eaſt. But before he got thither, Ventidius gained a third victory far more glorious than the other two; whereby he fully revenged the

Reſolves to march into the eaſt.

[s] Plut. in Anton. Appian. ibid. & Dio. ibid.

(L) This was a fountain in the citadel of Athens, and was called Clepſydra, as being ſometimes full of water, and ſometimes empty, like thoſe veſſels which were antiently in uſe among the Greeks, and alſo the Ægyptians, to meaſure time by the running out of the water. Antony imagined that this water would not a little contribute to the ſucceſs of his arms.

His lieutenant Ventidius gains great advantages over the Parthians.

death of Craſſus, and redeemed the honour of the Roman name, which had ſuffered much ever ſince the battle of Carrhæ: for Pacorus himſelf, with above twenty thouſand of his beſt men, was ſlain in this battle, of which we have given a particular account in our hiſtory of the Parthians [t]. Had Ventidius purſued all the advantages of this victory, he might have extended the bounds of the Roman empire to the banks of the Tigris; but not thinking it prudent to puſh his good fortune any further, for fear of giving Antony umbrage, he turned his arms againſt thoſe who had revolted in Syria and Phœnice during the late war. Purſuant to this deſign, when Antony arrived, he was beſieging Samoſata, the capital of Commagene, whither Antiochus, king of that country, had retired. Antony on his coming thither diſmiſſed this brave commander, and ſent him to Rome to demand of the ſenate and people the honours of a triumph, being glad to get rid of a ſubaltern, whoſe glory eclipſed that of his general. Antiochus from the beginning of the ſiege had offered to Ventidius a thouſand talents for his pardon, and promiſed an entire obedience and ſubmiſſion to all Antony's commands. But as Antony was then on his march, Ventidius ordered him to ſend his propoſals to him; which he did accordingly; but Antony rejecting them, the beſieged dreading his reſentment, defended the place with ſuch vigour and intrepidity, that the Roman general began to repent his not accepting the firſt offer, and was in the end glad to come to an accommodation with Antiochus for three hundred talents, that he might raiſe the ſiege with honour, which otherwiſe he feared he ſhould be forced to do in a ſhameful manner, his ſoldiers being highly diſpleaſed with his diſmiſſing Ventidius, under whoſe conduct they had gained ſo many ſignal victories [u]. After this, Antony, having appointed Soſius his lieutenant in Cilicia, Syria, and Paleſtine, left the army under his command, and returned to Octavia at Athens.

Antony beſieges Samoſata.

He returns to Athens.

New diſputes between Pompey and Octavianus.

In the mean time new diſputes ariſing between Pompey and Octavianus, the latter was wholly intent on making the neceſſary preparations for war, being determined to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to invade Sicily. The late treaty of peace had regulated their pretenſions, but not their ambition; and that animoſity between Julius Cæſar and Pompey the Great, which had laid waſte the Roman world, was ſtill ſubſiſting in the minds of their children. The apparent

[t] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XI. p. 44. [u] Plut. in Anton. Appian, in Parthic. Dio. l. xlix. p. 405.

parent ſubject of their quarrel was Peloponneſus, which had been yielded to Pompey, as we have obſerved above, in virtue of the treaty. Octavianus pretended that the tributes, owing from that province to the republic before the treaty, were due to the triumvirs, and that Pompey ought to be reſponſible for them. On the other hand Pompey maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. As a breach was likely to enſue, Pompey cauſed his old galleys to be refitted, and ſeveral new ones to be built. This was contrary to the late treaty, and therefore a plauſible pretence for Octavianus to invade Sicily. With this view he reinforced his army with new levies, and aſſembled what ſhips he could on the coaſts of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian ſeas. Pompey, informed of theſe preparations, blocked up the ports of Italy anew, and in a ſhort time reduced the populous capital to its former condition. The people, threatened again with a famine, began to complain, and ſeemed diſpoſed to riſe, if their grievances were not ſoon redreſſed. "A fine "peace indeed!" ſaid they, "what have we gained by it but "to have four tyrants inſtead of three?" But Octavianus, who had a numerous army on foot, continued his preparations for war both by ſea and land, without hearkening to the complaints of the diſcontented populace. He wrote to Antony, deſiring him to leave Athens for a while, and paſs over into Italy, that they might confer together, about the moſt proper meaſures for the cruſhing of Pompey, their common rival. He likewiſe acquainted Lepidus with his deſign, who was then in Africa, which had fallen to his ſhare in the laſt diviſion of the Roman dominions, exhorting him to get ready his fleet with all poſſible expedition, that they might act in concert, and both invade Sicily at the ſame time. Antony in compliance with his requeſt came to Brunduſium, but not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned to Athens; whether out of ſome diſtruſt he had of Octavianus, or becauſe he was frightened by certain prodigies, is uncertain (M). Whatever his reaſons were, he reembarqued and returned to Athens, leaving a letter for Octavianus, wherein he exhorted him to ſtand to the conditions of the laſt treaty. As for Lepidus, who was a man of a lazy and indolent diſpoſition, he ſpent the whole ſummer in making preparations,

Rome reduced again to great ſtreights.

(M) one of his centries was devoured by wolves, no part of his body being left entire, except his face, which was a very bad omen. The inhabitants of Brunduſium told him, that at break of day they had ſeen a wolf come out of his tent.

and did not leave Africa till the following year; ſo that the whole burden of the war fell upon Octavianus, whoſe boundleſs ambition would allow him no reſt till he had got rid of ſo powerful a rival, and made himſelf maſter of the wealthy iſland he poſſeſſed. However, in the height of his cares, and warlike preparations, he found no ſmall relief in the agreeable converſation of Livia, with whoſe charms and refined wit he was ſo taken, that in the end he divorced his own wife Scribonia (N), and married her, though then big with child, her huſband Claudius Tiberius Nero not daring to withſtand the inclinations of ſo powerful a lover. Livia had one ſon by Tiberius, who bore his fathers's name, and was, three months after her marriage with Octavianus, brought to bed of another, named Druſus, But of theſe two children, and their mother Livia, we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory. The charms of Livia, however powerful, were not able to divert Octavianus from the purſuit of his ambitious views. He continued with the ſame ardor his warlike preparations, recalled the legions he had left in Tranſalpine Gaul, and aſſembled a great number of veſſels in the ports of Hetruria, and at Ravenna on the Adriatic ſea. But as his fleet was not yet in a condition to cope with that of Pompey, he muſt have put off his Sicilian expedition till the return of Antony, and the arrival of Lepidus, had he not been favoured by fortune beyond his expectation. For Menas, the famous freedman of Pompey, an officer of great valour and experience in maritime affairs, being offended with his maſter for not revenging the death of ſome of his freedmen killed by the ſenators who were about him, revolted to Octavianus, and joining him with three legions, and the numerous fleet, which

Octavianus falls in love with Livia, and marries her.

Menas Pompey's freedman goes over to Octavianus.

(N) Scribonia was the ſiſter of Scribonius Libo father-in-law to Pompey. Octavianus married her with a political view, which was to divert Pompey by that alliance from ſiding with Antony, who ſeemed inclined to eſpouſe the quarrel of his brother Lucius, and his wife Fulvia. Libo with Saturninus and ſome other ſenators had already attempted to conclude a league between Antony and Pompey. Octavianus therefore, to gain Libo, who had a great aſcendant over his ſon-in-law, married his ſiſter, and had by her the famous Julia, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory. But as in that marriage he had conſulted his intereſt, and not his inclination, he divorced her to marry Livia, who was accounted the moſt agreeable woman of her age.

which he commanded, delivered up to him the iſlands of Corſica and Sardinia, over which he had been placed by his indulgent maſter. Octavianus received the traytor with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and eſteem, entertained him at his own table, allowed him the priviledge of wearing a gold ring, and ſitting among the Roman knights, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet, which he brought with him. This Pompey looked upon as a declaration of war, and therefore immediately ſent out Menecrates, another freedman, and a mortal enemy to Menas, with a numerous ſquadron, to ravage the coaſts of Italy, which he did accordinly; but being met on his return by a ſquadron of Octavianus's fleet, commanded by C. Calviſius, and his antient rival Menas, a bloody engagement enſued in which Menecrates and Menas diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the other commanders, the hatred, which they bore each other, animating them more than glory did others. They were both men of great courage and intrepidity, and therefore, regardleſs of all dangers, fought with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. At length, after a long and moſt obſtinate diſpute between the two rivals, Menecrates being dangerouſly wounded, Menas boarded his gally, and made himſelf maſter of it. Hereupon Menecrates, chuſing rather to die, than fall into the hands of his mortal enemy, threw himſelf into the ſea, and periſhed in the waves. Upon his death Democharés, another freedman, taking upon him the command of the fleet, attacked Calviſius's ſquadron ſo warmly, that he forced him to give way, took ſeveral of his galleys, ſunk others, and drove the reſt againſt the rocks near the ſhore, where moſt of them were daſhed to pieces; ſo that Calviſius eſcaped by the favour of the night only with a few galleys, and took refuge with Menas in the bay of Cumæ [w].

A new breach between Octavianus and Pompey.

Octavianus's fleet defeated by Pompey's.

Octavianus, who was then at Tarentum, where he had aſſembled a numerous fleet, upon the firſt news of this engagement, reſolved to paſs the ſtreights of Meſſana, and join Calviſius and Menas, for whom he was in great pain. But being attacked in that narrow paſſage by Pompey and Democharés, who was returned to Meſſana, moſt of his ſhips were either ſunk or daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks. Octavianus himſelf gained the ſhore with the utmoſt difficulty, where he narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, who having landed and ſurrounded him, thought themſelves

Octavianus is overcome in a ſea fight by Pompey.

[w] Appian. Dio. ibid.

themſelves ſure of their prey. But the knowledge he had of the country ſaved him; for being well acquainted with the defiles of a neighbouring mountain, by by-ways he reached the top of it, and there with a few attendants lay concealed. Having avoided one danger, he fell into another. A ſlave of Æmilius Paulus, whoſe father had been proſcribed by Octavianus, ſeeing the triumvir without his uſual guards, thought this a favourable opportunity of being revenged on him for his cruelty towards his old maſter; and therefore accoſting him with a dagger, attempted to ſtab him; but miſſing his blow, as it was then very dark, he was immediately cut in pieces by the triumvir's attendants [x]. While Octavianus lay concealed on the top of the mountain, far from all danger, Cornificius, who commanded under him, ſtill maintained the combat with great bravery; and having ſunk Demochares's ſhip, continued fighting, notwithſtanding the great loſs he had ſuſtained, till ſun-ſet, when Calviſius and Menas appearing unexpectedly with their ſquadrons, Pompey thought it adviſeable to ſound a retreat. The next morning Octavianus from the top of his mountain had the mortification to ſee moſt of his veſſels ſtranded upon the coaſt, ſome of them half burnt, others ſtill in a flame, and the ſea to a great diſtance covered with the wreck. But what gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs was to ſee the enemy's fleet advancing full ſail againſt Menas and Calviſius, who were no ways in a condition to withſtand them. However, they drew up, but as they were ready to engage a violent ſtorm aroſe, and the ſea began to run very high. Hereupon Pompey retired into the port of Meſſana; but Octavianus's ſhips were for the moſt part either ſunk with all the men on board, or daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks and the ſhore. As the ſtorm laſted all night, Octavianus, to avoid ſo diſmal a ſight, went early next morning to Vibonium, or Vibo, a city of Brutium, whence he ſent orders to his lieutenants to guard with great care the coaſt of Italy, leſt Pompey ſhould attempt an invaſion. But he was ſo far from improving the advantages he had gained, by attacking his rival on the continent, that by an unpardonable negligence he ſuffered the poor remains of his ſhattered fleet to retire unmoleſted to Vibonium [y].

Octavianus in great danger.

Octavianus's fleet ſhipwrecked.

And now Octavianus, finding himſelf without ſhips or money, and at the ſame time the people at Rome being ready

[x] Appian. l. v. Dio. l. xlviii.

[y] Appian. Dio. &c. ibid.

ready to riſe for want of corn, he diſpatched Mecænas to Antony, ſoliciting his aſſiſtance againſt their common enemy. Antony, who was then in Syria, as we read in Dio, or at Athens, as Appian has it, promiſed to aſſiſt his collegue to the utmoſt of his power; and accordingly, having with all poſſible diligence aſſembled his fleet, he ſailed for Italy with three hundred ſhips. But in the mean time Octavianus, receiving news of a complete victory gained by Agrippa over the revolted Gauls, he began to think that he ſtood no more in need of Antony's aſſiſtance, and would willingly have diſpenſed with his civility. He thought him already too powerful, and therefore under various pretences would fain have declined going to meet him. Theſe proceedings highly diſpleaſed Antony, who had for a long time been jealous of his collegue. However, as he deſigned to exchange with Octavianus part of his fleet, which would be of no uſe to him in his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, for land-forces, he waited a long time for him at Tarentum, though he had been refuſed admittance at Brunduſium. At length he began to grow very uneaſy, and to complain of Octavianus in moſt bitter and reproachful terms. Whereupon Octavia, who had attended him from Greece, though then big with child, prevailed upon him to ſend her to her brother, not doubting, but ſhe ſhould eaſily clear up all their jealouſies and ſuſpicions. As ſhe was on her journey to Rome, ſhe met her brother, and had a conference with him in the preſence of his two friends Mecænas and Agrippa, whom ſhe was willing to have for witneſſes of what paſſed between them. After ſhe had with great prudence and addreſs anſwered the complaints of her brother againſt her huſband, ſhe conjured both him and his two favourites with tears in her eyes, to conſider her circumſtances, and not ſuffer her, inſtead of the moſt fortunate of women, to become the moſt miſerable; "for at preſent," ſaid ſhe, "the eyes "of the whole Roman people are fixed upon me, on ac- "count of the ties which bind me to two of the greateſt "men in the world, being wife to the one, and ſiſter to "the other. If raſh counſels prevail, and war enſues, I "ſhall be miſerable without redreſs; for on what ſide "ſoever victory falls I ſhall be ſure to be the loſer." Octavianus, ſoftened by the entreaties of a ſiſter, whom he loved with the greateſt tenderneſs, conſented to an interview with Antony, for which a place was choſen between Metapontum and Tarentum upon a river bearing the name of

Antony arrives in Italy.

Miſunderſtanding between him and Octavianus.

Octavia brings her brother and husband to an interview.

the

the latter. Antony came thither the firſt, and as ſoon as he ſaw Octavianus advancing, he leaped into a boat, in order to go and receive him on the other ſide of the river. Octavianus, not to be overcome by him in civility, did the ſame, ſo that the two boats met in the midſt of the river. After they had embraced each other, they had a friendly conteſt on which ſide they ſhould land. Antony was for landing on Octavianus's ſide, and Octavianus on Antony's; but Octavianus at length prevailed, under pretence of waiting on his ſiſter, who was returned to Tarentum. They walked together to the town, where Octavianus ſpent the night without any other guards about his perſon, but thoſe of Antony, who likewiſe went the next day without guards, and paſſed the night in Octavianus's camp. All little differences between them being made up in an amicable manner, it was agreed, that Octavianus ſhould give Antony two of his legions to be employed againſt the Parthians, and that Antony in return ſhould leave with him an hundred armed galleys. Appian ſays, that Antony yielded to Octavianus an hundred and fifty ſhips, and Octavianus to Antony twenty thouſand men. Beſides this, Octavia obtained of her huſband twenty ſmall ſhips, or, as Appian has it, ten triremes, for her brother, and of her brother a thouſand foot for her huſband. That their friendſhip and union might be more laſting, Octavianus betrothed his daughter Julia, whom he had by Scribonia, to Antyllus, Antony's ſon; and they both agreed, the five years of the triumvirate being now expired, to prolong their authority for five years more, without conſulting either the ſenate or people. After this Antony departed once more for Syria. Octavia accompanied him as far as Corcyra, whence, that ſhe might not be expoſed to the dangers of that expedition, he ſent her back into Italy, to remain there till he had ended that war, committing her and his children, both by her and his former wife Fulvia, to the care of Octavianus [y]. It is not unlikely, that Antony had already propoſed returning to Egypt, and therefore was glad to get rid of Octavia, that ſhe might not diſturb him in the enjoyment of his beloved Cleopatra.

Their differences made up.

Octavianus makes great preparations for war againſt Pompey.

OCTAVIANUS, upon the departure of his collegue, began to make vaſt preparations both by ſea and land for his intended expedition againſt Pompey. He appointed Agrippa commander in chief of his navy, and that brave officer in a few months aſſembled with indefatigable induſtry a fleet able

[y] Plut. Anton. Appian. p. 726, 727. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 390, 391.

ble to cope with Pompey's. And now both the ſea and land-forces being ready to enter upon action, Octavianus reſolved to invade the iſland in three different places at the ſame time: Lepidus, whom he had ſent for from Africa, was to land at Lilybæum on the ſouth of the iſland; Statilius Taurus, who was at Tarentum, on the eaſt ſide at cape Pachynum; and Octavianus himſelf on the weſtern coaſt at cape Pelorum. As for Agrippa, he was with a numerous ſquadron to cruiſe off Mylæ, a city on the northern coaſt of the iſland, where Pompey was ſaid to have aſſembled all his naval forces. Menas had already, out of his natural levity, abandoned the party of Octavianus, and returned to Pompey with his ſquadron, not thinking himſelf conſidered, as he deſerved, by his new maſter. Calviſius, though an officer of great experience in maritime affairs, was not employed in this expedition, he having incurred the diſpleaſure of Octavianus, for ſuffering himſelf to be over-reached by Menas, when he deſerted to Pompey. And now all things being ready, Octavianus's fleets, though in different ports, ſet ſail on the day agreed on, which was that of the new moon in the month of July, both that day and month being ſacred to the memory of Julius Cæſar. But they had ſcarce put to ſea, when a violent ſtorm ariſing defeated all Octavianus's meaſures. Statilius Taurus foreſeeing it, returned to Tarentum with the hundred and two ſhips he commanded; but the ſquadrons of Octavianus, Lepidus, and Agrippa, ſuffered much, that eſpecially of Octavianus, who on this occaſion loſt ſix of the ſhips, which Octavia had given him, twenty-ſix others, and a great number of light veſſels, called by the Latins Liburnicæ. His own ſhip with much ado made the bay of Velia, where, as in all dangers he had a particular care of his own perſon, he went aſhore, leaving his friends and mariners to ſtruggle all night with the winds and waves. When he reached the ſhore, and found himſelf out of danger, rage ſucceeded fear, and tranſported him to ſuch a degree, that he could not forbear venting it upon Neptune himſelf, crying out, "I ſhall conquer at length; yes, I ſhall con-" quer, Neptune, in ſpite of thee." Lepidus, who was come from Africa with twelve legions, and five thouſand Numidian horſe, on board eighty ſhips of war and a thouſand tranſports, after having loſt ſome of his veſſels, landed at Lilybæum in ſpite of the oppoſition he met with from Plennius, whom Pompey had poſted there with ſome legions and a great number of ſlingers and archers. All the other

Menas abandons Octavianus, and returns to Pompey.

Octavianus's fleet ſhipwrecked a ſecond time.

Lepidus lands in Sicily.

other ſquadrons were driven back, and forced to make what ports they could. Pompey, looking upon theſe repeated ſhipwrecks in ſummer, when the ſea is commonly calm, as viſible tokens of the favour and protection of Neptune, returned him ſolemn thanks for his aſſiſtance, and was ſo elated with this unexpected ſucceſs, as to ſtyle himſelf the ſon of Neptune. On the other hand, Octavianus thinking himſelf ill uſed by that deity, never forgave him; but cauſed his ſtatue ſeveral years after to be removed from the circus, where the public games were celebrated. But his chief care at preſent was, to refit his fleet, recruit his forces, and prevent the diſturbances which the news of this diſaſter might raiſe in Rome. Thither he diſpatched Mecænas, who with his uſual addreſs ſoon calmed the minds of the people. At the ſame time, he went in perſon to the ſeveral ports, where his ſhips had taken ſhelter, and, by encouraging and amply rewarding the workmen, got his fleet refitted, and ready to put to ſea again before the end of the ſummer. In this ſecond attempt he was attended with better ſucceſs than in the former; for Meſſala Corvinus landed ſafe with three legions, and encamped near Taurominium at a ſmall diſtance from Lepidus; ſeveral other legions were ſet a ſhore, without meeting with any conſiderable oppoſition in other places of the iſland, and Statilius Taurus made himſelf maſter of cape Scylaceum on the continent, which Pompey had ſeized. But on the other hand Papias, one of Pompey's admirals, falling in with a ſquadron, which was conveying four legions to Lepidus, attacked the tranſports, took ſome of them, ſunk others, and obliged the reſt to return to Africa. In this encounter two of Lepidus's legions were either taken, drowned or cut in pieces. In the mean time, Octavianus, who was then with his fleet in the port of Strongyle, one of the Æolian iſlands, obſerving all the coaſt of Sicily on that ſide lined with Pompey's forces, left the command of the fleet to Agrippa, and returned to Vibonium to haſten the departure of the reſt of his ſhips. Upon his departure, Agrippa, who longed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his valour, made himſelf maſter of Hiera, one of the Æolian iſlands, a place of the utmoſt importance. From thence he ſteered his courſe towards Mylæ, with a deſign to ſurpriſe Democharès, who had in that port a fleet of forty ſail under his command. But being informed that Papias was advancing to the relief of Democharès, he thought it adviſeable firſt to engage the former; which he did accordingly,

Octavianus refits his fleet.

ngly, and gained a complete victory, Papias, who behaved on this occaſion with unparallelled bravery, having loſt thirty galleys, and Agrippa only five. Upon the news of this victory Octavianus, who was then at Scylaceum, thinking Pompey was blocked up by Agrippa, embarqued the flower of his army, and landed in the neighbourhood of Tauromínium, with a deſign to beſiege that place. But in the mean time, Pompey appearing unexpectedly on the coaſt with his fleet, both Octavianus and his troops were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that Pompey might have eaſily cut them in pieces. But he, as the day was already far ſpent, inſtead of attacking them without loſs of time, retired with his land-forces to a neighbouring mountain, and there ſpent the night, which the enemy employed in fortifying their camp. Next morning by break of day Octavianus, not doubting but Pompey would attack his camp, left the defence of it to his lieutenants, L. Cornificius, Titinius, and Carcius, and went on board his fleet. But flying from one danger, he fell into another; for Pompey, not thinking it adviſeable to attack his camp, which was well fortified, fell upon his fleet, and ſoon convinced his rival, that if he wanted conduct, he did not want courage. Octavianus's fleet was put to flight at the firſt onſet, ſeveral of his ſhips were taken, and the reſt, a ſmall number only excepted, either ſunk or burnt. As the battle was fought near the ſhore, ſuch of Octavianus's men as could ſwim took refuge in the camp of Cornificius, but the reſt were for the moſt part either drowned or taken. As for Octavianus himſelf, he made his eſcape in a boat, and leaving his troops aſhore to ſhift for themſelves, made Abala, a city on the coaſt of Italy, being attended only by one domeſtic. As he was quite ſpent with the fatigue he had undergone, and overwhelmed with grief and chagrin on account of his defeat, he lay down on the open ſhore, and fell into ſo ſound a ſleep, that he was carried without waking by ſome officers, who knew him, to a camp, which Meſſala had formed in that neighbourhood for the defence of the coaſt (O). His firſt care after he awaked was, to provide for the ſafety of the troops he had left in

One of Pompey's ſquadrons defeated by Agrippa.

Pompey defeats a ſquadron commanded by Octavianus, who is in great danger.

(O) An accident is ſaid to have happened to him here, which, however frivolous, gave him great hopes of conquering at laſt. A large fiſh leaping out of the ſea, fell at his feet; and this the augurs, who were always conſulted on ſuch occaſions, interpreted to betoken victory to him, as if the ſea, by this tribute and ſubmiſſion, had acknowledged his power.

in Sicily under the command of Cornificius. With this view he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Agrippa, enjoining him to ſend forthwith a ſtrong body of legionaries under the command of Laronius to their aſſiſtance. And indeed Cornificius was reduced to the utmoſt extremity. He could receive no proviſions by ſea, which was beſet by the enemy's victorious fleet, and all convoys by land were intercepted by Pompey's Numidian cavalry. In this extremity he was forced to abandon his camp, without knowing what rout to take. At length he reſolved to march towards Mylæ, which Agrippa had ſeized, but was ſo haraſſed all the way by the enemy's parties, that his men began to deſpair, and gave themſelves up for loſt. Cornificius with his words and example ſupported their drooping courage, till they found themſelves ſhut up by the enemy's troops in a narrow valley, called the fiery brook. As the ground was here covered all over with duſt and aſhes thrown out by mount *Ætna*, without any ſprings or rivulets, they muſt inevitably have periſhed with thirſt, or ſurrendered at diſcretion, had not the ſuccours ſent by Agrippa, coming very ſeaſonably, diſengaged them from the deſperate condition to which they were reduced. At the approach of the Roman legions, the Numidians retired, leaving Cornificius to purſue his march without the leaſt diſturbance. That general was ſo pleaſed with his retreat, that on his return to Rome, when he happened to ſup at his friends houſes, he always came home mounted, as it were in triumph, on an elephant, having probably made uſe of that warlike animal in his retreat [z].

His troops in Sicily reduced to great ſtreights.

But relieved by Agrippa.

In the mean time, Octavianus returning to Sicily, had joined Agrippa in the neighbourhood of Tyndaris, where he was encamped with twenty-one legions, two thouſand horſe, and five thouſand light-armed foot. From thence they both marched towards Meſſana, with a deſign to beſiege that place, hoping thereby to draw Pompey to a battle, who had lodged all his military ſtores, proviſions, and treaſures, in that city. As they approached the place, Lepidus, whom Octavianus had acquainted with his deſign, joined them with all his ſea and land forces. This triumvir, ever ſince his firſt landing in the iſland, had given Octavianus juſt reaſons to ſuſpect his intentions. He took indeed, upon his arrival, ſome ſmall places on the coaſt, and

[z] Liv. l. cxxix. Vell. Patercul. l. iii. c. 79. Suet. in Octavio. Appian. l. v. Dio, l. xlix. Oroſ. l. vi. c. 18.

and beſieged Plennius in Lilybæum; but afterwards acting only defenſively, he ſuffered Octavianus to carry on the war by himſelf, without offering him the leaſt aſſiſtance, as if he had maintained a private correſpondence with Pompey. However, upon motives, which he diſcovered ſoon after, he approved of Octavianus's plan, and came to join him with all his forces before Meſſana, which city was cloſely inveſted both by ſea and land. Pompey, having aſſembled into one body all the troops he had diſperſed up and down the iſland, poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from Octavianus's camp, and at the ſame time drew together his ſeveral ſquadrons, ordering them to watch the motions of the enemy's fleet which blocked up the mouth of the harbour. After ſeveral motions and ſlight engagements between the fleets as well as the land-forces, Pompey challenged Octavianus to put an end to their differences by a ſea fight with three hundred ſhips on a ſide. This propoſal was no-ways agreeable to Octavianus, who had not hitherto been attended with any great ſucceſs by ſea. However, depending upon the valour and experience of Agrippa on one ſide, and on the other ſuſpecting the fidelity of Lepidus, who had according to ſome twelve, according to others twenty, legions under his command, he accepted the challenge; and a day was appointed for the deciſive action. Great preparations were made on both ſides for an event, which was to decide the fate of the contending parties. When the day agreed on, and impatiently wiſhed for, by the two generals, came, both fleets appeared early in the morning drawn up in battalia between Mylæ and Naulocus; upon which the two armies ran to the ſhore, there being then a kind of truce between them, to behold from thence the action, on which their fate in great meaſure depended. The ſignal was given, and the engagement began with that fury, which is peculiar to men, who are more animated by private hatred and party-rage, as happens in civil wars, than by motives of glory and conqueſt. Agrippa behaved with his uſual bravery, and Pompey, knowing all lay at ſtake, diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the beginning of the action to the end in a very eminent manner. Never was victory diſputed with more obſtinacy, the ſoldiers as well as officers of both parties fighting, after the example of their generals, with incredible reſolution and intrepidity. The ſea was covered to a great diſtance with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but ſhouts of the ſoldiers and mariners encouraging each other, or cries of men

Meſſana inveſted by Octavianus and Lepidus.

A general action at ſea between Pompey and the two triumvirs.

Pompey entitely defeated.

periſhing in the waves. The victory continued long doubtful, but at length all yielded to the valour and ſuperior conduct of Agrippa, Pompey's fleet was put to flight, and that unfortunate Roman obliged, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, to own himſelf conquered. Of his numerous fleet only ſeventeen veſſels eſcaped, the reſt being taken, burnt, or ſunk [a]. Democharés, one of his admirals, was taken priſoner, but laid violent hands on himſelf, to avoid the diſgrace of being led in triumph. Apollophanes, his other admiral, yielded up himſelf and his galley to Agrippa in the very beginning of the action. What became of Papias, another of his freedmen, in whom he placed great truſt, we know not, none of the antients making any mention of him in the account they give us of this great action. As for Menas, he had, long before the battle, with his uſual inconſtancy and perfidiouſneſs abondoned Pompey the ſecond time, and gone over with his ſquadron to Octavianus, who received him, rather to weaken the enemy's party than to ſtrengthen his own; for knowing he was not a man to be truſted, he gave him no command, and diſplaced all the officers of the ſquadron he brought with him. This treacherous wretch, whoſe courage and experience were worthy of a more noble mind, retired, if we believe Horace, with great wealth, and ſerved afterwards in the poſt of a military tribune. The glory of this victory was entirely owing to Agrippa; for Octavianus, if Antony is to be credited, had not the courage even to look at the two navies drawn up in battalia, but in a great fright lay down in his galley with his eyes lifted up to heaven, like one beſide himſelf, and continued in that poſture, till Agrippa had put the enemy to flight. Some writers, to clear their hero from the reproach of cowardice, pretend, that, at the time of the engagement, he was overcome with ſo profound a ſleep, that his friends with much ado waked him to give the word, and the ſignal for the charge. Be that as it will, it would ſeem very ſtrange now-a-days, if the commander in chief of a fleet or army ſhould ſay, by way of excuſe for not diſcharging his duty during any memorable action, that he was aſleep, and did not awake till the battle was over. Octavianus, however, did, in ſome degree, juſtice to the valour of Agrippa, honouring him with a blue ſtandard, and a roſtral crown, that is, a crown, whereof the flower-

Year after the flood 2968. Before Chriſt 31. Of Rome 717.

Octavianus reproached with cowardice.

work

[a] Liv. Vell. Patercul. Suet. Appian. Dio. Oroſ. Ibid. Flor. l. iv. c. 18.

work repreſented the beaks of galleys. He deſerved indeed a more ſubſtantial reward, having utterly deſtroyed the enemy's numerous fleet with the loſs of three ſhips only of his own; but we ſhall ſoon ſee him raiſed to the greateſt honours of the ſtate, and diſtinguiſhed by Octavianus, when abſolute maſter of Rome, above all the ſubjects of the Roman empire. As for the unhappy Pompey, inſtead of repairing to his land-forces, and encouraging them with his preſence, he left them at the diſcretion of the conqueror, and taking on board his daughter and ſome of his friends who were in Meſſana, together with the treaſures he had lodged in that city, he paſſed the ſtreights in the night, and ſteered his courſe towards Aſia with ſeventeen galleys, the poor remains of a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail. His deſign was to throw himſelf upon the mercy of Antony, whoſe mother Julia he had formerly received and entertained with great civility, when ſhe abandoned Rome, during the war of Peruſia. Upon his retreat, Tiſienus Gallus, one of his lieutenants, immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror with all the forces under his command. As for Plennius, who commanded eight legions in Lilybæum, upon the firſt news of Pompey's defeat, he marched with incredible expedition to Meſſana, and threw himſelf into the place, before Octavianus or Agrippa had any intelligence of his deſign. But ſeeing there were no hopes of relief, he took the advantage of Octavianus's abſence to capitulate with Lepidus, who granted him honourable conditions, and incorporated the troops he commanded among his own legions. Agrippa, whom Octavianus had left to carry on the ſiege with Lepidus, exclaiming againſt this unfair conduct, intreated him to wait till the arrival of his collegue, which at fartheſt would be, he ſaid, next morning. But Lepidus, without hearkening either to his remonſtrances on entreaties, received Plennius into his camp, and gave up the city to be plundered by his ſoldiers. Octavianus, arriving at break of day, ſent ſome of his friends to his collegue's camp to complain in his name of theſe proceedings. Lepidus, who had now twenty-two legions under his command, anſwered with great haughtineſs, that he would not ſuffer Octavianus to take upon him all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to it. Upon this reply Octavianus, having firſt gained over by his emiſſaries the greateſt part of Lepidus's officers, repaired to his camp attended with a ſtrong body of horſe, under pretence of making up matters with him in an amicable manner. He

Pompey's flight.

Meſſana and all Sicily ſubmit to the conqueror.

Miſunderſtanding between Octavianus and Lepidus.

no ſooner appeared, than Plennius's legions, whom he had already found means to debauch, flocked to him, offering him their ſervice. Lepidus, alarmed at this unexpected attempt, fell upon Octavianus at the head of his guards, killed his ſhield-bearer cloſe by him, wounded him, and obliged him to retire in ſome confuſion. However, the next day Lepidus had the mortification to ſee himſelf abandoned by all his troops, who with their enſigns diſplayed marched out of their camp, in good order, to join his rival (P). The unhappy triumvir being thus left alone, quitted all the marks of his authority, and putting on a mourning robe, after having remained ſome time unregarded in the throng of thoſe who made their ſubmiſſions to Octavianus, threw himſelf at the feet of his collegue, and with great meanneſs begged his life, which was granted him with his eſtate, Octavianus deſpiſing him too much to take it from him. Suetonius is the only writer, who ſays, that Octavianus baniſhed him to Circeii, a ſmall town on the coaſt of Latium. That he attained to be one of the ſupreme governors of the Roman empire was entirely owing to fortune, he being a man without any wiſdom, valour, or activity: and therefore, after he had thus fallen from the high ſtation, to which fortune had raiſed him, he was no more regarded, but ended his life in obſcurity and contempt. Thus the whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon Antony and Octavianus, who held the Roman empire divided between them, the former having all the eaſt from the borders of Illyricum and the Adriatic gulph, and the latter all the reſt [b].

Lepidus abandoned by his ſoldiers, and depoſed.

No Roman general was ever at the head of ſo powerful an army as Octavianus was at this time in Sicily. He had

[b] Applan. l. v. p. 741. Dio, l. xlix. p. 398. Suetonius in Octavio.

(P). Appian tells us, that Octavianus went alone to the camp of Lepidus, depending on his own merit, and the authority he had gained by his victories, Pompey's ſoldiers looking upon him with reſpect and drawing round him. Hereupon Lepidus ordered his guards to diſperſe them, and fall upon Octavianus, who, notwithſtanding the wound he received, went to the place, where the eagles of the legions were kept, and taking one of them, exhorted the legionaries to follow him, which they did accordingly, abandoning their own general.

had under his command forty-five legions, twenty-five thouſand horſe, one hundred and ſixty thouſand light-armed foot, and beſides ſix hundred ſhips of war, without counting the ſmaller veſſels, which were without number. His power was now almoſt equal to his ambition; but they were both checked by the inſolence of his ſoldiers, who ſcarce ever failed to allay the joy which his victories gave him, and to put a ſtop to his further conqueſts. The war in Sicily being now at an end, the legionaries, reflecting on their great numbers and ſtrength, began to mutiny, and demand in a tumultuous manner their diſcharge, and the ſame rewards which had been beſtowed on thoſe who had overcome Brutus and Caſſius in the plains of Philippi. Octavianus endeavoured to appeaſe the mutineers, by telling them that he deferred giving them the rewards which were due to their valour, till the return of Antony from the eaſt: adding, that the Illyrians, who had declared war, were to be conquered before any thing elſe could be done. But the mutinous legionaries refuſed to march, till he had ſatisfied their demands. Hereupon the general, being at a loſs what to do, cauſed ſeveral crowns, bracelets, ſpears, &c. to be brought out for ſuch of the ſoldiers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war, and ſcarlet robes for the officers; but a tribune, by name Ofilius, told him with a great deal of inſolence, "That he might keep thoſe "bawbles for children; but as for his ſoldiers, nothing "would ſatisfy them but money or land." At theſe words the whole army ſhouted, and Octavianus in a great paſſion came down from his tribunal, and withdrew. The audacious tribune diſappeared that night, and was never after ſeen or heard of, no-body doubting, but he had been privately diſpatched by Octavianus's orders. This made the others more cautious, but not more tractable; for whenever Octavianus appeared, they cried out all with one voice, "Money, or "our diſcharge;" inſomuch, that he was at length obliged to diſmiſs thoſe, whoſe time of ſervice was expired, to the number of twenty thouſand. The others he pacified with large promiſes, and a donative of five hundred drachmas a man, which he levied upon the Sicilians. After this, having ſettled the affairs of Sicily, he returned to Rome, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy: the ſenate in a body met him at the gates, and conducted him to the capitol, followed by all the people crowned with garlands; from the capitol, after he had returned thanks

Octavianus's ſoldiers mutiny.

He diſcharges ſome, and pacifies the others.

to the gods for the ſucceſs of his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he aſſembled the ſenate, according to cuſtom, in the temple of Bellona, where in a ſtudied ſpeech, which he cauſed afterward to be publiſhed, he gave the conſcript fathers an account of his expedition, and aſſured them, that he had undergone ſo many toils and dangers with no other view, but to reſtore peace and tranquility to Rome. When he had ended his ſpeech, he withdrew; and the ſenators, who were no more ſwayed with the love of liberty, but a ſpirit of ſlavery, and the meaneſt flattery, decreed him ſuch honours as he himſelf was aſhamed to aſſume. However, he gave them leave to erect a ſtatue of gold to his honour in the forum with this inſcription; "To Cæſar, for having reſtored peace by "ſea and land," and to appoint an annual feaſt to be celebrated on the day he had overcome Pompey. A triumph was decreed him, but he was ſatisfied with an ovation, which honour he enjoyed on the ides of November [c]. After his ovation, he aſſembled the people, and having returned them thanks for the honour they had beſtowed on him, he leſſened the taxes, and forgave thoſe who had hired houſes of the public all the rents they owed to the treaſury. Thus he began to court the favour of the people at the expence of the public, being determined to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered of cruſhing Antony, as he had done Pompey and Lepidus, and aſſuming the whole power to himſelf. As the city as well as the country had been greatly infeſted, during the late troubles, with thieves and robbers, he charged Sabinus, one of his lieutenants, to purſue them with fire and ſword, and eſtabliſhed at Rome ſeveral companies for the guard of the city under the command of an officer, whom he ſtyled præfectus vigilum. By this means peace and tranquillity were reſtored, not to Rome only, but to all Italy; which together with the plenty he procured, being now maſter of Sicily, gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that ſome cities went even ſo far as to erect altars to their benefactor, eſpecially after one generous action, which inſpired them with an high opinion of his prudence and goodnature. He had found among Pompey's papers a great many letters to him from ſome of the chief men in the ſenate.

Honours decreed to Octavianus by the ſenate.

He courts and gains the affections of the people.

[c] Appian. l. v. p. 746. Dio, l. xlix. p. 400. Suet. ibid. c. 22. Oroſ. l. vi. c. 18.

ſenate. Theſe he brought into the forum, and before all the people threw them unopened into the fire, proteſting, that he ſacrificed his private reſentments to the good of the public. At the ſame time he ſolemny declared, that his intention was to reſign his authority as ſoon as Antony ſhould return from the Parthian war. This declaration, however inſincere, abſolutely gained him the hearts and affections of the undiſcerning multitude, who immediately choſe him tribune of the people for his life, hoping this new dignity might induce him to lay down the more odious title of triumvir. He readily accepted the perpetual tribuneſhip, which rendered his perſon ſacred and inviolable; but put off the ſuppreſſion of the triumvirate till the return of Antony, diſpatching in the mean time Bibulus to impart to him his reſolution. After this Octavianus left Rome, and marched at the head of his army againſt the Illyrians, who had ſhaken off the Roman yoke.

He is choſen perpetual tribune of the people.

During theſe tranſactions at Rome, Pompey occaſioned great diſturbances in the eaſt. From Sicily he ſailed to the iſland of Leſbos, where he was informed of the bad ſucceſs which had attended Antony in his expedition againſt the Parthians. Hereupon he began to entertain thoughts of taking Antony's poſt in the eaſt, or at leaſt of ſharing with him the empire. With this view he ſent embaſſadors to the kings of Pontus, Thrace, and Parthia, ſoliciting their friendſhip, and offering them very advantageous terms. At the ſame time, he drew together what troops he could, giving out that he had no other deſign but to aſſiſt Antony, and defend himſelf againſt Octavianus. Antony, informed of theſe proceedings, commanded Marcus Titius to take upon him the command of the army that was quartered in Sicily, and watch the motions of Pompey. Titius was ordered to receive him with all poſſible marks of honour, if he yielded up himſelf and his troops; but to cut both him and his army in pieces, if he refuſed to ſubmit. But Pompey, before the arrival of Titius, had pulled off the maſk, and taken ſeveral cities of Aſia Minor, among the reſt Nicæa and Nicomedia. Hereupon Titius, taking with him Furnius, Antony's lieutenant in Aſia, marched againſt him, and, having defeated his ſmall army, obliged him to ſurrender at diſcretion. As ſoon as Antony had notice of his being taken, he wrote to Titius to put him to death; but ſoon after changing his mind, he ſent a ſecond letter, ordering his lieutenant to ſave him. But the ſecond meſſenger arriving before the firſt, Titius perverſely interpreting the laſt order he received to be the laſt that was ſent him, put the unfortunate captive to death, being afraid, as he had

Pompey raiſes new troubles in Aſia.

But is defeated, taken priſoner, and put to death.

formerly ſerved under him, but abandoned him to ſide with Antony, leſt he ſhould be once in a condition, if his life were ſpared, to be revenged on him for his treachery. This rendered Titius ſo odious to the Roman people, who ſtill retained a great regard for Pompey and his family, that they could never after bear the ſight of him, but drove him out of the circus with hiſſes and curſes, even while he was exhibiting to them games and ſhews at his own expence [d].

It was believed, that the death of Pompey would have put an end to all civil wars. But the unbounded ambition of Octavianus and Antony ſoon involved the Roman ſtate in new troubles. The paſſion Antony had for Cleopatra, and the extravagant preſents of whole provinces, which he beſtowed on her, ſerved Octavianus for a ſpecious pretence to make war upon him, though his real motive was to get rid of a competitor ſo formidable, both for his valour and the high reputation he had gained among the ſoldiery. Antony had left Octavia in Italy, as we have related above, and paſſed into Syria, whither he invited Cleopatra, and gave her all Phænice, Cæle-Syria, Cyprus, and a great part of Arabia and Judæa. Theſe profuſe gifts much diſpleaſed the Roman people, who daily publiſhed ſcurrilous lampoons, cenſuring his conduct, and turning him into ridicule on account of the ſcandalous life he led with Cleopatra. Soon after he marched againſt the Parthians with thirteen legions, ten thouſand Gauliſh or Spaniſh horſe, and above thirty thouſand light-armed foot. But this mighty army, which made all the eaſt tremble, ſerved only to render his retreat more ſhameful, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the Parthians [e]. As all the misfortunes he met with in that fatal expedition were owing to his paſſion for Cleopatra, which made him neglect the more proper meaſures, to follow thoſe only, which might haſten his return to that bewitching woman, the Romans were highly incenſed againſt him. But what moſt of all provoked them was his taking Artabazes, king of Armenia, in a moſt treacherous manner, as we have related elſewhere [f], and leading him in triumph into Alexandria, the Romans looking upon the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city. Octavianus took advantage of Antony's impolitic conduct, to eſtrange more and more the minds

Antony's prodigality offends the Roman people.

[d] Appian. p. 747. Dio. p. 402. Strabo, l. iii. p. 141. Liv. epit. l. cxxxii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 82 & 97. [e] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XI. p. 49. & ſeq. [f] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IX. p. 348.

minds of the people from him; and when he found their ſpirits ſufficiently exaſperated, he reſolved to ſend his ſiſter Octavia to her huſband, that he might have a plauſible pretence to declare war, if he ſhould offer her the affront of ſending her back without ſeeing her. Antony was then returned from his Parthian expedition, and waited at Leucopolis, or, as Plutarch calls it, Leucocome, for the arrival of Cleopatra, whom he had ſent for. The queen arrived at laſt, bringing with her cloaths for the ſoldiers, and vaſt ſums of money to be diſtributed among them. Almoſt at the ſame time Niger, one of Antony's particular friends, arrived from Octavia, who was already come as far as Athens, with letters from her to her huſband; wherein ſhe acquainted him, that ſhe had brought with her cloaths for his ſoldiers, a great many horſes, and rich preſents for his friends and officers, with two thouſand choſen men well armed to recruit the prætorian cohorts. This was very unwelcome news to the queen, who knowing Octavia came only to diſpute with her, and lay in her claim to, Antony's affections, and dreading the preſence of ſo virtuous a rival, feigned a deep melancholy, and pretended to be dying for love of him. When ſhe was near him, ſhe beheld him with languiſhing eyes and a deſpairing countenance, like one beſide herſelf with love. She let fall tears in his preſence, and at the ſame time pretended to dry them up in haſte, and unobſerved, as if ſhe were aſhamed to have him a witneſs of her weakneſs. By theſe artifices the crafty queen gained the aſcendant over Antony, and prevailed upon him to ſend word to Octavia, that ſhe ſhould not purſue her journey into Syria, but to return to Rome. After this he waited on Cleopatra back to Alexandria, where he paſſed the winter with that lewd woman in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuouſneſs.

Octavianus ſtirs up the people againſt him.

Cleopatra prevails upon Antony to ſend back Octavia.

Octavia being returned to Rome, her brother ordered her to quit her huſband's houſe, ſince he had treated her ſo contemptuouſly: but the virtuous Octavia refuſed to obey him, ſaying, that though ſhe had a great reſpect for her brother, yet ſhe could not prevail upon herſelf to comply with his orders; and therefore conjured him not to force her to leave the houſe of a perſon, whom ſhe would always honour as her huſband in ſpite of his inconſtancy: ſhe entreated him to abandon her intereſt, and not make war upon Antony for an affront, which regarded her alone, ſince it would be a ſhameful thing to have it reported, that two of the greateſt commanders in the world had involved the Roman people in a war, the one to juſtify his miſtreſs, the other in reſentment

The virtuous behaviour of Octavia.

for

for his ſiſter's ill uſage. Octavianus could not help indulging her virtuous inclinations; he allowed her to continue in her huſband's houſe, where ſhe brought up his children with extraordinary care, without making any diſtinction between her own and thoſe he had by Fulvia. She took under her protection all thoſe whom her huſband ſent to Rome to ſue for offices, aſſiſted their pretenſions with the authority her virtue gave her, and never left importuning her brother, till ſhe had obtained for them what they deſired. But nothing proved more prejudicial to Antony's intereſt than this deportment of Octavia; his injurious treatment of a woman of her rank, merit, and virtue, drew on him the reſentment of all the Romans, who were ſtill more provoked at what he did about this time at Alexandria. For having feaſted the whole people of that great metropolis, he aſſembled them in the gymnaſium, and cauſing a throne of ſilver to be erected there with two ſeats of gold, the one for himſelf, the other for Cleopatra, and lower ſeats at their feet for his children, he proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Cæle-Syria, and joined with her as her collegue Cæſarion, whom ſhe had by Julius Cæſar. As for his own children by Cleopatra, he gave to Alexander Armenia, Media, Parthia, and the reſt of the eaſtern provinces from the Euphrates to the Indus; to Cleopatra, the twin ſiſter of Alexander, Libya and Cyrene; and to Ptolemy, whom he ſurnamed Philadelphus, Phænice, Syria, Cilicia, and all the countries of the Leſſer Aſia from the Euphrates to the Helleſpont; and he conferred on each of them the title of "king of kings." What ſeemed moſt remarkable in this ſolemnity was, that Cleopatra appeared dreſt like the goddeſs Iſis, and Antony like the god Oſiris; and from that time both frequently gave audience to the people, in the attire which was thought peculiar to thoſe deities [p]. Octavianus, taking advantage of the general reſentment againſt Antony, which this diviſion of provinces occaſioned at Rome, accuſed him before the ſenate and people of this and ſeveral other attempts highly injurious to the majeſty of the Roman empire; which Antony being informed of, ſent ſome of his friends to Rome to plead his cauſe, and accuſe Octavianus in his turn. The chief articles he preferred againſt him were, 1. That he had not ſhared with him the iſland of Sicily, which was lately taken from Pompey. 2. That he had not made reſtitution of the ſhips he had lent him: 3. That having abrogated the power of Lepidus his collegue,

Antony gives new occaſion of offence to the Roman people.

Octavianus accuſes him before the ſenate.

[p] Plut. in Anton. Dio. l. xlix. p. 415, 416. & lib. l. p. 421.

collegue, he had appropriated to himſelf his army, his government, and revenues: Laſtly, that he had divided almoſt all Italy among his own ſoldiers, and reſerved nothing for his. To theſe accuſations Octavianus anſwered, that he had not diſmiſſed Lepidus from his government, till he had made it appear that he was unfit to govern; that as to what he had got by the war, he would divide it with Antony, when he gave him his ſhare of Armenia; and as for Antony's ſoldiers, they could not ſurely value or claim a few acres of land in Italy, after they had conquered all Media, and reduced the wealthy empire of the Parthians by the mighty exploits they had performed, under the conduct of their invincible general. Antony was ſo provoked at this biting jeſt, that though he had already marched as far as the river Araxes with a deſign to invade Parthia, he dropt that expedition, and ordered Canidius, one of his lieutenants, to march forthwith at the head of ſixteen legions down to the coaſts of the Ionian ſea, and there keep himſelf in a readineſs to paſs over into Europe at a day's warning. As for Antony himſelf, he haſtened with Cleopatra to Epheſus, where his lieutenants had got together eight hundred veſſels, of which the queen furniſhed two hundred with twenty thouſand talents and proviſions for the whole army. Antony was adviſed by his friends to ſend back Cleopatra into Egypt, there to expect the event of the war; but ſhe, dreading a peace might be made in her abſence, upon condition of Antony's receiving again Octavia and excluding her, prevailed upon Canidius with a large ſum of money to repreſent to Antony, that it was not juſt to d[illegible] away a princeſs with diſgrace, who bore ſo great a part in the charge of the war; that it would be highly impolitic to diſoblige the Egyptians, who made up ſo conſiderable a part of his naval forces; and finally, that Cleopatra was not inferior to any of the kings who attended him, in prudence and good ſenſe, as was manifeſt from her governing ſo mighty a kingdom by herſelf. It was owing to Octavianus's good fortune and Antony's evil deſtiny, that this counſel took place. Cleopatra was allowed to ſtay, and they both left Epheſus, and ſet ſail for Samos, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither all the kings, princes, and nations from Egypt to the Euxine ſea, and from Armenia to Illyricum, were ordered to ſend men, arms, and proviſions. It was at the ſame time proclaimed, that all ſtage-players, dancers, ſingers, buffoons, &c. ſhould repair to the ſame iſland; ſo that ſometimes a ſhip, which was thought to be laden with ſoldiers and warlike ſtores, proved fraught with ſcenes, machines for the ſtage, muſicians,

Articles preferred againſt Octavianus by Antony.

Antony reſolves upon a war with Octavianus.

How he ſpent his time at Samos.

ans, and players. Thus, while the reſt of the world was in tears, and in great dread of the approaching war, joy and all kind of pleaſures reigned at Samos, as if they had abandoned all other places to reſide there. Thither each city, within the limits of Antony's government, was ordered to ſend an ox to be offered in ſacrifice; and the kings, who attended him, were in a perpetual diſpute who ſhould make the moſt magnificent feaſts: inſomuch, that it became a common queſtion among the ſpectators, "What will they do by way "of triumph after the victory, ſince they make ſuch rejoyc-"ings at the opening of a dangerous war [q]?"

And Athens.

FROM Samos, Antony ſailed for Athens, where he lived after his uſual manner, ſpending his whole time in luxury and voluptuouſneſs. Cleopatra, who accompanied him, being jealous of the honours Octavia had received at Athens, inſinuated herſelf, with all the civilities imaginable, into the favour of the Athenians, who in requital decreed her honours beyond the condition of mortals, and deputed ſeveral of the citizens to wait upon her at her houſe with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himſelf, he being free of Athens: and, as he was choſen their ſpeaker, he harangued the queen in the name of the people. While he was at Athens, C. Soſius and Domitius Ahenobarbus, the conſuls of this year, were obliged to leave Rome, not thinking themſelves ſafe there, after they had taken upon them to defend Antony. They both took refuge in Athens, and incenſed Antony to ſuch a degree againſt Octavianus, that he ſolemnly divorced Octavia, and ſent proper officers to Rome to drive her out of his houſe. The virtuous Octavia obeyed without complaining, and retired to her own houſe with all his children, except Antyllus, his eldeſt ſon by Fulvia, who was with his father. She only lamented her hard fate, in ſeeing herſelf looked upon as one of the cauſes of a civil war. But men of penetration well knew, that there was only one true cauſe of the preſent breach, viz. Octavianus's unbounded ambition, which, not ſatisfied with one-half of the Roman empire, aſpired at the whole. But he had certainly been diſappointed, had not Antony, according to his cuſtom, ſpent ſo much time in idleneſs and debauchery, at Samos and Athens, with that bewitching woman, who at length was the occaſion of his ruin. Had Antony come immediately to a final deciſion, he muſt unavoidably have carried the day, he having then with him a powerful fleet and a numerous army, where-

He divorces Octavia.

as

[q] Plut. ibid.

as his rival had not yet made any preparations for a war; and beſides all Italy was in a ferment, on account of the extraordinary taxes which he was forced to lay on the people, for the raiſing of the neceſſary ſums; inſomuch, that it was looked upon as one of the greateſt of Antony's overſights, that he put off the war till the next ſummer, by which time Octavianus, having quieted the people, put himſelf in a condition of diſputing the empire, with forces equal to thoſe of his enemy [r].

Antony is forſaken by ſeveral of his friends.

DURING Antony's ſtay at Athens, many of his friends, being ill uſed by Cleopatra for oppoſing her deſign of attending Antony in the war, abandoned him, and came over to Octavianus, among the reſt Plancus, and Titius his nephew. Plancus on his arrival at Rome accuſed Antony before the ſenate of ſeveral crimes, with ſo much venom and bitterneſs, that Coponius could not forbear ſaying to him, "Surely "you never obſerved what you now lay to Antony's charge, "till the evening before your departure," reproaching him thereby either with baſeneſs, in enduring thoſe crimes ſo long, or with ſtupidity, in not finding them out ſooner (Q). Pollio's conduct was as generous, as Plancus's was infamous. Pollio had abandoned Antony, and led a private life in Italy, ever ſince his firſt intrigues with Cleopatra; but yet, when Octavianus

[r] Plut. ibid.

(Q). Plancus was one of Cleopatra's moſt ſervile flatterers, and had been privy to all Antony's intrigues, debaſing himſelf to the meaneſt employments about him, even to the writing of his love-letters to the queen and to other women. Though he had been conſul, commander in chief of an army, and governor of a province, he was not aſhamed to appear at the Egyptian court among common actors, buffoons, and ſtage-players, all wretches, whoſe birth was as mean as their profeſſion. At a public entertainment, to curry favour with the queen, he took upon him to perſonate Glaucus, and, having painted his body green, danced quite naked on the public theatre, with a crown of reeds on his head, trailing behind him the tail of a huge fiſh. This behaviour, highly unbecoming a man of his age and quality, made him appear contemptible in the eyes of the Egyptians themſelves. Beſides, Antony abuſed and reproached him for ſome extortions, whereof he had been accuſed; which, as he was already deſpiſed by the Egyptians, he took ſo much amiſs, that he laid hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to abandon Antony, and join Octavianus, who received him with great demonſtration of friendſhip and affection.

Octavianus preſſed him to ſerve under him in this war, he anſwered frankly, "I have ſerved Antony better perhaps "than he has rewarded me; however, as the favours I "have received at his hands are more known than the ſer-"vices I have done him, to avoid the imputation of ingra-"titude, I will not take up arms againſt him, but quietly "wait the event of the war, and be at the diſcretion of "the conqueror." Antony had made a will in favour of Cleopatra, and highly injurious and diſhonourable to the Roman people, and lodged it with the veſtals at Rome. Plancus and Titius, who had been privy to all his ſecret counſels and deſigns, gave notice of it to Octavianus, who immediately demanded it. The religious veſtals anſwered, that they could not deliver it up, without a ſacrilegious breach of the truſt repoſed in them; but that Octavianus might, if he thought fit, come and ſeize it himſelf; which he did accordingly; and having firſt read it over in private, and made marks upon thoſe places which he thought moſt for his purpoſe, he called the ſenate, and cauſed it to be read to them. In this will Antony declared, that Cæſarion, Cæſar's ſon by Cleopatra, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the true heir of Julius Cæſar. This was diſpoſſeſſing Octavianus of the inheritance which he held, only as the adopted ſon of the dictator. By the ſame will he bequeathed moſt of the Roman territories, which were under his command, to Cleopatra and her children; and moreover ordered his body, where-ever he ſhould die, though at Rome itſelf, to be ſent into Egypt to Cleopatra, there to be buried, as he ſhould direct. Octavianus inſiſted more eſpecially on that part of the will which related to his funeral, and on his robbing the Roman people of their provinces, to enrich a foreign princeſs, who was an enemy to Rome. As theſe charges were undeniably made good from an authentic inſtrument, they eſtranged from him the minds of many, who had hitherto pleaded his cauſe with great zeal. Some of his friends, however, took his part, declaring, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of proceeding to puniſh a man in his life-time, for what was not to be put in execution till after his death. Hereupon Caius Calviſius accuſed him of ſeveral other crimes, viz. that he had made a preſent to Cleopatra of the famous library of the kings of Pergamus, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand volumes; that he had ſuffered the Epheſians to give her the title of their queen; that he had frequently

Octavianus makes uſe of Antony's will to ſtir up the people againſt him.

He is accuſed of ſeveral crimes by C. Calviſius.

quently at the public audience of kings and princes received love-letters from Cleopatra, and read them on his tribunal; that one day, when Furnius, an orator of great eloquence and authority among the Romans, was pleading before him, he left him and the audience in the middle of their cauſe to follow Cleopatra, who happened to paſs by in her chair; that at a ſolemn feaſt he had riſen from table, and trod upon her foot, which all the gueſts looked upon as the ſignal of a private meeting, &c. The heads of this accuſation, however ridiculous they may ſeem at preſent, were ſeriouſly propoſed by Calviſius, and appeared of ſuch moment and weight to Antony's friends, that they ſent one Geminius to him to let him know, that his affairs required him to be more circumſpect, and that, unleſs he altered his conduct, he was in danger of being deprived of the office of conſul, to which he had been named for the year enſuing, of being ſtripped of all his governments, and declared an enemy to the Roman people. The arrival of Geminius alarmed Cleopatra, who, looking upon him as one of Octavia's ſpies, ridiculed him, and made him the conſtant jeſt of the table, where ſhe took care to have him always placed at the lower end. Geminius bore all her affronts and outrages with great patience, in hopes of finding at length an opportunity of talking with Antony in private. But he, inſtead of giving him a private audience, aſked him one night at a full table, what had brought him to Athens? "The buſineſs I come upon," ſaid he, "well deſerves a "ſerious conſideration, and is not to be talked of over a "bottle. One thing, however, I am charged by your "friends to tell you, which you may hear as well drunk "as ſober; your affairs will bear a much better face, if "you ſend back Cleopatra into Egypt. You have done "very wiſely, Geminius," anſwered the queen in a great paſſion, "to tell us this important ſecret, without waiting "till it was extorted from you on the rack." A few days after Geminius, dreading the effects of Cleopatra's diſpleaſure, made his eſcape and returned to Rome, whither he was followed by many of Antony's friends, no longer able to bear with the ill uſage they received from the imperious queen. Among theſe were Marcus Syllanus and Dellius the hiſtorian. The latter had ſaid at an entertainment, where the wine was not to his mind, that Antony's friends drank vinegar, while at Rome Sarmentus was ſerved with Falernian wine. This Sarmentus is mentioned by Horace

The imperious behaviour of Cleopatra obliges ſeveral of Antony's friends to forſake him.

Horace [s], and was one of Octavianus's buffoons. Cleopatra took this raillery ſo ill, that ſhe ordered Dellius to be privately murdered; but he being acquainted, by one Glaucus a phyſician, of her deſign, ſaved himſelf by flight and retired to Rome [t].

War declared againſt Cleopatra.

And now Octavianus, finding himſelf in a condition to encounter Antony with equal forces, no longer delayed declaring war; but cauſed it to be decreed only againſt Cleopatra, for fear of provoking Antony's friends, who were ſtill very numerous and powerful. However, Antony was deprived of the conſulate, and his government was taken from him, for ſuffering himſelf to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied beſides, that Cleopatra had ſo bewitched Antony with her charms and potions, as to bereave him of his ſenſes; and that Antony was not to manage the war againſt the Romans, but Mardion the eunuch, Photinus, and Iras, Cleopatra's waiting-women, and Charmion, another of her maids, who were become Antony's counſellors and prime miniſters of ſtate [u]. It is ſaid, that this war was preceded by many ſigns and prodigies (R), which were all interpreted very juſtly, but not before Antony's defeat.

The forces of Octavianus and Antony.

The forces of the contending parties were anſwerable to the empire

[s] Horat. l. i. ſatyr. 5.
[t] Plut. ibid. Dio, lib. l. p. 420.
[u] Plut. ibid. Dio, p. 421, 422.

(R) The city of Piſaurum, where Antony had ſettled a colony, was ſwallowed up by an earthquake: a marble ſtatue of Antony at Alba was obſerved to ſweat for many days together. While he himſelf was in the city of Patræ, the temple of Hercules was deſtroyed by lightning, and at Athens the ſtatue of Bacchus was by a violent wind blown out of the Gigantomachia, and carried into the theatre. The Gigantomachia was a public edifice at Athens, where the battle of the gods with the giants was repreſented in painting. Theſe two latter prodigies were looked upon as very bad omens for Antony, who pretended to derive his pedigree from Hercules, and made a profeſſion of imitating Bacchus, cauſing himſelf for that reaſon to be called "young Bac-" chus." The ſame ſtorm falling at Athens upon the ſtatues of Eumenes and Attalus, which had been dedicated to Antony, and were called Antonii, overturned them, without hurting others, that ſtood equally expoſed. Some ſwallows built their neſts in the ſtern of Cleopatra's admiral galley, called Antonias; but others drove them away and deſtroyed their neſts (91).

(91) Plut. in Antonio.

empire they ſhared between them. Antony had under his command all the provinces from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian ſea and Illyricum, and from Cyrene to Æthiopia. Octavianus's government extended from Illyricum to the ocean, and comprehended all the coaſt of Africa that was oppoſite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Many kings followed Antony's fortune, and attended him in this war; namely Bocchus king of Mauritania, Tarcondemus or Tarcondimotus of Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Comagene, Adallas of Thrace. Theſe attended him in perſon: but Polemon king of Pontus, Malchus king of Arabia, Herod king of Judæa, Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia, only ſent their quotas of forces. All theſe together made up an army of an hundred thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. His navy conſiſted of five hundred ſhips of war, ſome whereof had eight, and ſome ten banks of oars. As for Octavianus, he had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thouſand foot, but was as ſtrong in cavalry as the enemy's. He had no more than two hundred and fifty ſhips, but thoſe light, and well manned with ſailors, rowers, and ſoldiers; whereas Antony's ſeemed built for oſtentation, and, beſides, were but very indifferently manned, his officers having been obliged, for want of mariners, to preſs in Greece, which had been exhauſted long before, carriers, labourers, and even boys; and for all this his veſſels had not their full compliment [w].

They write ſharp letters to each other.

BEFORE theſe two mighty fleets and armies came to engage, a paper war broke out, on what occaſion we know not, between the generals, who wrote very ſharp and reflecting letters to each other. Octavianus reproached Antony with the prodigality of his entertainments and his intrigues with Cleopatra. Antony, on the other hand, put Octavianus in mind of the famous entertainment of the twelve gods, at which he preſided dreſt like Apollo, while the other gueſts, women as well as men, appeared in the attire of gods and goddeſſes, and paſſed the night in the moſt infamous debaucheries (S). To this he added his haſty

[w] Plut. ibid. Dio, p. 422, 423.

(S) This feaſt, which was called the dodecatheon, becauſe the gueſts perſonated twelve gods and goddeſſes had made a great

haſty marriage with Livia againſt all rules of decency; his divorcing Scribonia, becauſe ſhe would not bear with the capricious humour of that new miſtreſs; and on this occaſion all the Roman ladies, with whom Octavianus had ever carried on intrigues, were brought upon the ſtage. Antony in one of his letters reproached him with the cowardice he had betrayed, in all the engagements at which he had been preſent, mentioning thoſe ſhameful circumſtances of which we have taken notice above. Hereupon Octavianus wrote to him, that it was childiſh to fight any longer with the pen; but that, if he would approach at the head of his army, he ſhould be ſuffered to land in Italy without moleſtation, that his fleet ſhould have ſafe ports, and his land-forces ground enough to encamp on and put themſelves in order of battle. In return to theſe bravadoes, Antony challenged his rival to a ſingle combat, though he was much older; and ſent him word, that, if he declined the challenge, he was ready to meet him at the head of his army in battle-array in the plains of Pharſalia, where Cæſar and Pompey had formerly decided their quarrel. However, nothing was done this year; Octavianus aſſembled with his fleet and army at Brunduſium, and Antony came as far as Corcyra to meet him; but, the ſummer being far ſpent and the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year approaching, they both retired and put their armies into winter-quarters [x].

Octavianus's third conſulate.

In the mean time, the conſular year expiring, Octavianus cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul for the third time, and took M. Valerius Meſſala for his collegue in the room of Antony, who was to enjoy that dignity this year, according to the agreement made between the two triumvirs and Pompey, of which we have ſpoken above. Meſſala reſigned the faſces on the calends of May to M. Titius, who had abandoned Antony together with Plancus, and Titius on the calends of October yielded his office to one Cn. Pompeius, of whoſe deſcent or ſervices no mention is made in hiſtory.

As

[x] Plut. & Dio, ibid.

great noiſe at Rome, and had been the ſubject of many ſatirical epigrams. Antony had never been guilty of more infamous and ſcandalous debaucheries, than Octavianus was on this occaſion.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, both armies took the field, and the fleets put to ſea. Antony's fleet ſailed into the Ambracian gulph, between the iſlands of Corcyra and Cephalenia, and his army encamped at Actium near his fleet. Actium was a ſmall city on the ſouth ſide of the mouth of the gulph in Acarnania. While Antony's fleet was at anchor there, Octavianus, croſſing the Ionian ſea, ſurpriſed Toryne, a ſmall city near Actium. This unexpected attempt occaſioned great confuſion in Antony's camp, by reaſon only a few legions were yet arrived, and they had not news of the reſt. But Cleopatra, to calm their fears turned it into a jeſt; „ Indeed," ſaid ſhe " we " ought to tremble, now that Cæſar has taken Toryne " (T), alluding to the word Toryne, which in the language of that country ſignifies a ladle. The next morning, as ſoon as it was light, Octavianus appeared off Actium with his ſhips in order of battle. As Antony's legions were not yet arrived, he had but a ſmall number of ſoldiers on board his fleet, and conſequently muſt unavoidably have been defeated, had Octavianus attacked him. To divert him therefore for the preſent from engaging, which he knew was no difficult matter in the abſence of Agrippa, he armed all his rowers and mariners, placed them on the decks, and ſailed up into the mouth of the gulph, as if he intended to fall upon the enemy; which Octavianus no ſooner obſerved, than he retreated, as Antony had expected. Octavianus's land-forces were encamped on the other ſide of the mouth of the gulph of Ambracia, at a place where Octavianus afterwards built, in memory of his victory, a city which he called " Nicopolis," or " the city of victory." While he lay there, Antony, who was well acquainted with the country, found means to cut off the water from his camp, which much diſtreſſed his army [y]. In the mean time, the brave Agrippa, with a ſquadron and a conſiderable body of land-forces, ravaged the coaſts of Greece, intercepted all the convoys that were coming to Antony from Egypt, Syria, and Aſia, and making deſcents, ſtormed ſeveral cities, among the reſt Me-

Antony encamps at Actium near his fleet.

And Octavianus on the oppoſite ſide of the Ambracian gulph.

The exploits of Agrippa.

[y] Plut. ibid.

(T) It is impoſſible to preſerve the beauty of this alluſion in our language. Toryne, which in this place is made uſe of as the name of a town, ſignifies likewiſe a ladle; and the witticiſm lies there, as if Cleopatra had ſaid, " We ought indeed to trem-" ble now that Octavianus has taken a ladle from us."

thona in Peloponneſus, where Bogud, king of Mauritania, who had ſided with Antony and defended the place, was killed, and the numerous garriſon cut in pieces. From Methona Agrippa ſailed for Leucas, at a ſmall diſtance from Actium, and in the ſight of Antony made himſelf maſter of that iſland and the ſhips he found there. The cities of Patræ and Corinth were likewiſe forced to ſubmit to him, after he had defeated Q. Naſidius, whom Antony had ſent to ſtop the progreſs of his conqueſts. As he was returning from the coaſts of Greece to join Octavianus, he fell in with Soſius, one of Antony's admirals, who had juſt put to flight L. Taureſius, whom Octavianus had ſent out with a numerous ſquadron to watch the enemy's motions. Agrippa attacked him with his uſual bravery, took ſome of his ſhips, ſunk others, and diſperſed the reſt. In this engagement Soſius himſelf periſhed, and with him Tarcondimotus king of Cilicia. At the ſame time, a great body of Antony's cavalry, commanded by himſelf, was defeated by a detachment of Octavianus's cavalry under the command of Titius and Statilius Taurus. Theſe advantages, and the arrival of Agrippa with his victorious ſquadron, induced Antony to abandon in the night-time the camp which he had fortified over againſt the enemy's, and retire to Actium on the other ſide of the Ambracian gulf, where the greateſt part of his army lay. While he continued at Actium, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, ſeeing his fleet ſo unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and himſelf ſpending his whole time with Cleopatra, abandoned him and went over to Octavianus. Among theſe were the kings Amyntas and Dejotarus, and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the laſt years conſul, who, notwithſtanding his affection to Antony, could no longer bear with the haughty and inſolent behaviour of Cleopatra. The unexpected deſertion of Domitius, whom Antony looked upon as one of his beſt friends, ſtung him to the heart: however, his carriage to him was very generous, and much againſt the will of Cleopatra; for he ſent after him his whole equipage, with his friends and ſervants; which ſo ſenſibly touched Domitius, who was ſick of a fever when he fled, that he ſoon after died, his diſtemper being encreaſed by the grief of abandoning a man, who by kindneſs requited his infidelity and deſertion. The flight of Domitius proved extremely prejudicial to Antony's intereſt, moſt men believing, that a perſon of his underſtanding and penetration would never have abandoned him, had he not

Several perſons of diſtinction go over to Octavianus.

thought

thought the ruin of his party inevitable. Antony now began to diſtruſt even his beſt friends, and cauſed ſome of them upon bare ſuſpicions to be put to death; namely Jamblichus, a petty king of Arabia, who expired upon the rack, and Q. Poſthumius, a ſenator of diſtinction [z].

Canidius adviſes Antony to diſmiſs Cleopatra, and retire.

At length Canidius, commander in chief of Antony's forces, arrived with the reſt of the legions, and ſoon after his arrival, as he ſaw the danger nearer, changed his mind with relation to Cleopatra. He adviſed Antony by all means to ſend her back, and retire himſelf into Thrace and Macedon, there to decide the quarrel in the open fields with his land-forces; the rather, becauſe Dicomes, king of the Getæ, was ready to join him with a great army. "It "will not," ſaid he to Antony, "be any diſparagement "to you to quit the ſea, and leave Octavianus maſter of "it, who in his wars with Pompey has gained ſo great ex- "perience in maritime affairs. But it will be renounc- "ing both ſenſe and reaſon for you, who are one of the "moſt experienced land-officers in the world, to make "no other uſe of your well diſciplined and ſtout troops, "than to diſperſe them on board ſeveral ſhips, and render "them uſeleſs in the defence of a navy. What can be "more ridiculous, more abſurd, than to depend upon the "ſea and winds for a victory, which the valour and ex- "perience of your ſoldiers, whom you have tried in ſo "many dangers, leave you no room to doubt of by land?"

But Antony reſolves upon a fight at ſea.

Antony was very much inclined to follow the advice of his prudent and faithful general; but Cleopatra, whoſe words were oracles with him, biaſſed him the other way, and obliged him, againſt his own judgment, to hazard the empire and his life in a ſea-fight. The perfidious and cowardly queen already entertained thoughts of flying, as Plutarch informs us, and was deliberating, not how to be aſſiſting to Antony in obtaining the victory, but how ſhe might, when all was loſt, make her eſcape with greateſt ſafety [a]. Antony, being now determined to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement by ſea, went often from his camp to the place where his fleet rid at anchor, ſometimes alone, and ſometimes attended only by ſome of his particular friends, as ſuſpecting no danger. One of Octavianus's ſlaves, having by chance obſerved him, ran immediately to his maſter, and told him, that he had ſeen Antony

[z] Plut. ibid. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 84. Dio, lib. l. p. 427, 428. [a] Plut. Dio, ibid.

walking, without any diſtruſt and ſlenderly attended, from his camp to the ſea-ſide. Hereupon Octavianus the ſame night ordered a party of choſen men to croſs the gulph, which at the entrance was but a mile over, and lie in wait for Antony on the narrow neck of land which led from his camp to the ſea. His orders were put in execution with ſuch ſecrecy, and the whole affair ſo well conducted, that had it not been for the impatience of ſome ſoldiers, who ſtarted up too ſoon, they had ſeized on Antony, and put an end to the war without ſhedding a drop of blood? for they took the officer who juſt walked before him, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Antony himſelf got off [b]

Antony in danger of falling into the enemy's hands.

AND now Antony being determined, out of a ſhameful complaiſance for Cleopatra, and againſt his own opinion as well as that of all his officers, to try his fortune by ſea, began to make the neceſſary preparations for an action, on the ſucceſs whereof depended the empire of the Roman world. As he was well acquainted with the effeminacy of the Egyptians, he was afraid they would turn their backs as ſoon as the fight began; and therefore he ſet fire to all their ſhips, except ſixty, which he ſpared, that they might ſerve as a guard for the queen. Out of the other ſquadrons from Syria, Greece, Cilicia, the kingdom of Pergamus, and Phænice, he choſe the beſt galleys from three ranks of oars to ten. The reſt he condemned to the flames for want of mariners. While he was reviewing the troops that were to embarque, an old experienced officer, who had fought often under him, and had his body covered all over with ſcars, called to him aloud, and addreſſed him thus: "O my noble general, why do you miſtruſt theſe "wounds and this ſword, ſo as to put your confidence in "rotten wood? Leave the water to the Egyptians and "Phœnicians, men born and nurſed up in that element; "but give us Romans the land, where we are accuſtom-"ed to brave death, and make our enemies fly before us." Antony returned no anſwer; only, by his looks and the motion of his hand, he ſeemed to bid him be of good heart, though he himſelf was far from being ſatisfied with the poſture of his affairs, as manifeſtly appeared from his behaviour towards the pilots, who were for leaving their ſails behind; but Antony obliged them to take them with them, ſaying, "We muſt not let one enemy eſcape;" which was putting a good face upon a bad cauſe [c].

AND

[b] Plut. ibid. [c] Plut. ibid Dio, p. 428.

AND now both fleets were ready to engage; but a violent ſtorm, which continued for four days together, prevented them. On the fifth, the ſea being calm, they advanced towards each other in good order. Gellius Publicola commanded Antony's right wing, Cœlius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Juſteius the main body. On Octavianus's ſide, Agrippa was placed in the centre, having Larius on his right, and Aruntius on his left. As for Octavianus and Antony, they were both, according to ſome writers, in the right wing of their reſpective fleets; according to others, they choſe no particular place for themſelves; but went each in a light veſſel from one diviſion to another, encouraging their men, and putting them in mind of their former exploits and victories (U). "This day," ſaid Antony to his "men before the engagement, "I expect the empire of "the world from your valour, and promiſe you rewards an- "ſwerable to ſo noble a conqueſt." Octavianus gave no leſs hopes to his men, and with more confidence, having been animated by an happy omen, which he cauſed to be publiſhed

The diſpoſition of the two fleets.

(U) According to Plutarch, Antony commanded the right wing in conjunction with Publicola. The ſame writer places Octavianus in his right wing, Agrippa in the left, and Aruntius in the centre (95). "The right wing of the Julian ſhips," ſays Velleius Paterculus (96), "was committed to M. Larius, the "left to Aruntius, and to Agrippa the charge of the whole. "Cæſar was preſent every-where. The command of Antony's "fleet was committed to Publicola and Soſius." As to the land-forces, it is agreed on all hands, that Taurus commanded in chief on the ſide of Octavianus, and Canidius on Antony's. Antony had on board his fleet twenty thouſand legionaries and two thouſand archers (97); Octavianus eight legions and five prætorian cohorts. As to the number of the ſhips, Florus tells us, that Octavianus's fleet conſiſted of four hundred ſail, and Antony's only of half that number; but what was wanting in number, adds that writer, was made up in bulk; for all Antony's ſhips had from ſix to nine ranks of oars; and beſides, "they were ſo raiſed "with turrets and decks, that they reſembled caſtles and cities, "making the ſea groan under them, and the wind out of breath "to move them (98)." But as to the number of Antony's ſhips, Florus is contradicted by Octavianus himſelf, who left written in his commentaries, quoted by Plutarch, that he took three hundred of the enemy's ſhips (99).

(95) Appian. ibid. (96) Vell. Paterc. l. ii, c. 85.
(97) Plut. ibid. (98) Flor. l. iv. c. 11. (99) Plut. ibid.

throughout the fleet (W). Antony ordered the commanders of his ſhips to receive the enemy without ſtirring, but lying ſtill as at anchor, and to keep within the mouth of the gulph. Agrippa was not for attacking him in that poſture; and therefore kept about eight furlongs diſtant from the enemy till noon, when a gentle gale ſpringing up, Antony's men, impatient of further delays, and truſting to the bulk and height of their ſhips, put their left wing in motion. Agrippa beheld this with great ſatisfaction, and ordered his right wing to bear back, on purpoſe to draw the enemy as far out of the ſtreights as poſſible, that his galleys, which were light and nimble ſailors, might have an opportunity of ſurrounding Antony's heavy ſhips, whoſe bulk and want of hands in proportion to their rates made them unwieldy and unfit for ſervice. On this ſide the action began; but in a different manner from what was then uſed in ſea-fights: there was no boarding, or running one ſhip againſt another, Antony's veſſels being, on account of their ſize, incapable of a violent motion, and, on the other hand, Octavianus's ſhips not daring to approach them for fear of ſplitting againſt their ſides, which were armed with ſtrong ſquare pieces of wood faſtened together with maſſy pins of iron; ſo that this engagement reſembled a land-fight, or rather the attack of ſome ſtrong place. Octavianus's ſoldiers attacked the enemy with pikes, javelins, darts, and ſeveral inventions of fire, which they threw among them, while Antony's men defended themſelves with ſhowers of darts and arrows, which they diſcharged from their wooden towers. In the mean time, Agrippa ordered Aruntius to extend his left wing, and endeavour

Battle of Actium. Year of the flood, 2973. Before Chriſt 26. Of Rome 722.

(W) We are told, that as Octavianus was going out of his tent at break of day to viſit the fleet, he met a countryman driving an aſs. Being moved with curioſity, or rather ſuperſtition, he aſked the man's name "My name," replied he, "is Eutyches, and my aſs is called Nicon." The firſt of theſe names in Greek ſignifies happy, and the other conqueror. This ſeemed ſo lucky an omen to Octavianus, that he no longer doubted of victory; and when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place, with the beaks of the ſhips he had taken, he cauſed two ſtatues of braſs to be erected, one repreſenting the man, and the other his aſs (100). Pliny adds (1), that as Octavianus was ſacrificing before the battle, the victim was found to have a double liver.

(100) Idem ibid. Suet. in Octav. c. 96. (1) Plin. l. xi. c. 37.

endeavour to hem in the enemy; which made Publicola advance to prevent it; but as by this motion he left the main body unguarded, Agrippa bore in upon it and put it in diſorder. However, the victory ſtill remained doubtful, Antony's ſoldiers, who were all choſen men, defending themſelves with incredible valour, and making a dreadful havock of all who attempted to approach them. The fight laſted ſeveral hours, with as fair a proſpect of ſucceſs for Antony as for Octavianus, the mariners and ſoldiers on board the two fleets being encouraged by the ſhouts of their reſpective armies, who waited the event of the engagement drawn up in battle array, the one on the north ſide, and the other on the ſouth ſide, of the Ambracian gulph. While the two parties were thus contending with great fury and obſtinacy, for victory, Cleopatra's ſixty galleys, crouding all their ſails, advanced unexpectedly between the two fleets. This ſudden motion equally ſurpriſed both navies. Antony, whoſe centre was already in diſorder, expected ſome gallant action from the queen, who had brought him into the preſent danger. He was therefore ſtruck with amazement, when he ſaw the whole Egyptian ſquadron, inſtead of falling upon the enemy, tack about, and with a fair wind ſteer their courſe towards Peloponneſus. Thus hiſtorians relate the flight and deſertion of the Egyptians, without giving any other reaſon for their abandoning, in ſo baſe and ſhameful a manner, the party they had embraced, than the timorouſneſs of their queen, who could no longer bear the noiſe and terror of the battle. What they add is ſtill more ſurpriſing. Antony had given too many proofs of his courage ever to be ſuſpected of cowardice; and on this occaſion not only the empire of the world, but his life, was at ſtake: neither had he any reaſon to deſpair of ſucceſs; but, on the contrary, the intrepidity and reſolution with which his men maintained the combat ſeemed to promiſe him certain victory; for tho' his centre had been put into ſome diſorder by Agrippa, yet that brave and experienced commander, notwithſtanding his utmoſt efforts, could not gain the leaſt advantage over them, each of Antony's great ſhips defending themſelves againſt many of his, and keeping them at a diſtance with inceſſant ſhowers of darts, arrows, ſtones, &c. which did great execution. But here Antony betrayed a weakneſs hardly to be imagined, and confirmed, as Plutarch obſerves, the antient ſaying, "that "a lover's ſoul lives in another body;" for, love getting the better of his ambition and of all other regards, he no ſooner

The flight of Cleopatra.

ſaw

ſaw the queen's ſhip under ſail, than, forgetting the duty of a general and renouncing the empire of the world, as if he had nothing more to apprehend than her abſence, he threw himſelf into a galley of five ranks of oars, and, attended only by two domeſtics, Scellius and Alexander the Syrian, he abandoned his men, who were generouſly ſacrificing their lives in his ſervice, to follow a baſe woman, who had long ſince begun, and was now accompliſhing, his deſtruction. As ſoon as he came up with Cleopatra's galley, he was taken on board; but, without ſo much as ſeeing her, he placed himſelf at the ſtern, and there, leaning his elbows on his knees and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and ſhame for his ill conduct, he continued a good while in that melancholy poſture [d].

Who is followed by Antony.

The gallant behaviour of Antony's troops.

The gallant behaviour of Antony's troops on this occaſion cannot be ſufficiently admired and commended; for tho' their general had abandoned them, and the report of his flight was ſpread all over the fleet, yet they fought with the ſame ardour and intrepidity as if he had been preſent, and would in all likelihood have gained the victory, which they diſputed till late at night, if a ſtiff gale, which blew hard a-ſtern, had not diſperſed their veſſels, and given the enemy an opportunity of falling upon them, while in diſorder and deſtitute of a leader to rally them. Three hundred ſhips yielded to the conqueror; but there were not above five thouſand of the enemy ſlain in the whole action, as Octavianus himſelf left recorded in his commentaries quoted by Plutarch [e] (X). Antony's land-forces ſhewed no leſs fidelity and affection for their general, than his marines had done. They could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions entire and twelve thouſand horſe, could baſely deſert them, and Antony above all, who had ſo often ſeen fortune in all her ſhapes as Plutarch expreſſes it, and been ſo accuſtomed to changes. They therefore expected he would ſoon appear from ſome part or other, and, putting himſelf at their head, give them an opportunity of ſhewing their fidelity and zeal for his intereſt and ſervice.

His fleet is overcome.

[d] Plut. ibid. Dio, lib. l. p. 439, 440. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 85. [e] Plut. in Anton.

(X) And yet Oroſius writes, that, on Antony's ſide, twelve thouſand men were killed and ſix or ſeven thouſand wounded, of whom one thouſand died of their wounds (2),

(2) Oroſ. l. vi. c. 19.

ſervice. When they were at laſt thoroughly perſuaded that he was fled and had deſerted them, they nevertheleſs kept in a body, tho' quite ſurrounded both by ſea and land, for ſeven days together, without hearkening to the advantageous offers made them by Octavianus. At length, being abandoned by Canidius and all their chief officers, who privately made their eſcape, they liſtened to the conditions which Octavianus offered them, and were incorporated among his legions. Such was the famous ſea-fight of Actium, ſo much ſpoken of by the antients, eſpecially the poets of that time [f]. It was fought on the ſecond day of September of the year 722 of Rome, Cæſar Octavianus and Meſſala Corvinus being conſuls. As Octavianus, by this ever memorable victory, became ſole maſter of the whole Roman empire, Dion [g], Suetonius, and after them Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, reckon from this time the years of Octavianus's empire or reign.

And his land-forces ſubmit.

AFTER this defeat, the auxiliaries, who had ſerved under Antony, retired to their reſpective countries, and afterwards made their peace with the conqueror, on the beſt terms they could. Some of the princes he depoſed, others he continued in their former ſtate; but impoſed upon them, as well as upon all the free ſtates which had ſided with Antony, heavy fines, whereby thoſe unhappy countries were reduced to a moſt deplorable condition. As for the Romans, Octavianus pardoned ſome at the earneſt entreaties of his friends and his mother Mucia; others he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, following therein the natural biaſs of his temper. Among the latter was the ſon of the famous Curio, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the moſt zealous partizans of Cæſar the dictator, and had loſt his life in maintaining his intereſt in Africa, as we have related above. His ſon followed the fortune of Antony, and therefore, being taken priſoner at Actium, Octavianus, without any regard to the important ſervices of his father, cauſed him to be put to death [h]. As to Antony and Cleopatra, Octavianus, the next morning after the battle, finding his victory complete, detached a ſquadron of light galleys in purſuit of them; which Antony no ſooner ſaw rowing up to him, than he commanded his pilot to tack about and face them. Hereupon they all gave back, except one commanded by Eurycles the Laconian, who, making up to Antony's veſſel with great fierceneſs and intrepidity, from off the

Octavianus's conduct towards the conquered.

Antony purſued.

[f] Vide Virgil. l. viii. Æneid. Ovid. metamorph. l. xv. Horat. epod. 9. & Propert. l. iv. eleg. 6. [g] Dio, l. iv. p. 590. & l. li. in init. [h] Dio, l. li. p. 443, 444.

the deck ſhook his lance at him in a threatening manner; "Who art thou," cried Antony from the ſtern, "who haſt "the boldneſs to purſue me thus? I am," anſwered he, "Eurycles the ſon of Lachares, brought hither by Cæſar's "fortune to revenge my father's death." This Lachares had been condemned to death by Antony for a robbery. However the Lacedæmonian, not caring to engage ſo renowned a commander, attacked another galley, and took her, with a ſhip, on board of which was a great deal of rich plate and furniture. Eurycles retired, well ſatisfied with his prize; and, upon his retreat Antony returned to his former melancholy poſture, and continued ſo three days, without ſeeing the queen till he reached Tænarus in Laconia. There Cleopatra's women brought them to ſee each other, and converſe as formerly, Antony ſhewing himſelf as fond of her as ever, even at this time, when he had all the reaſon in the world to deteſt and abhor her, as the only cauſe of his ruin. At Tænarus he had an account of the total defeat of his fleet; but, believing his legions ſtill held out, he wrote to Canidius to retreat with them through Macedon into Aſia, propoſing to renew the war there. As he was himſelf determined to retire into Africa, he gave one of his largeſt ſhips, laden with vaſt ſums of money and gold and ſilver veſſels of an ineſtimable value, to his friends, deſiring them to ſhare it among them, and provide for their own ſafety; but they refuſing it with tears in their eyes, and declaring that they would always follow his fortune, he comforted them with all the goodneſs imaginable, complaining of his cruel deſtiny, which put him out of a condition of giving them ſuch tokens of his acknowledgement and gratitude, as they had given him of their fidelity and affection. He added, that he could not, without doing them the greateſt injury, ſuffer them to be involved in his misfortunes; and therefore he abſolutely commanded them to abandon him to his evil deſtiny, and conſult their own ſafety. He wrote to Theophilus, governor of Corinth, deſiring him to provide for their ſecurity, and keep them concealed, till ſuch time as they could make their peace with Octavianus. After this, Antony retired to Africa, whence he ſent Cleopatra into Egypt, and ſoon after followed her thither. But of the reduction of Egypt by Octavianus, of the unhappy end of Antony and Cleopatra, and the affecting circumſtances of their death, we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of Egypt [i], to which we refer our readers.

He continues his fondneſs for Cleopatra.

His generoſity towards his friends.

[i] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IX. p. 300. & ſeq.

readers. All Antony's ſtatues were thrown down and entirely demoliſhed, both in Egypt and at Rome. His memory was declared infamous by the ſervile ſenate, and a decree was paſſed, enacting, that none of his family ſhould ever after bear the name of Marcus. He died in the fifty-third, or, as ſome write, fifty-ſixth, year of his age, leaving behind him ſeven children by his three wives, Fulvia, Octavia, and Cleopatra; for he married the queen after his divorce with Octavia. What became of Alexander and Ptolemy his ſons by Cleopatra, we find no-where recorded; but for his daughter Cleopatra, the virtuous Octavia brought her up with her own children, and married her to Juba king of Mauritania, one of the moſt learned and virtuous princes of his age. Antyllus, his eldeſt ſon by Fulvia, was betrayed by his governor Theodorus to Octavianus's ſoldiers, who by his orders put him to death. Julius Antonius, the younger brother of Antyllus by the ſame mother, became one of Octavianus's chief favourites, Octavia, whoſe generoſity for that unfortunate family was without bounds, having beſtowed on him Marcella, one of her daughters by her firſt huſband; but he afterwards indiſcreetly engaged in a ſcandalous intrigue with Julia, Octavianus's only daughter, which coſt him his life. Octavia had by Antony only two daughters, of whom the elder was called Antonia Major, and the younger Antonia Minor. The former married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom ſhe had Cneius Domitius, who, by Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus, was the father of the emperor Nero. Antonia Minor, who inherited both her mother's beauty and virtue, was married to Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius and Livia, and ſon-in-law to Octavianus. From this marriage came Germanicus, who was deſervedly eſteemed the greateſt general of his time, and the moſt accompliſhed perſon among the Romans, and Claudius, who reigned before Nero. Caius, ſurnamed Caligula, the ſon of Germanicus, did likewiſe govern the Roman empire; ſo that Antony's family, in ſpite of their misfortunes, gave three emperors to Rome; whereas none of Octavianus's poſterity ever enjoyed that ſovereign authority, for the attaining of which he had impiouſly trod under foot the moſt ſacred laws of his country, and, by a thouſand acts of cruelty and injuſtice, laid waſte the Roman world.

The poſterity of Antony.

But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: Octavianus having reduced Egypt, and ſettled the affairs of that kingdom, left Alexandria in the beginning of September of the preſent year of Rome 723, with a deſign to return, through Syria,

Octavianus ſettles the affairs of Egypt, Aſia Minor, &c.

Syria, Aſia Minor, and Greece, to Italy. On his arrival at Antioch, he found there Tiridates, who had been raiſed to the throne of Parthia in oppoſition to Phrahates, and likewiſe embaſſadors from Phrahates who were all come on the ſame errand, viz. to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt each other. Octavianus gave a friendly anſwer both to Tiridates and the embaſſadors of Phrahates, without intending to help either; but rather with a deſign to animate the one againſt the other, and by that means to weaken both, ſo far as to render the Parthian name no longer formidable to Rome. After this, having appointed Meſſala Corvinus governor of Syria, he marched into the province of Aſia, properly ſo called, and there took up his winter quarters [k]. In the beginning of the next year, Octavianus entered his fifth conſulate, and had the following collegues, Licinius Craſſus to the kalends of July, C. Antiſtius to the ides of September, and M. Tullius, the ſon of the famous orator, from that time to the end of the year. He ſpent the whole winter in ſettling the affairs of the ſeveral provinces of Aſia Minor and the adjacent iſlands, and early in the ſpring paſſed into Greece, whence he ſet out for Rome, which he entered in the month Sextilis, afterwards called Auguſt, in three triumphs, which were celebrated for three days together. The firſt triumph was for his victories over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and ſome German and Gauliſh nations, whom he had conquered before his war with Antony. The ſecond was for his naval victory at Actium; and the third for the reduction of Egypt. In the laſt, which was the moſt magnificent of the three, were led before the victor's chariot Alexander and Cleopatra, whom Antony had by the queen, and the image of the queen was carried in a bed of ſtate, with an aſp hanging at her arm. Rome was ſo much enriched with the immenſe treaſures brought by Octavianus and his ſoldiers out of Egypt, that the value of money fell from ten to four per cent. and the prices of every thing elſe roſe in proportion [l]. After his triumph, the name of emperor was conferred upon him, not in the common ſenſe, as it imported only a title of honour, but as it carried with it a ſovereign power and an uncontrouled authority [m].

He returns to Rome.

His triumphs.

AND

[k] Dio, l. li. p. 447. [l] Dio, l. li. p. 458, 459. Suet. in Octav. c. 22. Oroſ. l. vi. c. 19. [m] Dio, l. lii. p. 493, 494.

And now Octavianus was at the height of his wiſhes, ſole ſovereign, ſole maſter, of the whole Roman empire. But, on the other hand, the many dangers which attend an uſurped power, appearing to him in a ſtronger light than ever, filled his mind with a thouſand perplexing thoughts. The natural averſion of the Romans to a kingly government, their love of liberty, and the ides of March, when his father Julius was murdered in full ſenate, by thoſe very men, whom he thought the moſt devoted to his perſon, made him fear there might ariſe another Brutus, who, to reſtore liberty to his country, might aſſaſſinate him on his very throne. This he knew had happened to Julius Cæſar; whereas Sylla, after having laid down the authority he had uſurped, died peaceably in his bed in the midſt of his enemies. The paſſion of fear, which was ſo natural to him, outweighed in his ſoul the charms of a diadem, and inclined him to follow the example of Sylla. He was indeed very unwilling to part with his authority; but fear began to get the better of his ambition. However, before he came to any reſolution, he thought it adviſable to conſult his two moſt intimate and truſty friends, Agrippa and Mecænas, the former no leſs famous for his probity than his valour, and the latter a man of great penetration, and generally eſteemed the moſt refined politician of his age. Agrippa, ſenſible only of that ſort of glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, openly declared for a generous reſignation. He enlarged on the many, and almoſt inevitable, dangers which attend monarchy, inſupportable to a free people, and to men educated in a commonwealth. He did not forget the examples of Sylla and Cæſar, and cloſed his ſpeech with exhorting Octavianus to convince the world, by reſtoring liberty to his country, that the only motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his father's death. Mecænas, on the other hand, remonſtrated to him, that he had done too much to go back; that, after ſo much bloodſhed, there could be no ſafety for him but on the throne; that, if he deveſted himſelf of the ſovereign power, he would be immediately proſecuted by the children and friends of the many illuſtrious perſons, whom the misfortune of the times had forced him to ſacrifice to his ſafety; that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the welfare and tranquillity of the republic, that the ſovereign power ſhould be lodged in one perſon, and not divided among many, &c. Octavianus thanked them both for

Octavianus entertains thoughts of reſigning his authority.

But is diſſuaded from it by Mecænas.

for their friendly advice, but ſhewed himſelf inclined to follow the opinion of Mecænas; whereupon that able miniſter gave him many wiſe inſtructions and rules of government, which are related at length by Dion Caſſius [n], and will ever be looked upon as a maſter-piece in politics. Among other things he told him, That he could not fail of being ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, happy in his life-time, and famous in hiſtory after his death, if he never deviated from this rule, viz. to govern others as he would wiſh to be governed himſelf, had he been born to obey, and not to command. He added, That if, in taking upon him the ſovereign power, he dreaded the name of king, a name ſo odious in a commonwealth, he might content himſelf with the title of Cæſar or Imperator, and under that name, which was well known to the Romans, enjoy all the authority of a king. This advice Octavianus followed, and from that time laid aſide all thoughts of abdicating the ſovereign power; but, to deceive the people into a belief that they ſtill enjoyed their antient government, he continued the old magiſtrates, with the ſame name, pomp, and ornaments, but with juſt as much power as he thought fit to leave them. They were to have no military power, but only their old juriſdiction of deciding finally all cauſes, except ſuch as were capital; and tho' ſome of theſe laſt were left to the governor of Rome, yet the chief he reſerved for himſelf. He paid great court to the people: the very name that covered his uſurpation was a compliment to them; for he affected to call it the power of the tribuneſhip, tho' he acted as abſolutely by it, as if he had called it the dictatorial power. He likewiſe won the hearts of the populace by cheapneſs of proviſions and plentiful markets; he frequently entertained them with ſhews and ſports, and by theſe means kept them in good humour, and made them forget uſurpation, ſlavery, and every public evil; people in eaſe and plenty being under no temptation of enquiring into the title of their prince, or reſenting acts of power, which they do not immediately feel. As for the ſenate, he filled it with his own creatures, raiſing the number of the conſcript fathers to a thouſand. He ſupplied ſeveral poor ſenators with money out of the treaſury to diſcharge the public offices, and on all occaſions affected an high regard for that venerable body; but at the ſame time deveſted them

He continues the old magiſtrates.

He courts the people.

And the ſenate, but deveſts them of all power.

[n] Dio, l. lii. p. 494, &c.

them of all power, and reduced them to mere cyphers. To prevent them from raiſing new diſturbances in the diſtant provinces, he iſſued an edict, forbidding any ſenator to travel out of Italy without leave, except ſuch as had lands in Sicily or Narbonne Gaul, which at that time comprehended Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny. To theſe provinces, which were near Italy and in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity, they had full liberty to retire, when they pleaſed, and live there upon their eſtates. Before he ended his ſixth conſulſhip, he took a cenſus of the people, which was forty-one years after the laſt; and in this the number of men fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred ſixty-three thouſand, the greateſt that had ever been found before [o] (Y). He likewiſe celebrated the games which had been decreed by the ſenate for his victory at Actium; and it was ordered, that they ſhould be celebrated every fifth year, four colleges of prieſts being appointed to take care of them, viz. the pontifices, the augurs, the ſeptemvirs, and quindecemvirs [p]. The more to gain the affections of the people, he diſannulled by one edict the many ſevere and unjuſt laws, which had been enacted during the triumvirate. He raiſed many public buildings, repaired the old ones, and added many ſtately ornaments to the city, which at this time was, if we may give credit to ſome antient writers, about fifty miles in compaſs, and contained near four millions of ſouls, reckoning men, women, children, and ſlaves. He attended buſineſs, reformed abuſes, ſhewed great regard for the Roman name, procured public abundance, pleaſure, and jollity, often appearing in perſon at the public diverſions, and in all things

He adorns the city.

[o] Dio. l. liii. p. 496. & Marmor. Capuana, Tom. III. Annal. Pighii, p. 495.

[p] Dio. ibid. p. 496.

(Y) Mention is made of this cenſus in the marble tables of Capua in theſe words: "In my ſixth conſulſhip with my colleague M. Agrippa, I numbered the people, and made a cenſus after forty-one years," (that is, from the cenſorſhip of Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius) "in which four hundred ſixty-three thouſand citizens were numbered." Inſtead of this number, Euſebius, whom ſeveral modern writers have followed, has, in his chronicle, four millions one hundred and ſixty-four thouſand.

things ſtudying to render himſelf dear to the populace [q].

AND now Octavianus, entering upon his ſeventh conſulſhip with M. Agrippa, the third time conſul, and finding all things ripe for his deſign, the people being highly pleaſed with his mild government, and the ſenate filled with his creatures, whoſe fortunes depended upon his holding the power he had uſurped, went, by the advice of Agrippa and Mecænas, to the ſenate-houſe, and there in a ſtudied ſpeech offered to reſign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people, upon the old foundation of the commonwealth, being well appriſed, that the greater part of the conſcript fathers, whoſe intereſts were interwoven with his, would unanimouſly preſs him to the contrary; which happened accordingly: for they not only often interrupted him while he was ſpeaking, but, after he had done, unanimouſly beſought him to take upon him alone the whole government of the Roman empire. He, with a ſeeming reluctancy, yielded at laſt to their requeſt, as if he had been compelled to accept of the ſovereignty. By this artifice he compaſſed his deſign, which was to get the power and authority, which he had uſurped, confirmed to him by the ſenate and people for the ſpace of ten years; for he would not accept of it for a longer term, pretending, he ſhould in that time be able to ſettle all things in ſuch peace and order, that there could be no further need of his authority; but that he might then eaſe himſelf of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the ſenate and people. This method he took to render the yoke leſs heavy; but with a deſign to renew his leaſe, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, as ſoon as the ten years were expired; which he did accordingly, from ten years to ten years, as long as he lived, all the while governing the whole Roman empire with an abſolute and uncontrouled power. With this new authority the ſenate reſolved to diſtinguiſh him with a new name. Some of the conſcript fathers propoſed the name of Romulus, thereby to import, that he was another founder of Rome; others offered other titles; but the venerable name of Auguſtus, propoſed by Munatius Plancus, ſeemed preferable to all the reſt, as it expreſſed more dignity and reverence than authority, the moſt ſacred things, ſuch as temples and palaces conſecrated by

He makes a feint to abdicate his power.

But is compelled by the ſenate to retain it.

Idem. ibid.

by augurs, being termed by the Romans Auguſta (Z). Octavianus himſelf was inclined to aſſume the name of Romulus; but fearing he ſhould be ſuſpected of affecting the kingdom, he declined it, and took that of Auguſtus [r], by which we ſhall henceforth diſtinguiſh him in the ſequel of our hiſtory. Though the whole power of the ſenate and people was now veſted in Auguſtus, yet, that he might ſeem to ſhare it with the conſcript fathers, he refuſed to govern all the provinces, aſſigning to the ſenate ſuch as were quiet and peaceable, and keeping to himſelf thoſe that, bordering upon the barbarous nations, were moſt expoſed to troubles and wars, ſaying, He deſired the fathers might enjoy their power with eaſe and ſafety, while he underwent all the dangers and labours; but by this politic conduct he ſecured all the military power to himſelf, the troops lying in the provinces he had choſen, and the others, which were governed by the ſenate, being quite deſtitute of forces. The latter were called ſenatorial, and the former imperial, provinces. The ſenatorial were, Africa, that is, the antient dominions of Carthage, Numidia, Aſia properly ſo called, or the antient kingdom of Pergamus, Greece, ſtyled by moſt hiſtorians Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedon, Sicily, Sardinia, the iſland of Crete, Libya, Cyrenaica, Bithynia, Pontus, and that part of Spain called Bœtica. The imperial provinces were, the reſt of Spain, comprehending the provinces of Tarracon and Luſitania, all Gaul and Germany, Cœle-Syria, Phœnice, Cilicia, the iſland of Cyprus, and the kingdom of Egypt. Over the provinces of both ſorts were ſet men of diſtinction, viz. ſuch as had been conſuls or prætors, with the title of proconſul and proprætor; but the government of Egypt was committed to a private knight, Auguſtus fearing leſt a perſon of rank, depending upon the wealth and ſituation of that country, might

The title of Auguſtus conferred upon him. His policy in dividing the provinces with the ſenate.

[r] Dio, ibid. p. 567. Flor. l. iv. Liv. l. cxxxiv.

(Z) So Ovid in the firſt book of his faſti:

" Sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes:
" Hic ſocium ſummo cum Jove numen habet.
" Sancta vocant Auguſta patres: Auguſta vocantur
" Templa ſacerdotum rite dicata manu.
" Hujus & augurium dependet origine verbi:
" Et quodcumque ſua Jupiter auget ope. &c.

might raiſe new diſturbances in the empire [s]. All theſe governors held their employment only for a year, and were, upon the arrival of their ſucceſſors, to depart their provinces immediately, and not fail to be at Rome within three months at the fartheſt [t]. This diviſion of the provinces was made, according to Ovid, on the ides of January (A); whereas he was veſted by the ſenate and people, with the ſovereign power on the ſeventh of the ides of the ſame month, as is manifeſt from the Narbonne marbles [u]; and from that time many writers date the years of his empire. Thus ended the greateſt commonwealth, and at the ſame time began the greateſt monarchy, that had ever been known; a monarchy, which infinitely excelled in power, riches, extent and continuance all the monarchies and empires which had preceded it; for it comprehended the greateſt, and by far the beſt, part of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, being near four thouſand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have, by a modeſt computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money. But the Romans themſelves now ran headlong into all manner of luxury and effeminacy. The people were become a mere mob; thoſe who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raiſe and depoſe great kings, to beſtow or take away great empires, were ſo ſunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and ſhoes, their ambition went no higher. The nobility were indeed more polite than in the former times, but at the ſame time idle, venal, vicious, inſenſible of private virtue, utter ſtrangers to public glory or diſgrace, void of zeal for the welfare of their country, and ſolely intent on gaining the favour of the emperor, as knowing, that certain wealth and

The end of the commonwealth. after flood, 2977. Before Chriſt, 22. Of Rome, 726.

[s] Dio, ibid. p. 504, 505. Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 59. [t] Idem ibid. p. 506. [u] Vide inſcript. Grut. p. 229.

(A) Ovid, ſpeaking of this diſtribution of the provinces, addreſſes Cæſar Germanicus thus:

" Idibus in magni caſtus Jovis æde ſacerdos
" Semimaris flammis viſcera libat ovis;
" Redditaque eſt omnis populo provincia noſtro
" Et tuus Auguſto nomine dictus avus (3).

(3) Ovid. faſt. l. i.

and preferment were the rewards of ready ſubmiſſion, acquieſcence, and flattery. No wonder therefore, that they loſt their liberty, without being ever again able to retrieve it.

CHAP. XVII.

The Hiſtory of Rome, from the perfect ſettlement of the Roman empire to the death of Nero, the laſt of the family of the Cæſars.

THE firſt and chief care of Auguſtus, now abſolute maſter of the whole Roman empire, was to ſatisfy his ſoldiers, and attach them more and more to his intereſt. With this view he diſperſed them all over Italy in thirty-two colonies, that he might the more eaſily reaſſemble them in caſe of any ſudden commotion. He kept twenty-five legions on foot, ſeventeen of which were in Europe, viz. eight on the Rhine, four at the Danube, three in Spain, and two in Dalmatia. The other eight were ſent into Aſia and Africa, four of them being quartered in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and in Syria, two in Egypt, and two in the province of Africa, that is, in the antient dominions of Carthage. Theſe were conſtantly maintained, even in the moſt peaceable times, by Auguſtus, and for ſome ages by his ſucceſſors, their whole number amounting to 170,650 men. In the neighbourhood of Rome were always quartered twelve cohorts, that is, about ten thouſand men, nine of which were called cohortes prætoriæ, or prætorian cohorts, and the other three cohortes urbanæ, or city cohorts. They were eſtabliſhed to guard the emperor's perſon, and maintain peace and tranquillity in the city. The prætorian guards had, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory, a great ſhare in all the changes and revolutions of the empire, till the reign of Conſtantine the Great, who diſmiſſed them all in the year 312 of the chriſtian æra. The forces of the empire.

BESIDES theſe numerous and well diſciplined land-forces, Auguſtus kept conſtantly at ſea two powerful fleets, the

the one riding at anchor near Ravenna in the Upper or Adriatic ſea, to command and defend Dalmatia, Greece, Cyprus, Aſia, and the reſt of the eaſtern provinces; the other at Miſenum in the Lower or Mediterranean ſea, to awe and protect Gaul, Spain, Africa, and the weſtern provinces. They were likewiſe to keep the ſeas clear of pirates, to convoy the veſſels which brought to Rome the annual tributes from the provinces beyond ſea, and to tranſport corn and other proviſions, neceſſary for the ſubſiſtance and relief of the city. As to the civil government, he reformed many of the antient laws and enacted new ones; but therein affected to do nothing, without the advice and approbation of the conſcript fathers. The comitia were held as formerly in the field of Mars; but ſuch only were choſen for the great offices, as Auguſtus had before-hand recommended to the centuries. In ſhort, the ſame officers of ſtate, the ſame names, pomp, and ornaments were continued, with all the appearance of authority, but without the leaſt power [w]. However, the ſenate pretended to be ſo well pleaſed with his government, that they honoured him with the title of Pater patriæ, or Father of his country. Towards the end of this year, Auguſtus, having ſettled affairs in the capital, left Italy and paſſed into Gaul, with a deſign to attempt the reduction of the Britiſh iſlands; but being informed, on his arrival at Narbonne, that the Salaſſi at the foot of the Alps, and the Cantabri and Aſtures in Spain, had ſhaken off the yoke, he ſent Terentius Varro againſt the former, and marched in perſon againſt the latter, after having entered his eighth conſulſhip, in which he choſe for his collegue Titus Statilius Taurus, one of his lieutenants. However, before he left Gaul, he took a cenſus of the inhabitants of the three provinces into which that country was then divided, and which is the firſt we read of made out of Italy [x]. On his arrival in Spain, he defeated the Cantabri in a pitched battle near Vellica, at a ſmall diſtance from the Iberus, and obliged them to retire with their wives and children to one of their higheſt mountains, called by the antients Vindius, and by the moderns the mountain of Aſturias. But, in the mean time, Auguſtus falling ſick, the whole management of the war was committed to C. Antiſtius; who

The policy of Auguſtus.

He is ſtyled Pater patriæ.

The firſt cenſus out of Italy.

[w] Dio, ibid. p. 511. Suet. in Octavio. Tacit. annal. i. c. 39. Suet. l. ii. c. 26.

[x] Dio, l. liv. p. 535.

who, having defeated the united forces of the Cantabrians and Asturians in a great battle, forced them to take refuge on another inaccessible mountain, which he surrounded with a wide and deep ditch fifteen miles in compass, and fortified at proper distances, with castles and turrets. By this means, all the avenues and passes being shut up, those unhappy people were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions; yet so great was their love of liberty, that, instead of yielding, they endured for a long time miseries hardly to be expressed, the women devouring their own children, and the young men the old, to support the necessities of nature. After many unsuccessful attempts to force the Roman entrenchments, the Asturians were at length for throwing themselves upon the clemency of the conqueror; but were therein opposed by the Cantabrians, who maintained, that they ought all, like brave men, die sword in hand. This dangerous contention was carried so far, that, after a sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the Asturians, to the number of ten thousand, were driven to the entrenchments of the Romans, whom they begged in a most moving manner to receive them upon what terms they pleased. But Tiberius, the emperor's son-in-law, refusing to admit them into the camp, some of those unhappy wretches fell upon their own swords; others lighting great fires, threw themselves into them, and perished in the flames, and some put an end to their lives by drinking the juice of a venomous herb, which grew in the forest they possessed [x].

The Cantabrians and Asturians defeated.

They [illegible] out an themse

Great numbers of the Asturians perish with famine.

In the mean time, the consular year being expired, Augustus, who still resided at Tarracon, whither he had retired in the beginning of the campaign, entered there on his ninth consulship, and chose for his collegue M. Junius Silanus [y]. This year was remarkable for the total reduction of Spain, after it had, for the space of two hundred years and upwards, given the Romans constant employment, and obliged them to keep there numerous armies. The Cantabrians, whom Antistius kept closely invested, were at length forced to surrender at discretion, to the number of twenty-three thousand. Of these ten thousand were incorporated among the Roman auxiliaries to be employed against the Asturians, the rest were disarmed, and sold to the best bidder; but most of them laid violent hands on themselves, despising their lives, after the loss of their liberty

The Cantabrians utterly subdued.

[x] Oros. l. vi c. 22. [y] Suet. in Octav. c. 26.

berty and arms [a]. Cantabria, now Biſcay, being thus entirely reduced, Auguſtus divided his army into two bodies; the one he detached, under the command of Titius Cariſius into Luſitania, whither ſome of the Aſturians had retired, and the other he led himſelf into their country. The Aſturians in Luſitania were in a battle, which laſted two days, and was one of the moſt bloody that had ever been fought, entirely defeated by Cariſius, who could not help owning, that the Aſturians equalled in valour the Romans themſelves. On the other hand, Auguſtus and Antiſtius entering the country of thoſe brave, but unfortunate, people, cut moſt of them in pieces, and made themſelves maſters of all their cities and ſtrong-holds. Thus were the two moſt warlike nations of Spain forced at length to receive the yoke, and bear it, without being ever after able to recover their antient liberty. Auguſtus, before he left the country, built ſeveral cities to keep the rebellious Spaniards in awe, among the reſt Cæſar Auguſta, now Saragoſa, and Auguſta Emerita, now Merida, ſo called becauſe it was founded by Auguſtus, and peopled by his veterans, called in Latin Emeriti [b]. He likewiſe built a ſtone-bridge over the Iberus, to facilitate the march of the Roman troops from one province to another.

And alſo the Aſturians.

THIS year ſeveral wars were carried on with equal ſucceſs in other parts. Marcus Craſſus, one of Auguſtus's lieutenants, overcame the Mæſians, a fierce and ſavage people beyond the Danube. M. Vinicius gained conſiderable advantages over ſome nations of Germany, for which the title of Imperator was conferred upon Auguſtus, under whoſe auſpices Vinicius had fought. Terrentius Varro, ſurnamed Murena, reduced the Salaſſi, and obliged them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he thought proper to impoſe upon them. After they had delivered up their arms, Varro ſent forty thouſand of their youth to Eporedia, now Ivrea, where they were condemned to ſlavery for the term of twenty years. Auguſtus divided their lands among the ſoldiers of his guard, and founded in the new colony a city, which he called Auguſta Prætoria, now known by the name of Aoſta [c]. The whole glory of this expedition was aſcribed to Auguſtus, tho' he was then in Spain, and a ſtately monument erect-

The Salaſſi ſubdued.

ed

[a] Oroſ. ibid. Dio, l. liii. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. [b] Suet. in Octav. Dio, ibid. p. 514. Oroſ. ibid. [c] Dio, Suet. ibid. Epit. Liv.

ed by a decree of the ſenate to his honour in the midſt of the Alps, on which were engraved the names of forty-three nations inhabiting thoſe mountains, who were ſaid to have been ſubdued by him, and brought under the Roman yoke [d].

Cornelius Gallus baniſhed.

WHILE Auguſtus was waging war with the rebellious Spaniards, Cornelius Gallus, to whom Virgil inſcribed his tenth and laſt eclogue, was condemned to perpetual baniſhment by the ſenate, for having ſpoken with too much liberty of Auguſtus. He had been appointed by the emperor, who loved and eſteem him on account of his fine genius, the firſt governor of Egypt, which he oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner, ſtripping the moſt wealty cities of the country, particularly the famous city of Thebes, of all their ornaments, and laying heavy taxes on the inhabitants. Puffed up with pride, he ruled more like an abſolute monarch, than a ſubordinate magiſtrate, erecting ſtatues to himſelf in the chief cities of that kingdom, and inſcribing his own name and feats on the pyramids. Such extraordinary preceedings obliged Auguſtus to recall him, to brand him with infamy, and forbid him his houſe and the provinces under his command. Hereupon Gallus uttered many diſreſpectful ſpeeches againſt the emperor; for which, as well as for his rapines, extortions, and other miſdemeanours, he was, by the unanimous ſuffrages of the ſenate, condemned to baniſhment; but he prevented the execution of the ſentence, by falling on his own ſword [e]. Auguſtus, whoſe favour he had gained by his military exploits and the elegance of his poetical compoſitions, is ſaid to have wept, when he received in Spain the news of his death, complaining, that he alone was not allowed to ſet what bounds he pleaſed to his reſentment. However, he returned thanks to the ſenate for the zeal they had ſhewn on this occaſion for the ſafety of his perſon and the glory of his name [f]. This year died Amyntas king of Piſidia. He had been ſecretary to old king Dejotarus, and raiſed by Marc Antony, whom he ſerved with great fidelity, to the throne, which Auguſtus ſuffered him to enjoy, but would not allow him to tranſmit it to his poſterity; ſo that Piſidia, with Galatia and Lycaonia, upon his death, were reduced to a Roman province,

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

Piſidia, Galatia, &c. become a Roman province.

[d] Dio, p. 513, 514. Plin. l. iii. c. 20. [e] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 819. Ammian. Marcel. l. xvii. Dio, l. liii. p. 512. Euſeb. in Chron. [f] Suet. in Octav. c. 66. Dio, ibid.

province, and firſt governed by M. Lollius in quality of pro-prætor [g].

DURING Auguſtus's ſtay in Spain, Agrippa, who had remained in Rome, was no leſs employed in adorning with magnificent ſtructures that ſtately metropolis, than others were in extending its dominions. Among the many public edifices he built at his own charges, the moſt remarkable were the porch and temple of Neptune, the hot baths, called Thermæ Agrippæ, and the Pantheon, a celebrated temple, ſo named, according to Dion, from the many images of the gods with which it was embelliſhed, or rather from its arched roof, which reſembled the heavens. This wonderful ſtructure was finiſhed this year, in the ninth conſulſhip of Auguſtus, and is preſerved entire to this day. While Auguſtus continued at Tarracon, his health not allowing him yet to ſet out on his return to Rome, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the moſt remote nations of the north and the eaſt, that is, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Indians, and the Seres (B), courting his friendſhip with embaſſies

The Pantheon.

The Sarmatians, Scythians, &c. ſend embaſſadors to Auguſtus.

[g] Dio, p. 514. Eutrop. l. vii. Sext. Ruf. in breviar. Euſeb. in chron.

(B) The Seres, the ſame people whom we now call the Chineſe, are thought to have been the firſt who made ſilk; whence ſilk was called ſerica, and a ſilken garment ſericum, by the Greeks as well as by the Latins. From the country of the Seres, that is, from China, ſilk was brought into Perſia, and from Perſia into Greece and Italy. It was firſt brought into Greece on Alexander's conquering Perſia, and from thence into Italy in the flouriſhing times of the Roman empire. It was for a long time very dear in theſe weſtern parts, being weight for weight of equal value with gold; for the Perſians, to keep this manufacture to themſelves, would not allow the ſilk-worms to be carried out of Perſia, or any one to paſs from thence into the weſt, who were ſkilled in the management of them. But the emperor Juſtinian, who died in the year of the chriſtian æra 565, looking upon it as a great hardſhip, that his ſubjects ſhould purchaſe this manufacture of the Perſians at ſo dear a rate, ſent two monks into India, to learn there how the ſilken manufacture was managed, ordering them to bring with them on their return ſome ſilk-worms, that he might ſet up the manufacture in his own dominions. Theſe monks on their return told him, that the ſilk-worms could not be brought ſo long a journey, but the emperor underſtanding from them that their eggs might, he ſent them back for them;

embaſſies and rich preſents [h]. Florus tells us, that the Seres were four years on their journey, and that they preſented Auguſtus with pearls, precious ſtones, and elephants. The fame of Cæſar's moderation in the midſt of his victories was what chiefly prompted thoſe diſtant nations, if we believe Suetonious [i], to ſolicit his friendſhip. This year ended with two marriages, viz. of Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of queen Cleopatra by Antony, with Juba king of Getulia, of whom we have ſpoken above, and of Julia, Auguſtus's daughter by Scribonia, with Marcellus, his ſiſter Octavia's ſon by her firſt huſband, a youth of extraordinary accompliſhments, and already adopted by Auguſtus, who had no hopes of iſſue by his wife Livia, whom he paſſionately loved. As the emperor was ſtill kept in Spain by the bad ſtate of his health, the ceremonies uſed by the Romans on ſuch occaſions were performed with all imaginable pomp and magnificence by Agrippa [k].

THE enſuing year, Auguſtus entered upon his tenth conſulſhip, having C. Norbanus Flaccus for his collegue; but whether he was then in Spain, on his journey, or at Rome, is uncertain. Upon his return to the capital, which happened in the end of the preceding year, or in the beginning of this, the ſenate conferred a greater authority upon him than ever,

New honours conferred on Auguſtus.

[h] Flor. l. iv. c. 12. Suet. ibid. c. 21. Oroſ. l. vi c. 21. Eutrop. l. vii. [i] Suet. ibid. [k] Dio, ibid. p. 515.

them; and by this means great quantities of theſe eggs were brought to Conſtantinople. From theſe eggs have been propagated all the ſilk-worms and ſilk trade, which have been ſince that time in Europe. The antients were ſo ignorant how ſilk was made, that they believed it was produced, like cotton, from trees. For a long time it was worn only by women, it being thought a great inſtance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to wear a ſilken garment, In the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, a law was made, " ne veſtis ſerica viros fædaret," that is," that " no man ſhould diſhonour himſelf by wearing a ſilken garment " (4); and Lampridius reckons it one of the moſt infamous parts of Heliogabalus's character, that he was the firſt man who wore holoſericum, that is, " a garment which was all of ſilk (5).

(4) Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 33. (5) Vide Prid. connect. & Voſſ. in etym. ad vocem Sericum, & de idololat. l. iv. c. 90. & Salmaſ. in notis ad Tertullian. de pall. ad Solin. & ad hiſt. Auguſt.

ever, freeing him from the obligation of all laws, and impowering him to govern the republic according to his arbitrary will and pleaſure. At the ſame time, by a ſolemn oath they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that Marcellus, tho' then not above ſixteen years of age, ſhould, on account of his extraordinary merit, have a place in the ſenate among thoſe of the prætorian rank, and that he might ſtand for the conſulate, ten years ſooner than he was allowed by the laws. It was likewiſe ordained in favour of Tiberius, ſon-in-law to Auguſtus, that he might ſtand for the curule office, five years ſooner than the uſual time. Theſe decrees were no ſooner paſſed, than Marcellus was made ædile, and Tiberius quæſtor [1]. This year was remarkable for an expedition againſt the ſouthern Arabs, undertaken by Ælius Gallus, a Roman knight, and the third governor of Egypt under Auguſtus. The emperor being informed, that South Arabia abounded in gold, ſilver, and other riches, reſolved either to make them his friends by treaties, and ſo open a way for commerce with them, or by conqueſt to make them his ſubjects. He had alſo this farther view, viz. in caſe he ſhould, either as a friend or conqueror, get footing in that country, to open himſelf an eaſy way for the ſubduing of the Troglodites, their country being ſeparated from South Arabia only by the narrow ſtreights, now called the ſtreights of Babelmandel, through which the Arabian gulph diſcharges itſelf into the Southern ocean. For the carrying on of this expedition, Auguſtus furniſhed Gallus with ten thouſand men; Herod king of Judæa ſent him five hundred drawn out of his own guards; and Obodas king of the Nabathæan Arabs a thouſand more, under the command of Syllæus his chief miniſter. Syllæus undertook to be Gallus's guide in this expedition; but with no other view than to betray him, and make the undertaking miſcarry. Gallus had propoſed to march through the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence into South Arabia, or Arabia Felix; but Syllæus falſly informing him, that there was no ſafe paſſage thither by land, he built an hundred and thirty tranſports at Cleopatris, a port at the bottom of the Arabian gulph or Red ſea, and, putting his army on board them, ſailed for Leucocome, a maritime city of the Nabathæans, on the other ſide of that ſea. As this was a very dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and ſhelves which are in that part of the Arabian gulph, and Syllæus conducted them the worſt way through it, he was fifteen

Th[illegible]ceſ[illegible]pedition of Ælius [illegible]lius into Arabia Felix.

He is betrayed by Syllæus.

[1] Idem ibid.

teen days in his paſſage, and loſt a great many ſhips. Upon his landing, his whole army was ſeized with a diſtemper common in that country, which obliged him to continue inactive, at Leucocome and in that neighbourhood, the remaining part of the ſummer and the following winter. Early next ſpring, he ſet out from Leucocome, and, after a moſt painful march of ſix months ſouthward, being led by the treacherous Syllæus through ways almoſt impaſſable, he arrived at length on the borders of Arabia Felix. Upon his approach, Sabus, king of the country, fled, abandoning his metropolis, called by Strabo the city of the Agrans, which Gallus took by aſſault. From thence he continued his march ſouthward, and arrived the ſixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of Arabs, who had aſſembled with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage; but Gallus, falling upon them, cut ten thouſand of them in pieces, with the loſs of two men only. He then, without further oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of Anneſtus, Aſca, Maguſum, Tommacum, Labeccia, Mariaba, a city ſix miles in compaſs, Athrula, where he left a garriſon, and Caripeta. From Caripeta he penetrated farther into the country, and, after ſome days march, came to Marſyabæ, a city of the Rhamanites, who were governed by a petty prince named Ilaſarus. He beſieged the place; but was obliged, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, to drop that enterpriſe for want of water. In the mean time, his men being ſeized with various diſtempers, occaſioned by the heat of the climate and the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, water, and herbs of the country, and great numbers of them dropping off daily, he thought it adviſeable to march back into the country of the Nabathæans, and from thence purſue his rout into Egypt. Accordingly, having by this time diſcovered the treachery of Syllæus, he ſet out on his march homeward, under the conduct of more faithful guides, and came in ſix days to Anagrana; whence, after having put to flight king Sabus, who attempted to harraſs him on his march, he purſued his journey to Negra, called alſo Hygra, a maritime city of the Nabathæan country, which he reached in ſixty days; whereas he had ſpent ſix months in marching from thence to the confines of Arabia. At Negra he embarqued his troops, and having croſſed the Arabian gulph in eleven days, he landed at Myos Hormus on the Egyptian ſide; and from thence, by the way of Coptus, led back the poor remains of his army to Alexandria, after having ſpent two years in this unhappy expedition. In the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes he had with the enemy, he loſt only ſeven

He [illegible]ats the Arabs, and takes ſeveral cities.

He drops the enterpriſe, and returns to Egypt.

men;

men; but the far greater part of his forces perished, either by famine or diseases [m]. Some of the medicinal compositions, which he invented against the distempers that reigned in his army, are mentioned by Galen, and among the rest treacle, which on his return he presented to Augustus, telling him, that it had saved the lives of many of his soldiers [n]. The bad success, that had attended Ælius in this expedition, deterred both him and others from any further attempts on that country; so that the inhabitants of Arabia Felix in the east, and the Scots in the north, as we shall observe hereafter, were the only people who continued to enjoy their liberties to the downfal of the Roman empire, while all the other nations of the then known world groaned under the yoke.

Ca[illegible] queen of Ethiopia, invades Egypt.

WHILE Ælius Gallus was employed with part of the Egyptian army in this expedition, Candace, queen of Ethiopia, invading the province of Thebais in Upper Egypt with a great army, surprised the cities of Syene, Elephantina, and Phyllis, carried the Romans who garrisoned them into captivity, overthrew Augustus's statues, and laid waste the whole country. Hereupon C. Petronius, at that time governor of Egypt, having with all imaginable expedition got together a body of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse, marched against the warlike queen, and coming up with her in the neighbourhood of Pselcha, a city of Ethiopia on the banks of the Nile, obliged her to give battle, defeated her army, tho' thirty thousand strong, and made himself master of Pselcha, a city of Ethiopia on the side of Egypt. From Pselcha Petronius penetrated above eight hundred miles into the country; and after having passed those deserts, where the whole army of Cambyses is said to have been by a sudden storm buried in the sand, he took, without opposition, the cities of Premnis, Aboccis, Phturis, Cambyses, Atteva, and Stadisis; which last place stood near the cataracts of the Nile. Encouraged with this success, the Roman general advanced to Napata, which Dion calls Tenape, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he took and destroyed, and from thence marched forward, till at length being able to proceed no farther by reason of the great deserts, nor stay there any longer on account of the excessive heats of the climate, he was obliged to turn back. Having therefore put a garrison of four

But is defeated by Petronius, who takes several of her cities.

[m] Dio, ibid. p. 516—524. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 780. & l. ii. p. 118. & l. xvii. p. 820. Joseph. antiq. l. xv. c. 12. & de bell Judaic. l. i. c. 16. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. [n] Galen. de antidot. l. ii.

four hundred men into Premnis, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Ethiopia, and ſupplied it with proviſions for two years, he returned to Alexandria, carrying with him many thouſand captives, whom he ſold for ſlaves, except one thouſand, in which number were the chief commanders of Candace's army; and thoſe he ſent as a preſent to Auguſtus. The queen of Ethiopia, upon the firſt notice of the departure of the Romans, having aſſembled new forces, attacked with great vigour the garriſon they had left at Premnis; but Petronius returning with a quickneſs and expedition hardly to be imagined, ſhe was obliged not only to raiſe the ſiege, but to conclude a peace upon terms very advantageous to the Romans. However, Auguſtus afterwards remitted the tribute, which ſhe was, purſuant, to the treaty, to pay yearly to the Roman people, and reſtored to her all the cities which Petronius, had ſeized [o].

The queen concludes a peace with the Ro

DURING theſe tranſactions in the eaſt, the Aſturians and Cantabrians attempted anew the recovery of their liberty; and having by a ſtratagem ſurprized a conſiderable body of Romans, put them all to the ſword. But Ælius Lama, whom Auguſtus had left governor of that part of Spain, ſoon revenged their death, laying waſte the whole country with fire and ſword, and cruelly maſſacring moſt of their young men who were able to bear arms: by which means he reduced them in leſs than a month to an entire ſubjection [p].

The Cantabrians and Aſturians rebel, but are ſoon reduced.

THE following year, Auguſtus, being in his eleventh conſulſhip with Cn. Calpurnius Piſo, fell into a dangerous diſtemper, which brought him to the point of death. When he thought himſelf paſt recovery, he ſent for the curule magiſtrates and the chief men of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, who came immediately to attend him, not doubting, but he deſigned to name in their preſence his ſucceſſor, and intail the empire on his family. They were therefore greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the dying emperor, without uttering a ſingle word, put into the hands of his collegue Calpurnius Piſo, his laſt will, and with it a book of his own writing, which contained a diſtinct and minute account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes of the whole Roman empire. The contents of his will, which was to be opened only after his death, were never known; but, from his not naming a ſucceſſor and his delivering to the chief magiſtrate, in ſo critical a juncture, an account of the

Auguſtus at the point of death.

His behaviour on that occaſion.

[o] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 820. Dio, l. liv. p. 524, 525. Plin. l. vi. c. 29. [p] Dio, p. 523, 524.

the revenues and forces of the empire, they all concluded, that his deſign was to put the commonwealth once more into the hands of the ſenate and people. His ring he delivered in the preſence of all to Agrippa, ſignifying thereby, as was then interpreted, that if they deſired to be governed by one man, they could not chuſe a perſon more fit for ſo great a truſt than Agrippa. As for Marcellus, his ſon-in-law, his nephew, and his ſon by adoption, whom every one expected he would name for his ſucceſſor, he ſeemed to have entirely forgot him. This unexpected behaviour of Auguſtus at the point of death, when his ſincerity could not be reaſonably queſtioned, gained him the affections of the people, above any thing he had hitherto done in their behalf. They thought him more worthy of being ſolemnly deified and ranked among the gods, in regard of the diſintereſted love he ſhewed for his country, than his father Julius on account of all his warlike exploits. But the apotheoſis of Auguſtus was put off for many years; for Antonius Muſa, a famous Greek phyſician, and brother to Euphorbus phyſician to Juba king of Mauritania, by cooling potions and the uſe of the cold bath, reſtored him to his health, to the great real, or ſeeming, ſatisfaction of the ſenate and people, who immediately ordered a ſtatue of braſs to be erected to Muſa over-againſt that of Æſculapius, a diſtinction never before granted to any freed-man. He was alſo allowed to wear a gold ring, and all perſons of his profeſſion were for ever, out of gratitude to him, excepted from all manner of taxes and tributes [q].

Antonius Muſa reſtores him to his health.

The recovery of Auguſtus occaſioned great rejoicings in the city; medals were ſtruck, many of which have reached our times, and the moſt magnificent ſports exhibited that had ever been ſeen in Rome. We are told, that ſome fathers, then on their death-beds, commanded their children to ſacrifice victims in their name by way of thankſgiving to Jupiter Capitolinus, with this inſcription, "The "day of our death was the day of Auguſtus's recovery [r]." The emperor, as ſoon as he was in a condition to appear abroad, went to the ſenate-houſe, and, after having thanked the fathers in moſt obliging terms for the concern they had ſhewn during his illneſs, and the joy they had expreſſed on his recovery, he oppened his will, and offered to read it to the aſſembly, in order to convince them, that he

Rejoicings at Rome for his recovery.

[q] Idem, p. 517, & ſeq. [r] Suet. in Octavio.

he had appointed himself no successor, but left them at full liberty either of re-establishing the antient form of government, or chusing for themselves a sovereign; but they all cried out with one voice, That they would not by any means suffer him to take that trouble, which was to no purpose, since they were, without any further proof, fully convinced of the sincerity of his intentions, and his disinterested zeal for the public welfare [s].

Misunderstanding between Marcellus and Agrippa.

THE behaviour of Augustus during his illness occasioned a misunderstanding between Marcellus and Agrippa. The former thinking himself injured by his uncle, who had preferred to one of his own family a man of a mean descent, a mere soldier of fortune, expressed his resentment, not against the emperor, but against his favourite, treating him on several occasions with great contempt. On the other hand, Agrippa was not a man to bear with any ill usage. The emperor therefore, to prevent the evil consequences of their mutual jealousies, thought it adviseable to part them; and accordingly appointed Agrippa governor of Syria, who immediately left Rome, but went no farther than Mitylene in the island Lesbos, whence he sent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care [t].

AND now Augustus, thinking his authority sufficiently established, resigned the fasces, after having held them nine years together, to P. Sestius, a man of an unblemished character, but a constant and faithful friend to Brutus, under whom he had served, in the battle of Philippi, in quality of proquæstor, and whose memory he still reverenced, keeping his picture in his house, and commending on all occasions the zeal of that brave patriot for the welfare of his country. The senate was so affected with this impartial conduct of Augustus, in preferring a man of Sestius's character to many of his own friends, who aspired at the same dignity, that they heaped new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconsul of the Roman empire, impowered him to assemble the senate when he pleased, and, what he valued above all other prerogatives, allowed him to exercise the authority of the tribuneship, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of Rome, but in the most distant provinces.

New honours heaped upon Augustus.

Such

[s] Suet. & Dio, ibid. [t] Dio, l. liii. p. 518. Veli. Paterc. l. ii. c. 91. Joseph. antiq. l. xi. c. 13. Suet. ibid c. 66.

Such an ample and unlimited power was without precedent; but the emperor readily accepted it, as it rendered his perſon ſacred, and ſecured him againſt all outrages and inſults, whether in words or actions. His ſucceſſors never parted with this power; but, after the example of Auguſtus, cauſed it to be recorded in public regiſters in theſe terms; "Tribunitiæ poteſtatis, primum, ſecundum, &c. [u]." Thus were the Romans, by raiſing the authority of their emperors, daily rivetting their own chains. In the conſulate of Cn. Calpurnius Piſo and L. Seſtius, Phrahates, king of Parthia, being reſtored to the throne by the Scythians, Tiridates, whom the Parthians had choſe in his room, being obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, came to Rome, with the chief men of his party, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Auguſtus, promiſing to hold the kingdom of him, in caſe he was reſtored by his means to the throne. On the other hand, Phrahates, hearing he had fled to Rome, ſent embaſſadors after him to defeat his deſigns, and to demand of Auguſtus the delivery of his rebellious ſlaves, as he ſtyled them, and the releaſe of his ſon, whom Tiridates had put into his hands at Antioch, when he paſſed through that city on his return to Italy after the reduction of Egypt. Auguſtus introduced the embaſſadors of the contending parties to the ſenate; but after they had pleaded the cauſe of their reſpective princes before the fathers, without conſulting them, he anſwered the embaſſadors himſelf in the ſame manner as he had done before at Antioch, viz. That he would not deliver Tiridates into the hands of Phrahates, nor aſſiſt either of them againſt the other. However, to gratify both in ſomething, he gave Tiridates leave to live at Rome, ordering him out of the public treaſury an allowance ſuitable to his rank, and ſent back to Phrahates his ſon, on condition that he ſhould reſtore all the captives and enſigns taken from Craſſus and Antony. This Phrahates promiſed, but did not perform, till three years after [x]. This year Marcellus was ſeized with an hectic fever, which Antonius Muſa undertook to cure; but the remedies he preſcribed, the ſame which had ſaved the life of Auguſtus, were commonly believed to have occaſioned his death, which happened in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpreſſible grief of Auguſtus, his mother Octavia, and the Roman people, whoſe hearts

Tir[illegible]s at R[illegible]

Auguſtus's anſwer to his embaſſadors, and to thoſe of Phrahates.

[u] Dio, ibid. p. 518, 519. Vide Noris de Cenotaph. Piſana, & L. Cæſ. p. 191. & Anton. Pagi. critic. in annal. Baronii p. 109. [x] Dio, ibid. Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 5.

hearts he had won by his extraordinary accomplishments, obliging behaviour, and uncommon modesty. Tho' this year proved very sickly, and many were carried off by the reigning distempers, yet the ambitious Livia was generally charged with the death of that hopeful youth, whom she was believed to have dispatched by means of Antonius Musa, to make room for Tiberius and Drusus her own children. His funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost magnificence in the campus Martius, Augustus himself, who was his neareſt relation, pronouncing, according to custom, his funeral oration. [y].

THE next year, M. Claudius Marcellus Æserninus and L. Arruntius being consuls, a dreadful plague raged in Rome and all the other cities of Italy; which, as the lands were left untilled, was attended with a general famine. The Tiber overflowed, and laid great part of the city under water. Lightning fell on the Pantheon, and there dashed to pieces several statues, &c. The populace imagining, that the gods visited them with these, and threatened them with greater calamities, because they had suffered Augustus to lay down the consulate, surrounded the senate-house, and threatened to set fire to it, unless the fathers immediately created him dictator. The conscript fathers readily complied with their requeſt; whereupon the people repaired in great crouds to the house of Augustus, with twenty-four axes and fasces, entreating him to accept of the dictatorship; but he wisely declined the envy and danger of that title, having already all the power and authority annexed to it. However, that he might not seem to despise the favours of the people, he accepted the office of general purveyor, which had been formerly conferred on Pompey the Great, and took care to supply the city with great plenty of provisions, appointing annually two persons for that purpose, who had discharged the prætorship two years before. As to the office of perpetual censor, he could by no means be prevailed to take it upon him; but named to that important employment Paulus Æmilius Lepidus, brother to the triumvir, by whom he had been proscribed, and L. Munacius Plancus, formerly one of Antony's most zealous partizans; but Lepidus dying soon after, and Plancus, who was a man of a most infamous character, being no ways

Augustus wisely declines the dictatorship, and the office of perpetual censor.

[y] Dio, p. 517, 519. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 93. Tacit. annal. 2. Virg. Æneid. l. vi.

qualified to cenſure the vices of others, Auguſtus took upon himſelf to perform the functions, tho' he declined the title, of that magiſtracy, and enacted many excellent laws relating to the reformation of manners, which gained him the love and eſteem of the whole city. He ſuppreſſed ſeveral private aſſemblies, and reformed others; from the ædiles he transferred the care of the public ſhews and ſports to the prætors, whom he reduced to ten, and would not allow them to exhibit the uſual ſports at their own charges, but obliged the people to contribute a ſmall ſum for their own diverſions, and paid the reſt out of the public treaſury. As the ædileſhip was the firſt ſtep to public honours, the young noblemen often ſpent their whole fortunes, and reduced themſelves to beggary, by the expenſive ſhews with which they entertained the people, in hopes of being raiſed by their ſuffrages to the ſuperior magiſtracies; and it was to obviate this abuſe, that Auguſtus committed the celebrating of the games to the prætors, and would have the charges attending them divided between the people and the public treaſury. To the curule ædiles he committed the care of extinguiſhing fires, allowing them for that ſervice ſix hundred ſlaves, who were bought and maintained at the public expence. He likewiſe ordered by a particular edict, that none ſhould exhibit the ſhew of gladiators without leave from the ſenate, and then only twice a year, and with no more than one hundred and twenty combatants. As many perſons of rank, women as well as men, had of late debaſed themſelves to act and dance upon the ſtage, Auguſtus reſtrained ſuch ſcandalous practices, by forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, any of the ſenatorial or equeſtrian order to appear on the ſtage, and extending this prohibition to the children and grand-children of ſenators[z]. In theſe regulations he exerted the power and authority of an abſolute prince and legiſlator; but in other things uſed great condeſcenſion, affecting to appear in courts of judicature like a private perſon, and even to plead for his friends, or attend them when cited before the prætors or other judges. This complaiſance often drew inſults upon him from the adverſe parties, as it happened in the caſe of one M. Primus, who was accuſed of having made an irruption into the country of the Odryſians, while he was governor of Macedon. Primus maintained, that he had been ordered by Auguſtus

Enacts ſeveral excellent laws.

[z] Dio, ibid. p. 521---524. Suet. ibid.

guſtus to make war upon the Odryſians; whereupon Auguſtus, appearing ſoon after in court, was aſked by the prætor, Whether Primus's plea was true or no? The emperor anſwered, That Primus was certainly miſtaken, ſince he was very ſure he had given no ſuch orders. This open and poſitive declaration left no room for any reply; which ſo provoked L. Murena, who pleaded for Primus, that he could not help aſking the emperor with great boldneſs and anger, "What buſineſs he had there? and what had "brought him to a place where he was neither expected "nor wanted? The public good," replied Auguſtus with great calmneſs and moderation. This deportment gained him the eſteem of many; but others, who were enemies to Auguſtus in their hearts, and wiſhed to ſee the antient form of government reſtored, laid hold of this opportunity to ſtir up Murena, and to enter into a conſpiracy with him againſt the tyrant of Rome, as they ſtyled him. Murena and Fannius Cæpio, the former a man of an unblemiſhed character, and the latter the greateſt debauchee in Rome, took upon them the whole management of the plot, for the execution of which, a day and place was already appointed. But, in the mean time, Murena diſcloſed the whole to his ſiſter Terentilla, and ſhe to her huſband Mecænas, who gave notice of it to the emperor, after having adviſed his brother-in-law and the other conſpirator to abſcond, till ſuch time as he ſhould obtain, as he hoped to do, their pardon. But Auguſtus would not hearken to the entreaties either of Mecænas or Proculeius, who was brother to Murena, and in ſuch favour with the emperor, that he had been long in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould beſtow his daughter Julia on him or Marcellus. As Auguſtus proved inflexible, the conſpirators were ſummoned to take their trials, and not appearing, interdicted by a majority of ſuffrages fire and water, throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire. Cæpio was conveyed in the night-time by a faithful ſlave to the Tiber in a baſket, and put on board a ſmall veſſel which landed him at Oſtia. From Oſtia the ſlave conducted him ſafe to Laurentum, and from thence to Cumæ, where he was betrayed by another ſlave to a centurion, who cut off his head and carried it to Rome. Murena was diſcovered in Rome, and aſſaſſinated by Auguſtus's emiſſaries. As the conſpirators were abſolved by the votes of ſome of the judges, the emperor, fearing ſuch criminals might for the future go unpuniſhed, enacted the two following laws, viz. That all guilty per-

His moderation.

Auguſtus.

Is diſcovered and the conſpirators puniſhed.

ſons who refuſed to appear, ſhould be condemned to the ſame puniſhments, which would have been inflicted upon them, if they had been regularly tried and convicted; and that for the future the judges in criminal caſes ſhould deliver their opinions, not in writing, but openly and by word of mouth. Leſt the ſeverity he ſhewed on this occaſion, and the new laws he enacted, might eſtrange the minds of the people from him, he took no notice of the odd behaviour of old Cæpio, who not only ſet at liberty the ſlave who had conveyed his ſon out of Rome, but ſentenced the other to be crucified, after having cauſed him to be led through all the ſtreets of Rome with a writing, which expreſſed the cauſe of his puniſhment. At this time, Auguſtus, out of complaiſance to the ſenate, whom his ſeverity towards two men of rank might have provoked, delivered up to the conſcript fathers the provinces of Cyprus and Narbonne Gaul, which, from this time, began to be ranked among the proconſular provinces, and to be governed by magiſtrates ſent thither by the ſenate [a]. This ſame year, the Cantabrians and Aſturians revolted anew; but were ſoon brought under ſubjection by C. Furnius. Many of the Cantabrians, finding they could not ſhake off the yoke, choſe rather to lay violent hands on themſelves, than to bear it; ſo deep was the love of liberty imprinted in the hearts of that brave people [b]!

The provinces of Cyprus and Gaul delivered up to the ſenate.

AND now Italy and all the provinces in the weſt enjoying a profound tranquillity, Auguſtus reſolved to take a progreſs into the eaſt, and, with this view, ſet out for Sicily towards the end of the year, leaving the people at full liberty to chuſe for conſuls whom they pleaſed. At the time therefore appointed for the great elections the centuries met, and with one conſent raiſed to the conſulate Auguſtus, and gave him M. Lollius for his collegue; but he refuſing to accept of that dignity, and even to name another in his room, the centuries met a ſecond time, when ſuch diſorders were raiſed in the comitia, by the ambition of two competitors, L. Silanus and Q. Æmilius Lepidus, that the wiſer citizens thought it proper to acquaint Auguſtus therewith, and ſolicit him to return to Rome, and with his preſence put a ſtop to the conteſts and diviſions, which the oppoſite factions had raiſed in the city. Auguſtus heard the account of theſe diſturbances with a ſecret

Diſturbances in Rome on account of the elections.

[a] Dio, l. liv. p. 523. & l. liii. p. 504. [b] Idem ibid.

cret satisfaction, hoping they would convince the most zealous and obstinate republicans, that they were no longer capable of governing themselves as formerly. However, left the quarrels of two such men, who had a great number of clients and were allied to most of the chief families in Rome, should produce a civil war, he sent for the candidates, reprimanded them severely, and commanded them to keep at a distance from Rome till the election was over. But this did not restore tranquillity to the city; the friends of the two competitors supported their respective interest with the same warmth as if they had been present; but at length Lepidus's party prevailed, and he was chosen consul. However, Augustus, to prevent such disturbances for the future, as he could not be always at Rome himself judged it necessary to create a new magistrate, whose province should be to maintain peace and tranquillity in the metropolis. Agrippa seemed to him the most proper person for so great a command. He therefore dispatched a messenger to him, ordering him to quit the island of Lesbos and repair to him in Sicily. On his arrival, to procure him more respect and authority in his new employment, he commanded him to divorce Marcella, tho' daughter to Octavia and Augustus's niece, and to marry his daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus. We are told, that Mecænas promoted this match, by suggesting to Augustus, when he consulted him about it, that since he had already made Agrippa so great and powerful, he ought either to cut him off, or unalterably attach him to his interest by marrying him to his daughter [b]. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and Agrippa immediately after took his leave of Augustus, and set out for Rome, where he discharged his new office with great applause, being equally beloved by the senate and people.

Agrippa made governor of Rome.

He marries Julia, Augustus's daughter.

In the mean time, Augustus, having settled the affairs of Sicily, passed over into Greece, where he shewed particular marks of his favour to the Lacedæmonians, on whom he bestowed the island of Cithera and five cities, as a reward for the kindness they had formerly shewn to Livia, when she fled with her husband and son out of Italy. The Athenians he punished for having erected statues to Brutus

[b] Dio, ibid. p. 525. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 93. Suet. in Octavio.

and Caſſius, and afterwards ſided with Antony. He took from them the iſland of Ægina and the city of Eretria, forbidding them for the future to ſell the right of citizenſhip, which brought them in vaſt ſums, the Romans themſelves glorying in being free of Athens [c]. From Greece Auguſtus ſailed to Samos, and there wintered.

Auguſtus paſſes into the eaſt.

EARLY in the ſpring, M. Apuleius and P. Silius Nerva being conſuls, Auguſtus left Samos, and croſſed over into Aſia, ſettling the affairs of the provinces through which he paſſed, in as abſolute a manner as if they had belonged to himſelf and not to the ſenate. He deprived the Cyzicans of their liberty, for having whipt and put to death ſome Roman citizens. The ſame puniſhment he inflicted on the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, judging this the moſt effectual method of putting an end to the factions, which reigned in theſe two cities, and were attended with frequent murders. As he drew near the borders of Parthia, Phrahates king of that country, dreading a foreign war, as he was univerſally hated by his ſubjects, not only ſent back to him all the enſigns and captives taken by the Parthians, in their wars with Craſſus and Antony, but yielding to all the conditions which Auguſtus required, giving four of his ſons with their wives and children as hoſtages for the performance of them [d]; whereupon Juſtin obſerves, that Auguſtus did more by the greatneſs of his name, than any other commander could have done by a long and bloody war [e]; but Tacitus tells us, that not the fear of Auguſtus, but the diffidence Phrahates had of his own people, induced him thereunto [f]; and with him agree Strabo [g] and Joſephus [h] (C). However, Auguſtus, no leſs proud

Phrahates ſends back to him the Roman eagles and enſigns.

[c] Dio, ibid. [d] Dio, ibid. [e] Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 5.
[f] Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 1. [g] Strabo, l. vi. p. 288.
[h] Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

(C) So far as we can gather from their writings, the whole matter ſeems to have paſſed in the following manner: A very beautiful Italian woman, named Thermuſa, having been formerly ſent by Auguſtus to Phrahates as a preſent, the king entertained her firſt as his concubine, and afterwards, on her bringing him a ſon, married her, and declared her queen. In this ſtation ſhe gained an abſolute aſcendant over him, which ſhe made uſe of to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon. With this view ſhe propoſed to Phrahates the putting of his other ſons, whoſe names were

proud of having thus recovered the Roman eagles and captives, than if he had overcome the Parthians in battle, ſent orders to the ſenate to ſhut up the temple of Janus, which he had opened on his ſetting out for the eaſt, and to offer ſacrifices, by way of thankſgiving to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended him in this expedition. To perpetuate the memory of an action, which he looked upon as the moſt glorious of his whole reign, on his return to Rome, he cauſed a temple to be built in the capitol to Mars the Avenger, upon the plan of that which had long before been built in honour of Jupiter Feretrius. In this new temple were hung up the military enſigns, which the king of Parthia had reſtored, as monuments of the homage which that proud monarch had paid to Auguſtus [i]. At the ſame time Auguſtus ſettled the affairs of Armenia. Artabazes, king of that country, having been taken priſoner by Antony and carried to Alexandria, as we have related above, Artaxias his ſon, whom Dion calls Artabazes, ſucceeded him. But he having made himſelf obnoxious to his ſubjects by a moſt tyrannical and oppreſſive reign, they complained of him to Auguſtus, deſiring to have

[i] Suet. ibid. Dio, p. 526.

were Saroſpades, Ceroſpades, Phrahates, and Vonones, into the hands of the Romans. Phrahates, not thinking himſelf ſafe againſt his ſubjects, ſo long as there were any of the race of Arſaces of an age fit to govern, readily complied with the queen's propoſal; and accordingly, when matters were made up between him and Auguſtus, and hoſtages demanded for the ſecuring of the terms of that agreement, he delivered his four ſons into the hands of Auguſtus, who carried them to Rome, where they remained many years. As for Thermuſa's ſon, who was named Phrahatices, he was bred up to ſucceed his father in the kingdom. The Parthians were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the race of Arſaces, that Phrahates well knew they would bear him, ſo long as they had no other of that family of an age fit to be ſet up to reign in his room; and this was, according to Strabo and Joſephus (6), the reaſon why Phrahates ſo readily yielded up his ſons to the Romans; but at length his deſtruction came from what he thus projected for his ſafety, as we have related in our hiſtory of the Parthians (7).

(6) Vide Strab. & Joſeph. ubi ſupra. (7) Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. IV. p. 314.

have Tigranes, his younger brother, who was then at Rome

Auguſtus appoints Tigranes king of Armenia.

to reign over them in his ſtead. Auguſtus complied with their requeſt, and ſent Tiberius, the ſon of Livia, who had attended him into the eaſt, with an army into Armenia to drive out Artaxias and place Tigranes on the throne But Artaxias being killed by his own ſubjects before the arrival of Tiberius, and Tigranes thereupon admitted, without oppoſition, to ſucceed him, the young Roman had no opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf by any military exploits However, he crowned the new king with great pomp and magnificence, placing the diadem upon his tribunal, and obliging Tigranes to receive it of him, as if he had been indebted to him for his kingdom [k]. Velleius Paterculus, the great flatterer of Tiberius, tells us, that, entering Armenia at the head of his legions, he reduced the whole country, and obliged the Armenians to receive Tigranes, whom he calls Artavaſdes, for their king. He adds, that the Parthians were ſo terrified at his approach, and the fame of his name and exploits, that they ſent back to Auguſtus the Roman enſigns and captives [l]. But all other writers aſcribe the recovery of the enſigns to Auguſtus, and agree, that Tiberius performed nothing worth mentioning.

Who receives the crown of Tiberius.

This year, Julia, who had had no children by her firſt huſband Marcellus, brought Agrippa a ſon, who was named Caius, and on whoſe birth-day a perpetual ſacrifice, with other ſolemnities, was decreed by way of thankſgiing to the gods [m]. Towards the end of the ſummer, Auguſtus left Syria, and being attended by Herod, king of Judea, to the ſea ſide, he embarqued and ſailed for Samos, where he paſſed the enſuing winter. In the mean time, the conſular year being expired, Auguſtus was named conſul in the aſſembly of the people, and C. Sentius Saturninus given him for his collegue. But Auguſtus declining that office, the factions revived, and the campus Martius was turned into a field of battle, many perſons being killed in the fray; inſomuch, that Auguſtus, to put a ſtop to the diſorders that were raiſed on this occaſion by the ambitious competitors, was obliged to name a collegue to Sentius of his own authority. The perſon he pitched upon was Q. Lucretius Veſpillo, who had been formerly proſcribed by the triumvirs, but at this time ſerved under Auguſtus in quality of lieutenant.

Caius Cæſar born.

[k] Dio, ibid. [l] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 94. [m] Dio, p. 526.

lieutenant. Theſe two magiſtrates together with Agrippa maintained peace and tranquillity in the city, by puniſhing with the utmoſt ſeverity the ring-leaders of the late tumult [n].

A ſecond embaſſy to Auguſtus from the king of India.

While Auguſtus reſided at Samos, he received a ſecond embaſſy from the king of India, ſoliciting an alliance with him. The embaſſadors, as we are informed by Nicolas of Damaſcus, who ſaw them as they paſſed through Antioch, delivered to Auguſtus a letter in the Greek tongue, wherein the king of India told him, that though he reigned over ſix hundred kings, yet he had ſo great a value for his friendſhip, that he ſent this embaſſy on ſo long a journey on purpoſe to deſire it of him; that he was ready to meet him in what place ſoever he pleaſed to appoint; and that upon the firſt notice he would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power in whatever was right. This letter he ſubſcribed by the name of "Porus, king of India." The ſix hundred kings, whom he boaſted to reign over, were the rajas, or petty princes, who governed the kingdom under him, ſeveral of whoſe deſcendents remain to this day, who, paying an annual tribute to the Great Mogol, govern their ſubjects with an abſolute authority. Of the embaſſadors, who firſt ſet out from India, three only reached the preſence of Auguſtus, the others dying by the way. Of the three ſurviving one was Zarmar a gymnoſophiſt, who following Auguſtus to Athens, there burnt himſelf in his preſence, as Calanus, another of that ſect, had formerly done in the preſence of Alexander, it being cuſtomary for the gymnoſophiſts to put an end to their lives, by throwing themſelves on their funeral piles, when they thought they had lived long enough, or apprehended ſome misfortune [o]. Among the preſents which they brought were huge vipers, ſerpents ten cubits long, a river tortoiſe three cubits long, a partridge bigger than a vultur, and ſeveral tygers, the firſt that had ever been ſeen either by the Greeks or Romans [p]. Auguſtus early in the ſpring left Samos, after having declared the inhabitants free, and returned to Rome, where he was received with loud acclamations and all poſſible marks of honour, his bringing back the military enſigns and priſoners taken in the Parthian wars being what the Romans valued beyond the greateſt victories. Auguſtus himſelf took ſo much pride in having thus retrieved the glory of the Roman name among foreign nations, that he cauſed a great number

Auguſtus returns to Rome.

of

[n] Dio, ibid.
[o] Dio, p. 527. Strabo, l. xv. p. 719, 720.
[p] Strabo, ibid.

of medals, many of which have reached us, to be ſtruck with this legend on the reverſe. "Signis receptis." The poets of his time made, as is well known, his recovering of the enſigns and priſoners, the common topic of their flatteries [q]. Three triumphal arches were decreed him by the ſenate, an altar was erected to Fortune with this inſcription, "Fortunæ reduci;" and it was ordained, that the day of his arrival in the capital ſhould be annually ſolemniſed with ſacrifices, ſports, ſhews, &c. and diſtinguiſhed by the name of Auguſtalia, or "the feaſt of Auguſtus." This year died the prince of the Latin poets in the fifty-firſt year of his age, having bequeathed a conſiderable part of his great wealth to Auguſtus and Mecænas, his two chief patrons and benefactors. He had deſigned to attend Auguſtus into the eaſt, but was obliged by the bad ſtate of his health to remain at Naples, whence he paſſed over to Athens to meet Auguſtus on his return from the iſland of Samos. The emperor received him with uncommon marks of kindneſs and eſteem; but he, leaving Athens ſoon after to viſit the antiquities of Megara in the hot ſeaſon of the year, fell ſick there, but nevertheleſs embarqued for Italy, and reached Brunduſium, where he expired ſoon after his arrival. As he had not yet put the laſt hand to his Æneid, he ordered by his will that inimitable performance to be burnt; but Auguſtus ſaved Troy, we may ſay with an antient poet, from a ſecond conflagration, and by that means preſerved for all future ages a moſt perfect pattern of epic poetry. Virgil's body was, according to his own appointment, conveyed to Naples, and there laid in a monument erected for that purpoſe on the road from Naples to Puteoli. On the monument was engraved a diſtich wrote by the poet himſelf, wherein he gave a modeſt account of his birth, his death, the place of his burial, and his works [r]. (D)

Virgil dies.

But to return to Auguſtus; as there reigned at this time in Rome a general depravation of manners, and the city was in a manner over-run with all kinds of vices, the ſenate prevailed upon Auguſtus to accept the office of cenſor for five years.

[q] Vide Faſt. l. v. Horat. l. iv. od. 15. &c. [r] Vide Tib. Donat. in vita Virgilii.

(D) The diſtich is as follows:

"Mantua me genuit: Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc
Parthenope: cecini paſcua, rura, duces.

years. At the same time, they conferred upon him the consular power for life, ordaining, that he should always have twelve axes and fasces carried before him, and should sit in a curule chair between the consuls. At the same time, they entreated him to make new laws, offering to bind themselves by oath to the observance of them. But the emperor refused an oath, which he judged useless, intimating, that if his laws were good, they would observe them without that tie; if not, their oath would be ineffectual [s]. And now, the presence of Agrippa being no longer necessary in Rome, Augustus dispatched him into Gaul to stop the incursions of the Germans, who, having passed the Rhine, committed horrible disorders in the countries subject to Rome. But, at the approach of so renowned a commander, they repassed the river, and sheltered themselves in their woods. Hereupon Agrippa, having settled the affairs of that country, and left a sufficient number of troops to guard the banks of the Rhine, the boundary between Gaul and Germany, passed from thence into Spain, where the Cantabrians, notwithstanding their former losses, had raised new disturbances. Most of their youth had a few years before been taken prisoners, and sold for slaves to the neighbouring nations; but, having found means to break their chains, they had cut the throats of their masters, and returning into their own country, fortified themselves there, and attacked with incredible fury the Roman garrisons. Agrippa marched against them with great expedition, but, on his arrival in their country, he met with so vigorous a resistance from that brave and gallant people, that his soldiers began to despair of ever being able to reduce them. As the Cantabrians had waged war with the Romans for two hundred years and upwards, they were well acquainted with their manner of fighting, no ways inferior to them in point of courage, and now become desperate, as well knowing, that if they were conquered, after having so often attempted to recover their liberty, they must expect the most severe usage and cruel slavery. Animated with this reflection, they fell upon the Romans with a fury hardly to be expressed, put them to flight in several rencounters, and defended themselves, when attacked by the enemy, with such intrepidity and resolution, that Agrippa afterwards owned, that he had never, either by sea or land, been engaged in a more dangerous expedition. That brave commander was obliged to use entreaties, menaces, and to brand some of his legionaries with ignominy,

Augustus censor.

Agrippa marches against the Germans.

His expedition against the Cantabrians.

Their bravery.

[s] Dio, Suet. ibid.

ignominy, before he could bring them to enter the liſts with ſo reſolute and formidable an enemy. But having at length with much ado prevailed upon them to try the chance of an engagement in the open field, he ſo animated them by his own example, that, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, he gained in the end a complete victory, which indeed coſt him dear, but put an end to that deſtructive war. All the Cantabrians fit to bear arms were cut in pieces, their caſtles and ſtrong-holds were taken and razed, and their women, children, and old men, none elſe being left alive, were obliged to abandon the mountanious places and ſettle in the plain. Thus Agrippa completed the reduction of a brave nation, which had kept the Roman arms employed for the ſpace of two hundred years, that is, ever ſince the time of Scipio Africanus, the firſt Roman who made war in Spain. The final reduction of Cantabria and the quieting of all Spain, was judged both by the ſenate and Auguſtus well worthy of a triumph; but Agrippa modeſtly declined that honour, aſcribing the whole glory of ſo ſucceſsful an expedition to Auguſtus, under whoſe auſpices he had fought. He was well acquainted with the jealous humour of the emperor, no ways renowned for military atchievements; and therefore, to avoid giving him the leaſt umbrage, he artfully leſſened his own glory for fear of eclipſing his, which, he knew, might be attended with dangerous conſequences [t]. Agrippa on his return to Rome applied himſelf wholly to the embelliſhing of the city with new edifices, and ſupplying it with great plenty of water, which proved no leſs ornamental to that great metropolis, than convenient and uſeful to the vaſt multitudes of people who flocked thither from all parts of the then known world. The waters, Virgo, Julia, and Tepula, were by him conveyed, at his own expence, into the city, by aqueducts, of a moſt magnificent ſtructure, and for the moſt part ſupported by large and beautiful columns of marble. The aqueducts of the waters, Appia and Marcia, which conveyed into Rome, we may ſay, whole rivers, were by him repaired at a vaſt charge. In ſhort, to Agrippa chiefly is Rome indebted for that great plenty of wholeſome water, which it enjoys to this day, perhaps above all the cities in the world; and to this Auguſtus alluded, when he pleaſantly anſwered the people, who complained to him of the ſcarcity and dearth of wine, that "Agrippa had taken care they ſhould not die of thirſt [u]."

The final reduction of Cantabria.

Rome embelliſhed by Agrippa.

Towards

[t] Dio, p. 528. Suet. in Octavio, 6. Front. in aquæduct.

[u] Caſſiod. l. vii. epiſt.

Towards the end of this year, Auguſtus granted a triumph to Lucius Cornelius Balbus for having ſubdued the Garamantes, a people of Africa, hitherto unknown to the Romans. Balbus made himſelf maſter of that country, which lay between Africa properly ſo called, that is, the antient dominions of Carthage, Lower Æthiopia, and Getulia, extending by that means the limits of the Roman empire as far as the river Nigris. Such an important conqueſt Auguſtus judged well worthy of a triumph, which was accordingly granted to Balbus, though he was not ſo much as a native of Italy, but born at Gades in Spain, and lately admitted to the rights of a Roman citizen. He had the glory of being the firſt foreigner who was honoured with this mark of diſtinction, Auguſtus wiſely overlooking antient cuſtoms, to honour and reward valour without diſtinction in men of all nations [w]. This year Ælius Gallus, præfect of Egypt, made a progreſs into the upper parts of that country, as far as Syene and the borders of Ethiopia, in which Strabo the greographer attended him, who tells us, that at Thebes he ſaw the ſtatue of Memnon, which, according to the poets [x], ſaluted the ſun at his firſt riſing with an harmonious ſound. He adds, that being one morning on the place, he heard the ſound without knowing how it was produced, but ſuſpected it came from ſome of thoſe who were there preſent, and not from the ſtatue [y].

The Garamantes ſubdued.

The next year, P. Cornelius Lentulus and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, either brothers or relations, being conſuls, Auguſtus prorogued his authority for five years more, the firſt ten years of his ſovereign power being near expired. This, he well knew, would ſtir up the zealous republicans againſt him; and therefore, dreading the fate of his father Julius, he took care never to appear in public, but armed with a breaſt-plate under his robe; and, to deprive them of all hopes of ever ſeeing the antient form of government reſtored, he made Agrippa, as it were, his partner in the ſovereign power, conferring upon him an authority almoſt equal to his own, and the high prerogative of the tribuneſhip for the ſpace of five years; ſo that the few republicans, who ſtill remained, being well appriſed, that if they ſhould cut off Auguſtus, Agrippa might eaſily ſtep into his place and revenge his death, as he was greatly adored both by the people and ſoldiery, gave

Auguſtus heaps new honours upon Agrippa.

[w] Faſti Capit. Dio, ibid. Plin. l. v. c. 5. Solinus, c. 32.
[x] Vide Juvenal. ſatyr. 15. Dionyſ. in Perieg. v. 249. & alios.
[y] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 816.

gave over all thoughts of any further attempts for the reco very of their liberty [z]. The firſt thing Auguſtus undertook after the prorogation of his power was, to reform the ſenate many perſons of no birth and of infamous characters, having been admitted into that venerable body, during the confuſion of the civil wars. In order to purge the ſenate of ſo many unworthy members, he agreed with Agrippa, whom he took for his collegue in the cenſorſhip, to reduce the number of the fathers from a thouſand to ſix hundred; but, to avoid the odium of chuſing them all himſelf, he named only thirty empowering each of them to elect five: of the five, each of them named, one only was to be choſen, and he by lot; ſo that thirty only were elected at a time; but as ſoon as that election was over, five others were named by each of the thirty electors, and one of the five choſen by lot as before. Though each of the thirty electors had bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath not to elect any of his own relations, or perſons unworthy of that rank, yet in ſome of their tablets were found the names of men of a moſt infamous character, while others of known probity were excluded. This unjuſt partiality induced Auguſtus and Agrippa to change the method of election, and ſince they could not depend upon others, to name the reſt themſelves to the number of ſix hundred wherein to do them juſtice, they proceeded with the utmoſt impartiality, chuſing only men of merit, and by that means reſtoring the ſenatorial order to its former ſplendor. Thoſe who were degraded, to the number of four hundred, were allowed to appear at the public ſhews with the antient badges of their dignity, and to ſtand for the firſt offices, as if they had been ſtill members of the ſenatorial order. But, notwithſtanding this diſtinction, many of them were ſoon after put to death, for having, as it was ſuppoſed, conſpired againſt the emperor; though Tacitus tells us [a], that Auguſtus laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of ſuch as he ſuſpected of being republicans in their hearts, and ſecret enemies to abſolute power. Some writers think he followed, in putting many of the degraded ſenators to death, the old maxim, that "a prince ought to cut off thoſe whom he has once provoked." Be that as it will, it is certain, that Auguſtus for ſome time after betrayed a great fear of being aſſaſſinated, admitting no body to his preſence, but after a narrow ſearch, whether they had any arms concealed under their garments, and forbidding even the ſenators to approach his chair more than

Reforms the ſenate.

Several of the degraded ſenators put to death for conſpiring againſt the emperor.

[z] Dio, p. 529. [a] Tacit. annal. l. x.

than one at a time. This precaution gave the fathers an opportunity of making a propoſal, which was highly agreeable to the timorous emperor. They offered to watch night and day at the door of his room, each in his turn, to guard his perſon. But while they were conſulting about their propoſal, Antiſtius Labeo, a learned civilian and a man of great humour, pretending to ſleep, ſnored very loud, and waking as it were all on a ſudden, "Don't depend upon me," ſaid he, "to guard the emperor; for I ſhall be apt to fall "aſleep, and prove more troubleſome to him than ſervice-"able." The ſenators could not forbear laughing, and Auguſtus aſhamed of his cowardice, made them drop the propoſal, when they were ready to confirm it by a decree [b].

Auguſtus reſ- veral abuſes.

Auguſtus, having thus reſtored the ſenate to its antient ſplendor, applied himſelf in the next place to the reforming of ſeveral abuſes in the city. He decreed, that ſuch, as ſhould be convicted of having purchaſed the ſuffrages of the people with money, ſhould be excluded from all public offices for the ſpace of five years. That the people, who uſed to ſell their votes, might not be ſufferers by this law, he cauſed large ſums to be diſtributed among them, on condition, that they ſhould not require any thing of the candidates. To check the debauchery of the Roman youth, which at this time was greater than ever had been known, he laid heavy taxes upon ſuch as continued unmarried after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry, declaring, that though a patrician ſhould marry a liberta or freed-woman, his children ſhould rank among the patricians. However, he excepted the ſenators, whom he would not allow to marry under their rank; and becauſe the Hortenſian family had been by the civil wars reduced almoſt to beggary, he preſented young Hortenſius with a large ſum, which put him in a condition of marrying a woman of diſtinction. The looſe behaviour of the married women was what chiefly deterred the young Romans from marriage; but Auguſtus, who had himſelf debauched many, not ſparing even the wife of his great friend Mecænas, refuſed to put a ſtop to that diſorder, ſaying, that he left the care of married women to their huſbands. Having reformed many abuſes in the ſtate, he applyed his thoughts to matters of

[b] Dio. & Suet. ibid.

Subjects the Sibylline books to a strict examination.

of religion, calling in a great many prophetic books, which were then in vogue, and causing most of them, to the number of two thousand volumes, to be burnt as spurious, reserving only those which were commonly ascribed to some of the Sibyls. These also he subjected to a strict examination, and retained such only as were on this trial judged genuine; the rest he committed to the flames, but those that were judged genuine he caused to be copied by the pontifices themselves, and lodged them in two golden cabinets, which he placed in the temple of Apollo built by him in his palace [c]. These Sibylline oracles were of great repute among the Gentiles, and often appealed to by the antient Christian writers.

Lucius Cæsar born.

This year, Julia brought Agrippa a second son, who was named Lucius, and Augustus adopted both him and his brother Caius, declaring them his successors, in order to put a stop to any attempts that might be made by the old republicans, for the recovery of their liberty [d].

Augustus rejects the title of Dominus or Lord.

The following year, C. Furnius and C. Julius Silanus being consuls, the secular games, which had not been celebrated for an hundred years before, were exhibited by Augustus and Agrippa, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In these games one of the players giving him the title of Dominus, that is, lord or sovereign, he shewed great marks of dissatisfaction, and the next morning published an edict, forbidding all persons under severe penalties to give him that title for the future. It was on occasion of these games that Horace wrote the Hymn, entitled, "Carmen Seculare," which was sung at the sacrifice, that was offered to Pluto and Proserpine before the shews and spectacles of the circus, the theatre, and amphitheatre. Great part of this year was spent in public games and diversions, of which Augustus himself was a great admirer, especially of the tournament, or warlike exercise, called Troy, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility. He was likewise a great encourager of wrestling, but would not allow women to be present at those games. He enticed to Rome with great rewards the best players and actors from all parts of the world, took them under his protection, and would not allow the prætors and ædiles to cause them, according to antient custom, to be publicly whipt, when they had not performed to the satisfaction of the audience. But, notwithstanding the encouragement he gave them, he severely examined their morals, not

[c] Sueton. ibid. Dio. p. 531—533. [d] Dio, ibid.

not allowing the leaſt licentiouſneſs in their lives, or indecency in their actions. Being informed, that one Stephanio a comedian was attended by a woman in the diſguiſe of a boy, he ordered him to be whipt through the three theatres, and baniſhed the city. He likewiſe drove out of Rome Pylades a famous actor, for having behaved diſreſpectfully towards a Roman citizen, and becauſe he was continually quarreling with Bathyllius, an actor no leſs famous than himſelf, and greatly favoured by Mecænas. But he ſoon recalled him to gratify the people, and the comedian, on his return, inſtead of thanking the emperor, told him, that it was his intereſt the people ſhould be diverted by men of his profeſſion, leſt they ſhould watch too narrowly his actions, or ſeriouſly reflect on their own condition [c].

Entices players to Rome, but puniſhes their licentiouſneſs.

The enſuing year, Auguſtus, having got L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and P. Cornelius Scipio, two perſons wholly addicted to him, raiſed to the conſulate, reſolved to leave Rome for a while, and march with an army into Gaul, to quell ſome diſturbances there occaſioned by the avarice of Libinius Enceladus, who, being appointed by the emperor to gather the taxes in thoſe parts, had obliged the people to pay them monthly, and, by a deceitful account, reckoned fourteen months in the year. However, the diſturbances were not ſuch as required the preſence of the emperor. It was therefore commonly believed, that he undertook this expedition with no other view, but to enjoy the company of Terentia, or, as others call her, Terentilla, the wife of his friend Mecænas, without being diſturbed in the enjoyment of his ſcandalous pleaſures, either by her huſband, or his own wife Livia. He took Terentia with him, and, becauſe Mecænas could not help reſenting this baſe treatment, he appointed Statilius Taurus governor of Rome during his abſence, paſſing over his old friend, who had, in more difficult times, diſcharged that office with great applauſe. As for Agrippa, he diſpatched him again into the eaſt, to ſettle there ſome differences between the princes and ſtates of Aſia. Auguſtus no ſooner paſſed the Alps, than the Gauls returned to their duty, but the Sicambri, Uſipetes, and Tencteri, people of Germany, having paſſed the Rhine, defeated firſt a conſiderable body of Roman horſe, and afterwards M. Lollius, proconſul of Gaul, from whom they took a ſtandard. Lollius, though no great commander, found ſoon after an opportunity of retrieving his honour, by falling upon the Germans unawares,

Auguſtus goes into Gaul.

Lollius defeated by the Gauls.

[c] Dio, ibid.

and driving them with great loſs beyond the Rhine. Though all was now quiet in Gaul, yet Auguſtus ſpent the remaining part of this and all the following year, when M. Lucius Druſus Libo and L. Calpurnius Piſo were conſuls, in that province, not caring to return to the capital, where he well knew his criminal converſation with his friend's wife would give occaſion to endleſs ſatires and lampoons, eſpecially, after he had ſet up for a reformer of manners, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity leſs crimes in others. During his ſtay in Gaul, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts of the country with complaints againſt Enceladus. He was by birth a Gaul, and formerly a ſlave of Julius Cæſar, by whom he had been taken in the Gauliſh wars; but being afterwards manumitted by him, and having found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of Auguſtus, he had been appointed by him receiver-general of all the taxes paid annually by his countrymen. In this employment he oppreſſed the Gauls in a moſt barbarous manner; inſomuch that Auguſtus, aſhamed of having employed a man of ſo infamous a character, was determined to inflict upon him ſuch puniſhment as ſhould deter others from the like practices. But the crafty Gaul found means to appeaſe the emperor, by delivering up to him the vaſt ſums he had heaped up by rapine and extortion, and aſſuring him, that in plundering the Gauls he had nothing elſe in view, but to enrich the public treaſury, and put his countrymen out of a condition of being ever able to ſhake off the Roman yoke. Auguſtus pleaſed with this defence, and more with the large ſums, which were delivered to him upon the ſpot, not only abſolved the iniquitous extortioner, but approved of his conduct, and, deaf to the complaints of the oppreſſed Gauls, continued him in his office [e].

Auguſtus refuſes to redreſs the grievances of the Gauls.

The Rhœti invade Italy.

In the mean time, the Rhœti (E), having made an irruption into Italy, committed there dreadful devaſtations, putting

[e] Dio, ibid. & Senec. Iud p. 477.

(E) Ptolemy places the Rhœti between the Rhine, or the lake of Conſtance, called by the antients Lacus Brigantinus, and the river Lychus, now the Lech; the Vindelici between the Lychus and the Ænus, now the Inn; and the Norici between the Vindelici and that mountain, or rather chain of mountains, which extends from the ſprings of the Save and the Drave to the banks of the Danube in the neighbourhood of Vienna, and was known to the

putting all the males they met with to the ſword, without diſtinction of rank or age; nay, we are told, that when they happened to take women with child, they conſulted their augurs whether the child was a male or female; if

the antients by the name of Mons Cethius, but to the moderns by many different names, ſuch as the Pleſyz, the Hengſtberg, the Dembberg, the Herzberg, Kalenſberg, &c. according to the different countries through which it runs. But according to Strabo and Pliny, whoſe opinion is by all modern geographers preferred to that of Ptolemy, the Rhœti inhabited only the Alps, and the vallies formed by thoſe mountains, their country reaching no farther than the lake of Conſtance; from that lake to the conflux of the Ænus and the Danube extended Vindelicia, or the country of the Vindelici, and Noricum from thence to the Cethian mountains. In the country of the Vindelici were antiently ſome cities of no ſmall note, viz. Auguſta Vindelicorum, Juvavium, or Colonia Jovavia, Reginum or Regina caſtra, Batava caſtra, Abuſena, Guntia, Campodunum, Abudiacum, Iſiniſca, now Auſburg, Saltzburg, Regenſburg, Paſſau, Abenſberg, Gurtzberg, Kempten, Fueſſen, and Munchen, now the metropolis of Bavaria; Boiodurum was the metropolis of that country in former times, ſo called from the Boii, who being driven out of Boiohemia, now Bohemia, by the Marcomanni, under the conduct of Maroboduus, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak anon, ſettled in Bojoaria or Boiuvaria, now called Bavaria. Vindelicia borrowed its name from the rivers Vindo or Vinda, now the Wert, and Lycus, which, watering great part of it, and running the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt, of Auguſta Vindelicorum, now Auſburg, join at a ſmall diſtance from that city, and with one ſtream fall into the Danube. They are both mentioned by Venantius Fortunatus in the following verſe:

" Pergis ad Auguſtam, quam Vindo Lycuſque fluentant (8).

The chief cities of Rhœtia, or, as ſome write it, Rœtia, were Tridentum, Curia, Feltria, and Belunum, now Trent, Chur, or Coira, Feltri, Belluno. Some writers place Verona in Rhœtia; but Strabo reckons Verona among the cities of Italy. Horace mentions the victories gained by Tiberius and his brother Druſus over the Vindelici and Rhœti.

" Videre Rhœti bella ſub Alpibus
" Druſum gerentem Vindelici —— (9).

And

(8) Venant. Fortunat. de S. Martino. l. iv. (9) Horat. l. iv. od. 4.

they pronounced it a male, the mother was immediately maſſacred. Againſt theſe fierce nations was ſent Druſus, the ſecond ſon of Livia, a youth of extraordinary valour and great accompliſhments. The young Roman behaved on

Druſus is ſent againſt them, and defeats them

And elſewhere;

" Vindelici didicere nuper,
" Quid Marte poſſes; milite nam tuo
" Druſus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
" Breunoſque veloces, & arces
" Alpibus impoſitas tremendis,
" Dejecit acer, plus vice ſimplici.
" Major Neronum mox grave prœlium
" Commiſit, immaneſque Rhœtos
" Auſpiciis pepulit ſecundis (10).

The Genauni and Breuni were inhabitants of Rhœtia, as is plain from Strabo (11). For the better underſtanding of the antients, it is neceſſary to obſerve here, that though Rhœtia and Vindelicia were two diſtinct countries, yet they formed but one Roman province, called Rhœtia; and hence the antients, when they mention Rhœtia, or the Rhœtian province, are to be underſtood as ſpeaking of Rhœtia, properly ſo called, and Vindelicia; that is, of the countries lying between the lake of Conſtance, the Danube, the Ænus, and the territories of the Carni, of the Veneti, and of the Inſubres. And hence it is, that Tacitus, in ſpeaking of Auguſta Vindelicorum, calls it, the faireſt colony of the Rhœtian province (12); and Horace calls the Vindelici, Rhœti Vindelici, to diſtinguiſh them from the inhabitants of Rhœtia, properly ſo called (13). In the time of the emperor Adrian, or rather of Diocleſian, the Rhœtian province was divided into two, whereof the firſt was called Rhœtia Prima, and comprehended Rhœtia Proper, and the ſecond, comprehending Vindelicia, Rhœtia Secunda: the metropolis of the former was Curia, of the latter Auguſta Vindelicorum (14).

Noricum, formerly a kingdom (15), and afterwards a Roman province, extended between the Danube and the Alpes Noricæ in the neighbourhood of Trent, from the Ænus, which parted it from

(10) Idem. l. iv. od. 14. (11) Strab. l. iv. p. 142.
(12) Tacit. Germ. c. 41. (13) Horat. l. iv. od. 4.
(14) Vide Velſer. l. iii. rer, Boi. p. 91. & l. vi. rer. Aug. p. 298. & Paul. Warnefred. l. ii. de geſt. Longobard. (15) Vell. Patercul. l. xi. c. 109. Suet. in Tiber. c. 16.

on this occaſion with a prudence far ſuperior to his years; for he found means to draw the enemy to a battle, gained a complete victory over them, and cut great numbers of them in pieces, with the loſs of a very ſmall number of his own men. Thoſe who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, being joined by the Vindelici, took their rout towards Gaul, with a deſign to invade that province. But Auguſtus, upon the firſt notice of their march, detached Tiberius, who had attended him into Gaul, at the head of ſeveral choſen legions, to complete the ſlaughter, which his brother had begun: and indeed Tiberius was no leſs ſucceſsful than Druſus; for having tranſported his troops over the lake *Brigantium*, now the lake of Conſtance, he fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, took in that ſurpriſe and confuſion moſt of their ſtrong-holds, and obliged the whole nation to ſubmit to what terms he thought proper to impoſe upon them. Thus were the Vindelici, the Rhœti, and the Norici, three of the moſt barbarous nations of Germany, by the valour of Druſus and Tiberius, brought under the Roman yoke [f]. Tiberius, to keep in awe the country he had ſubdued, planted two colonies

The Vindelici, Rhœti, and Norici ſubdued. Year of the flood 2989. Before Chriſt 10. Of Rome 738.

[f] Dio, p. 536. Suet. in Octav. Vell. Patercul, l. ii. c. 39. Horat. l. iv. Ode 4.

from Vindelicia, to the Cetian mountains its boundaries on the ſide of Pannonia; ſo that antient Noricum comprehended great part of Auſtria, the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg, and all Stiria and Carinthia. It was afterwards, probably in the time of Dioclesian (16), divided into two provinces, viz. Noricum Ripenſe, ſo called, becauſe it extended along the Danube, lying on the ſouth ſide of that river, which divided it from Germany properly ſo called; and Noricum Mediterraneum, compriſing that part which lay at ſome diſtance from the Danube. In the province of Noricum Ripenſe were the following cities of note, Jovavum or Jovavia, Boiodurum, Lentin, Ovilia, or Ovilabis, and Lauriacum or Laureacum, now Saltzburg, Innſtadt, Lintz, Wels, and Lorch; in Noricum Mediterraneum, Pons Æni, Viſcelli or Viſcellæ, Graviacis, Aguntum, Teurnia and Solva, now Inſpruck, Weltz, Gurch, Innichen, and Villach: Lauriacum was the metropolis of the former province, and Solva, long ſince buried in its ruins, of the latter (17).

(16) Vide Thom. Reineſ. inſcript. p. 32. (17) Vide Gruter. inſcript. p. 537. num. 1.

colonies in Vindelicia, and opened a road from thence into Noricum and Rhœtia. One of the cities, which he built for the defence of his colonies, he called, by the name of his father Druſus, Druſomagus, the other, by the name of Auguſtus, Auguſta-Vindelicorum, which cities are now known by the names of Mimminghen and Augſburgh.

Agrippa's exploits in the eaſt.

WHILE Auguſtus and his two ſons-in-law were thus employed in Gaul and Germany, Agrippa was ſettling with equal ſucceſs the affairs of the eaſtern provinces. On his firſt arrival in the province of Aſia properly ſo called, Herod king of Judæa haſtened thither to wait upon him, and having prevailed with him to take a tour into Judæa, he entertained him and all his attendants in a moſt elegant and ſumptuous manner. After having ſhewn him all his new-built cities and caſtles viz. Sebaſte, Cæſarea, Alexandrium, Herodium, and Hyrcania, he carried him in the laſt place to Jeruſalem. As he drew near that city, he was met by all the people in their beſt apparel, and attended into the metropolis of Judæa, by a ſolemn proceſſion and with loud acclamations. After he had ſtaid there ſome days to view the curioſities of that great city, he offered an hecatomb at the temple, feaſted all the people, and then haſtening to the port, where his fleet waited for him, he ſailed back into Ionia before winter, highly pleaſed at the reception he had met with from the Jewiſh king [g]. Early in the ſpring, he was obliged to quit Ionia, and advance towards

He marches againſt the Boſphorans.

the Cimmerian Boſphorus [h], to quell ſome diſturbances there. For Aſander, king of that country, dying without iſſue, had left his kingdom to Dynamis his wife, in whoſe right he had held it, ſhe being the daughter of Pharnaces the ſon of Mithridates. One Scribonius, a native of Aſia, pretending to be the grandſon of Mithridates, and to have a grant from Auguſtus to ſucceed Aſander, married Dynamis and ſeized the crown. But Agrippa, knowing him to be an impoſtor, ſent Polemon, whom the Romans had made king of Pontus and the Leſſer Armenia, to drive him from the throne. Before the arrival of Polemon, the Boſphorans themſelves, being well ſatisfied that Scribonius was no ways related to their royal family, but an impoſtor in all his pretenſions, had put him to death. However, they would not ſubmit to Polemon, but, though overcome by him in a pitched battle on his firſt coming into their country, ſtill held out, and were likely

[g] Joſeph. antiq. l. xvi. c. 3. [h] Vide Hiſt. Univ. Vol. X. p. 313.

likely in the end to get the better of him. Hereupon Agrippa marched with all his forces to the assistance of Polemon, which Herod no sooner heard, than he hastened after him with a considerable fleet, and a good number of his best troops on board; and having sailed first to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium, overtook him at length at Sinope in Pontus. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Roman general than such a supply; for he stood in great need both of sea and land-forces, the Bosphorans having armed a great many vessels, and beset with their land-forces, which were both brave and numerous, all the defiles and narrow passes, through which the Romans were to pass. However, with the assistance of Herod, he opened himself a way into the heart of the enemy's country, and having brought the Bosphorans under subjection, he obliged Dynamis to marry Polemon, conferring on him the kingdom of Bosphorus, which by the favour of Augustus, who confirmed that grant, he held with that of Pontus and Armenia Minor. However, he had not the whole kingdom of Pontus, but only that part of it which lay next to Cappadocia, and was afterwards by way of distinction called Pontus Polemoniacus. Agrippa, having thus settled matters in Bosphorus, returned through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia, to Ephesus in Ionia, being attended thither by Herod, who obtained many favours of him in behalf of the nations, through which he passed; and, on his coming into Ionia, not only got the many grievances redressed, of which the Jews, who were spread all over Asia and the adjacent islands, with great reason complained, but all their immunities and privileges restored, in as ample a manner, as they had ever enjoyed them, either under the kings of Syria or the Romans [i]. Julia, Agrippa's wife, attending him in this expedition, suffered great hardships, and narrowly escaped being drowned in the Scamander, as she passed that river in the night-time, while it was swelled with sudden rains. The inhabitants of Ilium, whose territory was watered by the Scamander, were altogether ignorant of her coming; but nevertheless Agrippa was, contrary to all justice, so provoked against them for not having assisted her, that he laid a fine upon them of an hundred thousand drachmas. Hereupon the Ilienses, not daring to appear before Agrippa, prevailed upon Nicholas of Damascus, who happened to be at that time in their city, to engage Herod to speak

Whom he reduces with the assistance of Herod.

Julia in great danger.

[i] Dio, p. 538. Joseph. antiq. l. xvi. c. 3, 4, 5. Oros. l. vi. c. 18.

ſpeak to Agrippa in their behalf. The king of Judæa readily eſpouſed their cauſe, and by his intereſt with Agrippa prevailed upon him to remit the fine, for which ſignal favour great honours were decreed him by the Ilienſes [k]. After this Agrippa paſſed from Epheſus to Samos, and Herod, taking his leave of him, returned into Judea, where he received the thanks of the whole nation, for what he had done in behalf of the Jews in Aſia Minor [l]. Auguſtus, who was ſtill in Gaul, being informed of the ſucceſs which had attended Agrippa in the Cimmerian Boſphorus, ordered ſupplications to be made in the capital, and paſſed a decree, empowering Agrippa on his return to enter Rome in triumph [m]. This year Lepidus the triumvir dying, Auguſtus took upon him the office of pontifex maximus, or high prieſt, vacant by his death [n]. This dignity he held to the hour of his death, as did all his ſucceſſors, as well Chriſtians as Heathens, till the time of the emperor Gratian, who, ſucceeding his father Valentinian in the year of the Chriſtian æra 305, and thinking it inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian religion, of which he was a zealous profeſſor, to bear even the name of high-prieſt in the rites of the Gentiles, refuſed that title, as did afterwards all thoſe who ſucceeded him in the Roman empire [o]. This year died likewiſe Vedius Pollio, famous in hiſtory for the cruelty with which he treated his ſlaves, throwing them often for the ſmalleſt faults into his fiſh-ponds to fatten his murænas. As he had been raiſed by Auguſtus from the mean condition of a libertinus, or the ſon of a freed-man, to the rank of a Roman knight, he appointed him his chief heir, bequeathing to him his fine country ſeat, called Pauſilypus, in the neighbourhood of Puteoli, and his houſe in town, which was one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent buildings in Rome. Auguſtus, however, cauſed it to be pulled down, and a ſumptuous portico to be built in its room, for the uſe of the public, which from his wife's name he called Porticus Livia [p].

Herod reconciles Agrippa to the Ilienſes.

Auguſtus pontifex maximus.

The following year, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and M. Licinius Craſſus being conſuls, the Ligures Comati, who inhabited the maritime Alps, were ſubdued, and their country reduced to a Roman province. And now Auguſtus, having ſettled the affairs

The Ligures Comati reduced.

[k] Nicol. Damaſcen. de vita ſua in excerpt. ab Henric. Valeſ. p. 418. Joſeph. ibid. [l] Joſeph. ibid. [m] Dio, ibid. c. 5. [n] Suet. ibid. c. 31. Dio, p. 540. [o] Zoſimus, l. iv. [p] Plin. l. ix. c. 23. Dio, ibid. Seneca, l. iii. de ira. Ovid. Faſt. l. i.

affairs of Gaul, ſtopped the incurſions of the Germans, and brought under ſubjection moſt of the nations inhabiting the Alps, left Druſus with an army upon the Rhine, and returned to the capital, either in the end of this, or in the beginning of the following, year, when Tiberius Claudus Nero, his ſon-in-law, and P. Quintilius Varus were conſuls. As he had been near three years abſent, he was received by the people with univerſal joy and ſatisfaction. But he could not be prevailed upon to accept any of the honours, which the fathers, ſome out of fear, others out of flattery, decreed him. Nay, he would not even allow the people to come out and meet him, but, according to his cuſtom, entered the city by night. The next morning the whole city went to wait upon him at his palace, for his houſe was ſo called, becauſe it was ſituated on the Palatium or Palatine hill. Auguſtus received them with great politeneſs and condeſcenſion, and afterwards, being attended by moſt of the ſenators and knights and numberleſs crouds of people, he went up to the capitol, and, proſtrating himſelf before the ſtatue of Jupiter Capitolinus, took the laurel from about his faſces, and laid it at his feet. A few days after he aſſembled the ſenate, but, not being able to ſpeak himſelf by reaſon of a violent cold he had got on his journey home, he gave the quæſtor a paper to read, containing an account of what he had done ever ſince he left the capital. As he was not interrupted this year by any diſturbances either at home or abroad, he enacted many excellent laws, which were long obſerved by his ſucceſſors. Among the reſt he publiſhed one, by which it was enacted, to the great ſatisfaction of the inhabitants of Italy, that for the future the ſervices of the veterans ſhould not be rewarded with lands, but money. What evils attended the beſtowing of lands upon them, is plain from Virgil's eclogues. By the ſame law the time was fixed, which each corps was to ſerve, the pay which they were to receive during their ſervice, and the ſum they were to expect, if they continued to ſerve after the time preſcribed by law was expired. The emperor's own guards, known by the name of the prætorian cohorts or bands, were, by this law, to ſerve twelve years before they could demand their diſmiſſion, and the reſt ſixteen; the former were allowed about twelve pence of our money a-day, and the latter five pence; if they were refuſed their diſmiſſion, when the time of their ſervice was expired, or choſe to continue in the army, they were accounted veterans, and, as ſuch, exempted from all drudgeries,

Auguſtus's return to Rome.

His regulations with relation to the ſoldiery.

and

and obliged ſolely to fight, and that for the ſpace of five years only; after which term they were abſolutely to obtain their diſcharge, if they choſe to quite the ſervice, and the rewards due to veterans, which were, according to Auguſtus's appointment, five thouſand drachmas for the prætorian cohorts, and three thouſand for the common legionaries. Some years after, Auguſtus extended the time of ſervice to ſixteen years for the former, and to twenty for the latter [p]. To give new luſtre to the nobility, and attach them more firmly to his intereſt, he required but one year's ſervice of the young patricians to qualify them for military employments, which they could not bear in the times of the republic, till they had ſerved ſeveral years. To this diſtinction he added another in favour of the ſons of ſenators, whom he allowed to have a place in the ſenate, and to wear the laticlavium, which was peculiar to the firſt magiſtrates, ſenators, and chief officers of the army, at the age of ſeventeen, whereas they could not enjoy this honour in former times, till they had attained to the twenty-ſixth year of their age.

He corrects the calendar.

THIS year Auguſtus, in quality of pontifex maximus, corrected a groſs miſtake in the Roman calendar. For the pontifices having for the ſpace of thirty-ſix years, that is, ever ſince the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæſar, made every third year a leap year inſtead of every fourth, twelve days had been inſerted inſtead of nine, ſo that theſe thirty-ſix years conſiſted of three days more than they ought. Auguſtus, for the rectifying of this miſtake, ordered firſt, that for the twelve enſuing years there ſhould be no leap year; and ſecondly, that, after the expiration of the ſaid twelve years, the leap years ſhould thenceforth be made every fourth year [q]; by which means the three ſuper-added days being thrown out, and the leap years fixed to their true terms, according to Julius Cæſar's inſtitution, the form of this year has ever ſince been regularly obſerved, and is ſtill, under the name of "the "old ſtyle," in uſe among us. When Auguſtus made this reformation, a decree was paſſed by the ſenate and people, enacting, that the month Sextilis, ſhould thenceforth from the emperor's name be called Auguſtus, which name it retains to this day, in all the calendars that have been formed from the Roman. Suetonius tells us, that Auguſtus himſelf, in

[p] Dio, l. liv. p. 539. & l. lv. p. 555, 556. Lipſ. excurſ. in Tacit. annal. prim. [q] Suet. in Octav. c. 31. Pin. l. xviii. c. 25.

PART OF GERMANIA MAGNA

PART OF SARMATIA EUROPEA

PANNONIA SUPERIOR

PANNONIA INFERIOR

DALMATIA

LIBURNIA

ILLYRICUM

DACIA PROVINCIA TRAIANI

MOESIA SUPERIOR

MOESIA INFERIOR

DARDANIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

PART OF ASIA

THE BLACK SEA

ADRIATICK SEA

PROPONTIS

THE

PANNONIA
MŒSIA DACIA
and ILLYRICUM.

Carpathian Mountains

Basternæ

Roxolani

Danubius Flu.

Lentia

Lauriacum

Comagena

Carnuntum

Gerulata

Cusus Flu.

Flesum

Arrabo Granua Flu.

Ad Statuas

Bregetio

Gormanum

Boiodurum

Adpontem

Vindabina

Mutenium

Deserta

Scarabantia

Boiorum

Sabaria

Ad Pontem

Murus Flu.

Muroela

Carrodunum

Raclitanum

Valcum

Petovia

Virunum

Fuenna

Draunus fl.

Ragondo

Cileia

Segesta

Varianis

Draunus flu.

Amantini

Scordisci

Iapydes

Flanates

Iapydes

Istria

Arsia

Senia

Lapsica

Arginuntum

Stlupi

Aenona

Iadra

Sarsona

Salona

Tragurium

Boa

Lissa sive Issa

Pharia

Corcyra Nigra

Melite

Epidaurus

Docleа

Rhizinium

Scordisci

Labeati

Icodra

Olchinium

Lissus

Nymphæum

Epidamnus Dyrrachium

Thessalonica

Sinus Tergestinus

Aquileia

Tergesta

Aegida

Nauportus

Tarsatica

Andetrium

Narona

Varduli

Siparuntium

Naissus

Remesiana

Ulpiana

Municipium

Remedodia

Triballi

Horrea Margi

Martis Castrum

Pincum

Mediana

Scupi

Velanis Flu.

Cabrus Flu.

Drinus flu.

Delminium

Pincensii

Tibiscus Flu.

Partiscum

Ad Statuas

Lugionum

Limusa

Sapiana

Antiana

Mursa

Valdasus Flu.

Cornacum

Teutaburgum

Tibiscum

Aquincum

Danubius Fl.

Singidunum

Taurunum

Surmium

Aureus Mons

Margus

Viminacium

Cuppæ

Novæ

Valiatæ

Aegeta

Pontinum

Malagines

Dortico

Bononia

Ratiaria

Almum

Celtrum

Augusta

Variana

Nicopolis

Oescus

Utus

Jessnica

Novæ

Spiaria

Sucidava

Netindava

Phrateria

Tiasum

Aluta

Tyras R.

Patridava

Petradava

Tandaua

Iasci

Augusta Prætoria

Comidava

Marcodava

Apulum s. Alba Iulia

Sargetia Flu

Sarmizegethusa

Ulpia Traiana Dacorum

Augusta

Zeugma

Rhabo sive Marisus Flu.

Anari

Ulpicinum

Pacolissum

Napuca

Patrouissa

Salinæ

Teurisci

Britolagæ

Getæ

Dariuss Bridge

Peuci ni

Ister Flu.

Tyras Flu.

Ægissas

Istropolis

Noviodunum

Parthenopolis

Tomi

Getæ

Callatis

PONTUS

Scythæ

Dionysiopolis

Trasmis

Marcianopolis

Birae

Odessus

Cium

Mesembria

Deultum

Axiopolis

Durosteron

Anchialus

Apollonia

Halmydessus

Byzia

Calybe sive Calybe

Phinopolis

Vicipolis ad Ædemum

Philippopolis

Adrianopolis

Byzantium

Beſsi

Pangæus Mons

Rhodope Mons

Odrysæ

Periphus

Heraclea

Nice

Vicopolis ad Nestum

Philippi

Bistonii

Mædi

Traianopolis

Aenum Cardia

Chersonesus

Sestus

Simonitrace

Thasus

Imbrus

Lemnus Ins.

Hellespontus

Tenedos

Thracius

Bosporus

Hæmus Mount

Scardus Mons

Orbelus Mons

Strymonis Palus

Strymon flu.

Nestus flu.

Hebrus flu.

Axius flu.

Thermopylæ

Thermaicus Sinus

J. Wheatley Sculpt.

arpathian
Anar
Lacus Thu.
efsium
Patiscum
Rhabo
eustaburgum
ornacum
Tibiscum
umincum
Danubius Fl.
ium
rumum
Aureus Mon
MOE
Delmini
um
Vandæi

in ſettling the year, gave his name to the month Sextilis, preferring it to September, in which he was born, becauſe in the former he had been firſt raiſed to the conſulate, and obtained many ſignal victories [r]. But the very words of the decree of the ſenate are related by Macrobius [s], who alſo mentions the decree of the people, and tells us, that the law was propoſed by the tribune Pacuvius. Towards the end of this year, Agrippa, having ſettled the affairs of the eaſtern provinces, and left Sentius Saturninus and Titus Volumnius governors of Syria and Phœnicia, returned to Rome with Antipater, Herod's eldeſt ſon by Doris his firſt wife. Auguſtus received him with all the marks of a ſincere affection and friendſhip, and was for having him enter the city in triumph; but he declined that honour, aſcribing, according to his cuſtom, all the glory of his conqueſts to the emperor, under whoſe auſpices he had fought: and this was the chief cauſe, why the cuſtom of triumphing, in former times of great advantage to the Romans, was laid aſide, other generals following the example of Agrippa, and not caring for an honour, which he ſeemed to deſpiſe [t]. However, Auguſtus confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired; and then ſent him at the head of a powerful army into Pannonia (F), where a new war began to break out, with greater power and authority than had ever been granted to any commander. Agrippa left Rome in the beginning of the conſulate of M. Valerius Meſſala Barbatus and P. Sulpicius Quirinus, or, as others call him, Cirinus. The former, who was father to the famous Meſſalina,

Agrippa refuſes a triumph.

[r] Suet. ibid. [s] Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 12. [t] Dio, p. 541.

(F) Pannonia was bounded on the eaſt by Upper Mœſia, on the weſt by Noricum, on the ſouth by Dalmatia, and on the north by the Danube (17); ſo that Pannonia comprehended Carniola, Croatia, Windiſch-Marck, part of Auſtria, part of Hungary, all Sclavonia and Boſnia, and part of Servia. It was antiently divided into Upper and Lower Pannonia, the former comprehending Carniola, Croatia, Windiſch-Marck, and part of Auſtria; the latter Boſnia, Sclavonia, and the part of Hungary which lies between the Danube, the Drave, and the Arabo, now the Raab; ſo that ſcarce the third part of the preſent kingdom of Hungary was

(17) Plin. l. iii. c. 25. Dio, l. xlix. p. 413. Strab. l. vii. p. 217. Jornandes de reb. Get. c. 50.

ſalina, dying ſome months after his election, was ſucceed by Caius Valgius, a man of great learning [u], who before end of the year reſigned the faſces to Caius Caninius Rebil The Pannonians were ſo frightened at the very name of grippa, that, upon his approach, they ſent deputies to hi offering to ſubmit upon what terms he ſhould think fit to in poſe upon them. Hereupon Agrippa, having obliged the to deliver up their arms and give him hoſtages for their peac able behaviour, returned to Italy, but was taken with a vi lent illneſs as he marched through Campania, which in a fe days brought him to his grave. Auguſtus, upon the fir news of his danger, left the ſports, which his two grandſon Caius and Lucius, were then exhibiting in honour of Miner va, and haſtened into Campania, to ſee and relieve, if h could by any means, his dying friend. But Agrippa expire a few minutes before his arrival, which he no ſooner un derſtood, than he burſt into tears, bewailing in the illuſtrio deceaſed the loſs of the greateſt general of his age, the wiſe miniſter, and the moſt faithful, conſtant, and diſintereſte friend he had in the world. He cauſed his body to be con veyed to Rome, and took upon himſelf to make his funer oration, a curtain being drawn between him and the bier perhaps becauſe it was not lawful for him as pontifex maxi mus to look upon a dead body. His obſequies were perform ed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his re mains depoſited, not in the campus Martius, where the ſenat had allowed him a monument, but in Auguſtus's own mauſo læum near Marcellus, the emperor declaring, that he would not

The death of Agrippa.

[u] Plin. l. xxv. c. 2. Tibull. l. iv. Horat. l. ii. od.

was within the limits of antient Pannonia, that tract which lies beyond the Danube, between that river and the Tibiſcus, not belonging to Pannonia, but to the Iazyges Metanaſtæ. The chief cities of antient Pannonia were Segeſte or Siſcia at the confluence of the Calpe and the Save, Amona, a Roman colony, Nauportum, upon a river of the ſame name, now known by the name of Laubach, Vindoniana, or Vindobona, Scarabantia, Sirmium on the Save, and Taurunum, now Siſeck, and Unterlaubach, Oberlaubach, Vienna, Scharbing, Simach, and Belgrade. Sirmium was the metropolis of all Pannonia. Some geographers place Stridon, the native city of St. Jerom, in Pannonia, others in Dalmatia; but St. Jerom himſelf calls it the boundary of Dalmatia and Pannonia (18).

(18) S. Hieronym. catalog. ſcript. eccleſiaſt.

not be ſeparated even after his death from two perſons, whom he ſo tenderly loved in his life [w]. He died in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and left behind him by his firſt wife Cæcilia Attica, the daughter of the famous Pomponius Atticus, one daughter named Agrippina, who was married to Tiberius; and by his third wife Julia, three ſons, viz. Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa Poſthumus, ſo called becauſe he was born after his father's death; and two daughters, Julia married to Lucius Paulus, and Agrippina married to Germanicus, by whom ſhe had the emperor Claudius and Agrippina the mother of Nero; Agrippa had no children by his ſecond wife Marcella, whom he divorced to marry Julia. He bequeathed his fine gardens and a bath, which was called by his name, to the Roman people, and to Auguſtus among other things the Taurica Cherſoneſus; but how he acquired the dominion and property of that country is what we find no-where recorded, Dion owning himſelf quite in the dark as to this point.

His offſpring.

THUS long did Auguſtus reign, in ſome meaſure with a partner, though not a rival, in the empire. Upon his death the emperor, judging it neceſſary that he ſhould have one to aſſiſt him in the government, ſuperior to all others in power and authority, the better to prevent plots and conſpiracies, made choice of Tiberius, though much againſt his will, as Dion informs us, his grandſons, Lucius and Caius Cæſars, being yet too young to bear any public offices [x]. He obliged Tiberius, before he inveſted him with the power, which Agrippa had enjoyed, to divorce his wife Agrippina, who had already brought him a ſon, and was then big with child, and to marry Julia, whoſe leud and ſcandalous behaviour was well known to Tiberius, and to all the young debauchees of Rome, and had given great uneaſineſs to Agrippa ſome time before his death. However, Tiberius complied without betraying the leaſt reluctance, through fear of diſguſting Auguſtus, who was the only perſon in Rome unacquainted with his daughter's infamous conduct. The uſual ceremonies were no ſooner over, than Auguſtus diſpatched his new ſon-in-law againſt the Pannonians, who, upon the news of Agrippa's death, had attempted to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their antient liberty. But Tiberius, with the aſſiſtance of their neighbours the Scordiſci, who had remained faithful to the Romans, obliged them in a ſhort time to return to their duty, and ſubmit to the will of the conqueror. They delivered up their arms, gave hoſtages, and put the Romans in poſſeſſion of all their towns and ſtrong-holds. Tiberius ſpared their lives,

Tiberius choſen in his room.

He reduces the Pannonians.

[w] Dio. p. 541. [x] Idem. p. 543.

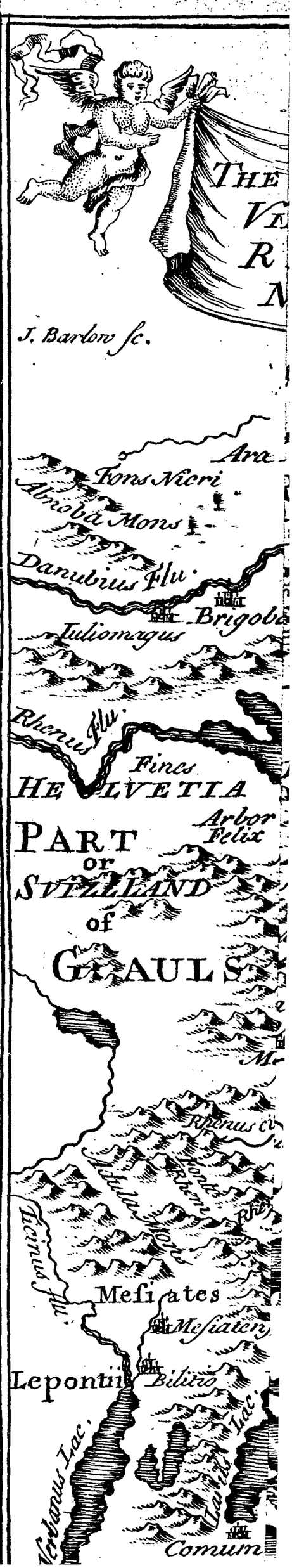
lives, but laid waſte their fields, plundered their cities, and having ſent the beſt part of their youth into other countries, returned to Rome the ſame year, Q. Ælius Tubero and Paulus Fabius Maximus being conſuls. The ſenate, as we may well imagine, decreed him great honours, and among the reſt a triumph. But Auguſtus obliged him, ſore againſt his will, to reject the offers of the conſcript fathers, and content himſelf with the marks of diſtinction, which were granted for life to thoſe who had triumphed, viz. to have a particular place apart from the reſt at the public ſhews, and to appear with the triumphal robes and a crown of laurel. On the other hand, his younger brother Druſus ſignalized himſelf no leſs among the Gauls and Germans. Having been left in Gaul by Auguſtus to ſtop the incurſions of the Germans, he had begun there a ſecond cenſus, taking a minute account of each perſon's eſtate and fortune, the better to regulate the annual taxes and contributions. This the Gauls looked upon as a new attempt upon their liberties, and ſeemed diſpoſed to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their antient rights and privileges. But Druſus, being appriſed of their deſign, ſummoned all the Gauliſh chiefs to aſſiſt at the ſolemn ceremony of conſecrating a temple, which the Lugdunenſes had built in honour of Julius Cæſar. When they were all aſſembled, Druſus by his addreſs and engaging behaviour won their affections to ſuch a degree, that they not only dropt the deſign they had formed of ſhaking off the Roman yoke, but agreed to erect an altar in honour of Auguſtus, and to pay him even in his life-time divine honours. Sixty different nations concurred in this deſign, each of them contributing their quota, and ſending a ſtatue to adorn the new altar, which was conſecrated with great ſolemnity on the firſt day of Auguſt, and became ſoon very famous all over Gaul, as is plain from the writings of almoſt all the antients [y]. Games were inſtituted in honour of the new deity, much of the ſame nature with the Nemæan and Iſthmian games.

Druſus prevents the Gauls from revolting.

An altar erected in honour of Auguſtus at Lions.

And now Druſus, having nothing to fear from the Gauls, turned his arms againſt the Germans, who, having raiſed the moſt numerous and formidable army that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts, were advancing towards the Rhine, in order to invade Gaul. But the young Roman not only defeated them as they attempted to croſs that river, but, purſuing the advantage he had gained, entered the

[y] Strab. l. iv. p. 192. Suet. Dio, Liv. &c.


THE
VE
R
N
J. Barlow sc.
Ara
Fons Nicri
Abnoba Mons
Danubius Flu.
Brigob
Iuliomagus
Rhenus Flu.
Fines
HELVETIA
Arbor Felix
PART or SVITZLAND of GAULS
West
Rhenus Cl
Mesiates
Mesiaten
Lepontii
Bilitio
Comum

North

THE COUNTRIES OF VENDELICIA RHAETIA & NORICUM.

J. Barlow sc.

PART OF GREAT GERMANY

Narisci

Regenus Flu.

Regina castra sive Regina Germanicum

Augustana castra

Celeusum

Danubius Flu.

Veldidena

Clarenna

Grinario

Licus Flu.

Augsta Vindelicorum

Ara Flauiae

Fons Nicri

Alrobia Mons

Danubius Flu.

Brigobanna

Iuliomagus

Rhenus Flu.

Fines

HELVETIA

PART or SVEZELLAND of GRAVLS

Arbor Felix

Brigantium

Lacus Brigantinus

Rhenus Flu.

Magia

Curia

Rhenus citerior

Tinnetio

Iapi

Dinumma

Mesiates

Mesiatense

Summus Lacus

Lepontii

Bilitio

Adui Flu.

Lacus Lac.

Comum

Beigamum

Celius mons

Rostrum Vindelicum

Febiana

Guntia

Escodunum

Licates

Vindelicia

Licus Flu.

Guntia Flu.

Hargus Flu.

Amber Flu.

Hargus Flu.

Ilmisca seu Isara

Hargus sive Isara

Bojodurum from Bohemia

Aeni pons Antonini

Bedaium sive Badacum

Claudia

Couetiacae

Parrodunum Partaum

Aenus Flu.

Aenipons

Veldidena

Pitenum sive

Matreium

Licus sive Licibus Flu.

Aenus Flu.

RHAETIA

Alpes Norici

Tiurnia

Lutianum

Aguntum

Tonicum

Drauus Flu.

Virunum

Drauus Flu.

Petruio

Iuenna

Colatio

Vpellae

Celeia

Drauus Flu.

Pons Drusi

Tridentum

Athesis Flu.

Sublabio seu Sublavio quae et Sabia

Iulium Carnicum

Forum Iulii

Tilaurentius

Pons Drusi

Endidae

Bauxani sive Bauxarum

Tepaside

Forum Iulii

Ad XXX

Forum Iulii

Emona colonia

Nauportus

Nauportus Flu.

Lauacus Flu.

Lauacum

Lacus Felicis

Adponten sis

Lentia

Boiodurum

Danubius Flu.

Aenus Flu.

Ouilia sive Quilabis

Ergolape

Artobriga

Iuuauia Iuuauum

Cucullis

Ad Pontem

Anisus Flu.

Viscella

Murus Flu.

Sabatinca

Noreia

Yacorum

NORICUM MEDITERRANEUM

Eburum

Eburodunum

Celemantia

Medosalanium

Marus Flu.

Comagena

Carmuntum

Aequinoctium

Vindebona

Danubius Flu.

Ad Flexum

Arabo

Arabo Flu.

Scarabantia

DESERTA

BOIORVM

Tabaria colonia

Raetianum

Drauus Flu.

Petruio

Drauus Flu.

Segestica Insula

Colapini

Sauus Flu.

Sauus sive Sauus Flu.

Alpes Iuliae

Prigidus Flu.

Aquileia

Pons Timauus

Tergeste

Formia flu.

Iapydes

Quietus flu.

ISTRIA

Tergestinus Sinus

Augustus Portus

Tergestum

Insula Cissa

Insula Pullaria

Insula Cissa

Insula Pullaria

Augustus Portus

Insula Cissa

Insula Pullaria

Augustus Portus

Insula Cissa

Insula Pullaria

Augustus Portus


Eburum
Eburodunum
Medoſlanium
Marus Flu.
Comagena
Carnuntum
Aequinactium
Danubius Flu.
Pirum
portum
Vindebona
Ad Flexum
Arabo
Scarabantia
DESERTA
BOIORVM
Tabaria
colonia
Murola
Arabo Flu.
Murus Flu.
Raclitanum
Petouio
Celcia
Segeſtica
Inſula
Colapini
Alpes Iuliæ
Iapydes
PANNONIA
HUNGARY
East
PART OF
LIBURNIA

the country of the Uſipetes or Uſipii, now known by the name of Relinchuſen, and from thence advanced againſt the Sicambri in the neighbourhood of the Lyppe and Iſſel; theſe he overthrew in a great battle, laid waſte their country, burnt moſt of their cities, and, following the courſe of the Rhine, approached the German ocean, and reduced the Friſii and the Chauci between the Amiſius and the Albis, now the Ems and the Elbe. In theſe marches his troops ſuffered extremely for want of proviſions, and he himſelf was often in great danger of being drowned, as the Romans, who attended him, were quite unacquainted at that time with the flux and reflux of the ocean. As winter drew near, he led his troops into eaſt Frieſland, and, leaving them there under the command of his lieutenants, returned to Rome, where he was honoured with the prætorſhip, Q. Fabius Maximus and Julius Antonius, the ſon of the triumvir, being then conſuls. Early in the ſpring, Druſus left the capital, and returning to his army quartered in Friſia or Frieſland, marched from thence into the country of the Tencteri, whom he eaſily ſubdued; and afterwards paſſing the Lupias, now the Lyppe, in Weſtphalia, brought into ſubjection the Catti and the Cheruſci, extending his conqueſts to the banks of the Viſurgis, now the Weſer, which he would have paſſed, had he not been obliged to return for want of proviſions, the enemy having laid waſte the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. As he was retiring, the Germans unexpectedly fell upon him in a narrow paſſage, and having ſurrounded the Roman army, cut a great many of them in pieces. But the brave Druſus, animating his men more by his example than his ſpeeches, after a warm conflict, which laſted almoſt the whole day, in the end put the enemy to flight, and made ſuch havock of them, that the ground was ſtrewed for ſome miles with dead bodies. Druſus found in their camp a huge quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the Romans; and ſo great was their confidence, that they had agreed before-hand about the diviſion of the booty; the Tencteri were to have the horſe, the Cheruſci and Sicambri the baggage, and the Uſipetes and Catti the captives. Druſus, was ſaluted imperator by his troops on the field of battle, where they erected a trophy as a monument of ſo ſignal a victory; after which Druſus, to ſecure the countries he had conquered, built two forts, the one at the confluence of the Lupias and the Aliſo, the Lyppe and the Alme, the other in the country of the Catti or

The exploits of Druſus in Germany.

He defeats the united forces of the Tencteri, Sicambri, Cheruſci, &c.

Chatti on the Rhine, and made that famous canal, long known by the name of Foſſa Druſiana, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. For theſe exploits Druſus on his return to Rome was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, as his brother Tiberius had been the preceding year, but was not allowed by Auguſtus to triumph, or even to retain the title of imperator, with which he had been honoured by the army, that title being now peculiar to the ſovereign. Druſus, as well as Tiberius, had fought under the auſpices of Auguſtus, who therefore, aſcribing to himſelf the glory they had acquired, allowed them ſuch marks of diſtinction as were uſually conferred on triumphant victors, but not the triumph itſelf [z]. This ſame year, Tiberius being ſent againſt the Pannonians, who had again rebelled, reduced them anew, and likewiſe the Dalmatians, who had joined them in their revolt. One Vologeſes, a prieſt of Bacchus, by birth a Thracian, raiſed far greater diſturbances in that part of Thrace, which was ſubject to Raſcuporis, the ſon of Cotys, a faithful ally of the Romans. Vologeſes ſtirring up the people againſt that prince, whom he ſtyled a ſlave of Rome, committed moſt dreadful ravages in all parts of his dominions, overthrew and killed the young prince himſelf in a pitched battle, put to flight Rhemetalces his guardian, and, having over-run the whole country, advanced, without oppoſition, into the Thracian Cherſoneſus, with a deſign to paſs from thence into Macedon. But, in the mean time, Lucius Calpurnius Piſo, one of the beſt generals of his age, being ordered by Auguſtus to quit Pamphylia, which he governed in quality of proconſul, and to ſtop the progreſs of the barbarians under the conduct of Vologeſes, arrived in Thrace, and coming up with the enemy near the confines of Macedon, attacked them, but had the misfortune to be defeated, his men not being accuſtomed to the enemy's manner of fighting. However, as he was a man of great experience in military affairs, he made his retreat in good order, and falling the next day unexpectedly on the barbarians, gave them a total overthrow, purſued them into Thrace, and made himſelf maſter of the fruitful plains lying between mount Pangæus and mount Hæmus. Auguſtus was ſo pleaſed with this conqueſt, that he decreed to Piſo, not indeed a triumph, but all the honours and priviledges which were formerly granted to thoſe who had triumphed, ordaining beſides ſupplications, by way of thankſgiving, to

Diſturbances in Thrace.

Quelled by L. Calpurnius Piſo.

[z] Dio, p. 544. Suet. in Claud.

to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended his arms [a]. The joy and ſatisfaction which Auguſtus received from theſe ſucceſſes was greatly allayed by the death of his ſiſter Octavia, who was a true heroine, and a perfect pattern of all the virtues peculiar to her ſex, and therefore greatly lamented by perſons of all ranks and conditions. Auguſtus cauſed her body to be expoſed on a bed of ſtate in a temple lately erected in honour of Julius Cæſar, and pronounced himſelf her funeral oration, but would not admit of the many honours which were decreed her by the ſenate. Her body was carried to the grave by her four ſons-in-law, the huſbands of the two Marcellæ, whom ſhe had by her firſt huſband Marcellus, and of the two Antoniæ, her daughters by Antony the triumvir. She died in the fifty-fourth year of her age [b].

THE following year, Nero Claudius Druſus and T. Quinctius Criſpinus being conſuls, Auguſtus, bent upon the total reduction of Germany, left the capital, attended by his two ſons-in-law, Tiberius Claudius Nero and Nero Claudius Druſus, and, paſſing the Alps, advanced to the banks of the Rhine, whence he ſent Tiberius againſt the Daci, and Druſus to complete the conqueſt of the reſt of Germany. Tiberius eaſily ſubdued the Daci, obliged them to give him hoſtages, and tranſplanted forty-thouſand of them into Gaul. On the other hand, Druſus having paſſed the Rhine, and afterwards, in ſpight of all oppoſition, the Weſer, brought under ſubjection all the nations from the Rhine to the Elbe, or, as the Romans called it, the Albis. Having attempted in vain to paſs this river, he erected ſeveral trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the Rhine. Dion tells us, that as he was deliberating with himſelf whether he ſhould penetrate ſtill farther into theſe northern countries, or make the Albis the boundary of the Roman empire, a woman of a ſtature more than human appeared to him, and calling him by his name, asked him, "Whither his ambi-" tion would carry him? The fates," ſaid ſhe, "will not " allow you to ſee all parts: retire therefore, and know, " that the period both of your life and actions approaches." With this and ſuch like prodigies, Dion pretends, that the death of Druſus, which happened ſoon after, was foretold. For before he reached the Rhine, he was ſeized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. Auguſtus, upon the firſt notice of his illneſs, ſent an expreſs to Tiberius, acquainting

The Daci ſubdued by Tiberius.

Conqueſts made by Druſus in Germany.

[a] Dio, p. 545. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 98. Suet. in Octavio.

[b] Dio, ibid.

acquainting him with the danger his brother was in, wl thereupon made what haſte he could to ſee him before died, travelling two hundred miles in twenty-four hou Upon his arrival he found him ſtill alive, but juſt expirin

His death. His ſudden death occaſioned a report, which was credited l many, viz. that Auguſtus and Tiberius had conſpired to tal him off by poiſon, and effected their wicked deſign by mea of their emiſſaries. It is at leaſt certain, that Druſus w in his heart a zealous republican, and had on ſeveral occaſio betrayed a great deſire of ſeeing the antient form of gover ment reſtored. Though he was generally thought to be tl ſon, not of Claudius Nero, but of Auguſtus, yet he looke upon him as an uſurper, and wrote the following letter to h brother Tiberius, while they were both waging war in Ge many at the head of two powerful armies: "The gods hav

Druſus's love for his country. " put it into our power to render Rome happy or miſerable " Auguſtus has truſted us with the forces of the empire " can we employ them better than in re-eſtabliſhing the re " public, and reſtoring Rome to her antient liberty an " ſplendor: how glorious a thing it is to be the deliverer an " avenger of one's country!" This letter Tiberius ſent t Auguſtus, and ſoon after happened the death of Druſus in th manner we have related [c]. However, moſt of the antient clear Auguſtus from all ſuſpicion of being any ways acceſſor to the death of the young hero. Livy, who here ends hi hiſtory, ſays, that he died of a fall from his horſe: perhap that fall occaſioned the fever of which he died. Suetoniu thinks the report, 'which was ſpread upon his death to the prejudice of Auguſtus, to have been entirely groundleſs, ſince the emperor loved him with great tenderneſs, and had even named him in his will for his ſucceſſor in conjunction with his two grandſons, Lucius and Caius [d]. Tacitus, whom we cannot ſuſpect of partiality towards Auguſtus, or indeed towards any of his ſucceſſors, tells us, that Auguſtus never extended his cruelty to any of his own family [e]. Dru-

His character. ſus was a man of an unblemiſhed character, of a probity which was proof againſt all temptations, of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit and diſſimulation. He was no ways inferior either in courage or conduct to the moſt experienced commanders of his age, and had nothing in view in all his expeditions, but the glory of the Roman name and the public welfare. It is agreed on all hand

[c] Suet. in Octav. & Claud, Dio, ubi ſupra.
[d] Suet. ibid
[e] Tacit. annal. 1. c. 6.

hands, that he would have re-eſtabliſhed the republic, and reſigned with joy the ſovereign power, had it ever devolved to him. He died in the thirtieth year of his age, and left behind him three children by his wife Antonia Minor, the younger daughter of Antony and Octavia, viz. Druſus, ſurnamed Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius, who ſucceeded Caligula, in the empire. His ſoldiers, to teſtify their grief for the loſs of a general, whom they ſo tenderly loved, erected to his memory a ſtately monument on the banks of the Rhine, and aſſembling yearly on the anniverſary of his death, that is, on the eleventh of July, performed round it their military evolutions in honour of the illuſtrious deceaſed [f]. As for his body, it was conveyed to Rome, and attended the whole way by Tiberius, the chief officers and magiſtrates of the Roman colonies and municipia, through which it paſſed, meeting it on the road, and attending it with the utmoſt pomp from one city to the other. Auguſtus himſelf received it at Rome, being returned from Gaul for that purpoſe, and pronounced in the Circus Flaminius a funeral oration in honour of the deceaſed, in which he begged of the gods, with great earneſtneſs and many tears, that they would "grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, "and make the grand-children they had given him tread "in his foot-ſteps." Tiberius made another funeral oration in the forum, where the body was expoſed, and from thence carried on the ſhoulders of the Roman knights to the field of Mars, where it was burnt with great ſolemnity; as for the aſhes they were depoſited in the mauſoleum of Auguſtus. The ſenate did not neglect, as we may well imagine, ſo favourable an opportunity of making their court to the emperor. A triumphal arch was erected to his memory, and ſtatues in moſt public places of the city: the ſurname of Germanicus was conferred upon him by a decree of the ſenate, and confirmed to his poſterity; many trophies were erected, and medals ſtruck with the inſcription de Germanis, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the Germans, &c. Extraordinary honours were decreed to his mother Livia and his widow Antonia, who had inherited both her mother Octavia's beauty and virtue; ſhe continued inconſolable to the hour of her death, nor would ſhe ever be prevailed upon to marry again, though often and earneſtly preſſed to it by Auguſtus [g].

Honours paid him after his death.

[f] Ex inſcript. citata a Lipſi. [g] Dio, & Suet. ibid. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Conſol. ad Liv. apud. Ovid.

New regulations of Auguſtus.

THE emperor was in haſte to return to Gaul, but nevertheleſs before his departure he made ſeveral new regulations. The conſcript fathers, finding their authority to be of no weight, aſſembled very ſeldom, and in ſmall numbers. Auguſtus therefore appointed certain days in each month, on which they ſhould be obliged to meet; and at the ſame time enacted, with the approbation of the ſenators themſelves, that ſuch as abſented themſelves on thoſe days, without a lawful cauſe, ſhould pay a certain ſum by way of mulct; and that their determinations, when they were but few, ſhould not obtain the force of a ſenatuſconſultum, or decree of the ſenate, but only be called a regulation of the ſenate. He granted the prætors the prerogative of voting in the ſenate, and extended the juriſdiction of the queſtors, giving them the ſuperintendency of all the maritime cities of Italy. The election of the new conſuls, C. Marcius Cenſorinus and C. Aſinius Gallus, gave riſe to a new regulation. They were both accuſed of having purchaſed their dignity with money diſtributed among the tribes. Auguſtus did not oblige them to reſign the faſces, but ordered, that for the future all the candidates ſhould depoſit a certain ſum with him, which they ſhould forfeit, if convicted of bribery or any unlawful practices. This law was generally approved of, at leaſt by the patricians; but another, which he publiſhed ſoon after, was as much diſliked. The depoſitions of ſlaves had never been admitted at Rome in the courts of judicature. But Auguſtus, for the ſafety of his own perſon, though under pretence of the public ſafety, publiſhed a law, enacting, that when any perſon was accuſed of treaſonable deſigns, the evidence of ſlaves ſhould be of the ſame weight as that of freedmen. That this law might not ſeem to claſh with the antient cuſtom of rejecting the evidence of a ſlave againſt his maſter, it was ordained by the ſame law, that the ſlaves of the accuſed perſon ſhould be firſt ſold to the emperor or the public. By this low evaſion, unworthy of a man of ſenſe, he pretended not to have intrenched on the antient cuſtom, ſince it was ſtill true, that ſlaves were not allowed to accuſe their maſters, nor admitted as evidence againſt them. This innovation occaſioned great complaints but the crafty emperor ſoon quieted the minds of the people by public ſhews and ſports, by a pretended clemency and condeſcenſion, and above all by affecting popularity, and carefully avoiding all needleſs ceremonies and marks of grandeur.

Inſtances of his condeſcenſion.

The antients relate many inſtances of his extraordinary condeſcenſion: they tell us, that a common legionary, hav-

in

ing deſired him to plead his cauſe in one of the courts of judicature, the emperor told him, that he was ſo overwhelmed with buſineſs that he could not well do it himſelf; but that he would ſend him an orator better qualified for that purpoſe than himſelf. This obliging anſwer did not ſatisfy the ſoldier, who anſwered bluntly, "Have I thus fought for you by proxy?" The emperor, highly pleaſed with this unexpected anſwer, "Neither will I," ſaid he, "plead for you by proxy." He was as good as his word; for on the day appointed he appeared at the bar, and pleaded his cauſe in perſon. In like manner he undertook the cauſe of another citizen, and gained it; which ſo provoked the accuſer, that he behaved very diſreſpectfully toward the emperor, who was ſo far from reſenting it, that he afterwards pardoned him, when he was accuſed before him as cenſor of ſome faults which deſerved ſevere puniſhment. Though he was very kind and generous to his friends, yet he never allowed them greater privileges than others, nor would he by any means exempt them from the judiciary laws. Of all the criminals he reſcued but one, during the whole time of his long reign, who had been very ſerviceable to him, and that by prevailing with entreaties on the accuſer to drop the proſecution [h].

He begins the third term of his decennial power.

THIS year, the ſecond term of Auguſtus's ten years drawing to an end, he pretended to be willing to lay down the power with which he had been truſted, ſaying, that he was no longer able to bear ſo heavy a burden; but he was eaſily perſuaded to carry it ten years longer. This limitation contributed, in the opinion of the antients, more than any thing elſe, to his ſafety, ſince by receiving his power from the ſenate and people, he openly acknowledged the ſovereignty to be lodged in them; ſo that they were not quite deſtitute of all hopes of recovering it one day. The term of his power being prolonged, he reſolved to quit the capital, having his mind ſtill bent on the entire reduction of the many nations that inhabited Germany. He was not indeed inclined to wage war with thoſe barbarous nations in perſon, but choſe to be as near the generals, whom he employed, as he could with ſafety. The perſon he thought the moſt proper for the purſuing and completing of the conqueſts, happily began by Druſus, was his brother Tiberius; whom therefore he ſent into Gaul, after having honoured him with an ovation, on account of the advantages he had gained in Germany the foregoing year. Auguſtus

Tiberius's exploits in Germany.

[h] Suet. ibid.

guſtus ſoon after the departure of Tiberus left Rome, but inſtead of paſſing the Alps, as he had done the year before, he took his rout towards Aquileia, and paſſed the whole ſummer in the neighbourhood of that city, having with him his grandſon Caius Cæſar, then twelve years old. In the mean time, Tiberius, having paſſed the Rhine at the head of a powerful army, over-ran all the countries between that river and the Elbe, and ſtruck ſuch dread into the inhabitants of thoſe northern provinces, that ſeveral of them ſent deputies to Auguſtus at Aquileia to ſue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms, the emperor declaring, that he would not grant a peace to any particular nation, till they had all agreed to demand it. But the Catti, or as ſome authors write, the Sicambri, could not by any means be prevailed upon to ſubmit; ſo that the project of peace did not take place this year. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory what ſtreams of blood it coſt the Romans to reduce them. As winter approached, Auguſtus returned to Rome with his grandſon Caius; but Tiberius remained with his troops in Germany, in order to renew the war, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow him to take the field [i]. Auguſtus upon his return made a ſecond cenſus, in which were numbered, according to the Ancyran marbles, 4233000 Roman citizens [k]. While he was thus employed, his great friend Mecænas died, which was a ſenſible affliction to him, though he had not of late honoured him with the ſame intimacy as formerly. His criminal converſation with Terentilla could not but diſpleaſe Mecænas, who thought he did not deſerve that treatment at the hands of one, whom he had ſerved with the utmoſt fidelity. On the other hand, Auguſtus in that particular could not bear any controll; and hence that coldneſs and indifference which appeared between theſe two great friends, ſome years before death parted them. Mecænas was a man of great penetration, and underſtood the art of governing well better than any man of his age, as appears from the many wiſe directions and maxims, which he ſuggeſted to Auguſtus in the beginning of his reign. But though poſſeſſed of talents equal to the higheſt employments of the ſtate, yet he was ſuch an enemy to all trouble, ſo fond of his eaſe, ſo addicted to his pleaſures, that he abhorred all buſineſs, and ſeemed in a manner to have attained to that indolence, in which the Epicureans placed happineſs. As he

Death of Mecænas.

His character.

[i] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Dio, p. 552, 551, Sueton. in Octav. p. 178. [k] Vide Gruter. p. 230.

Fig. IV.

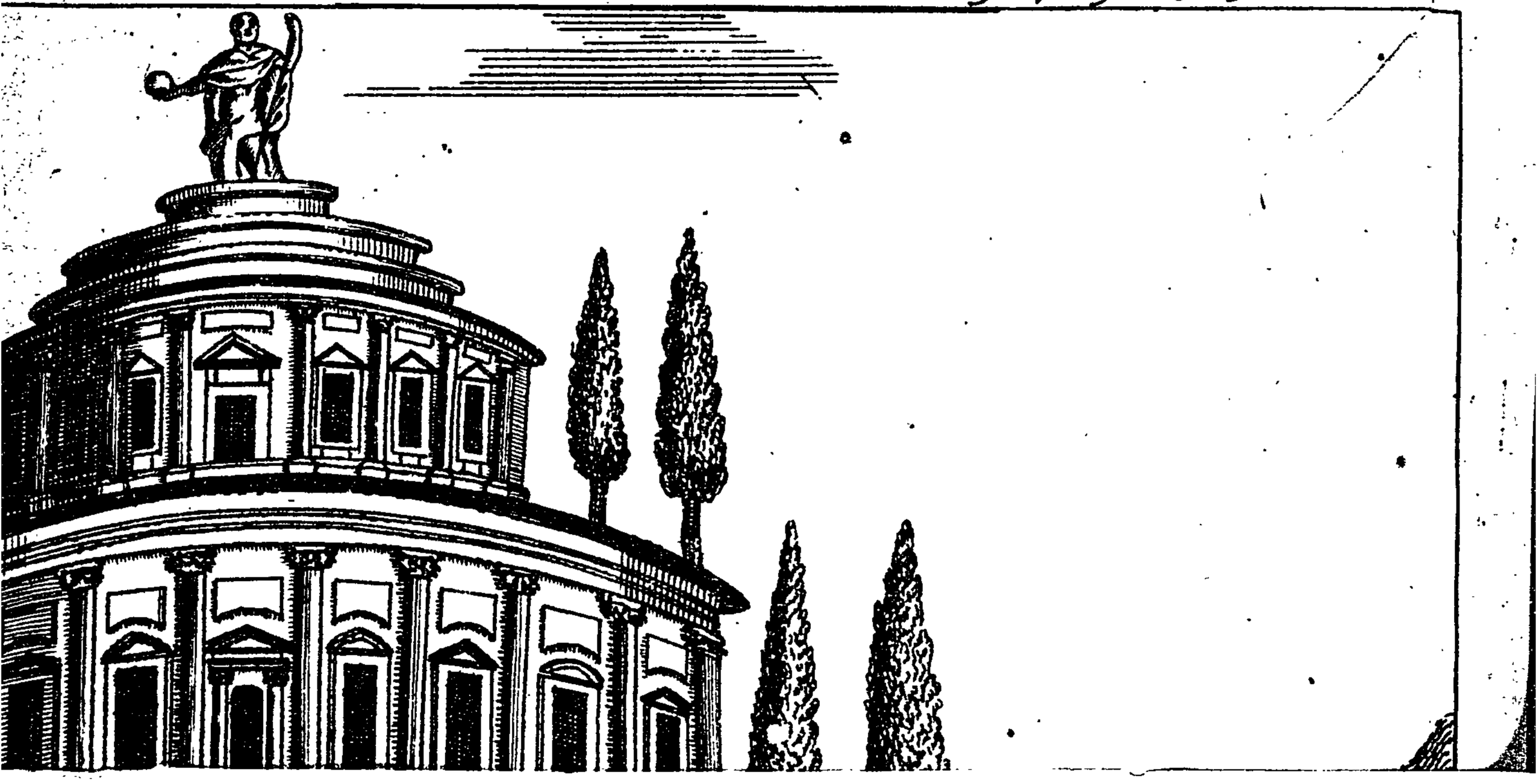


ex Dominic. de Rubeis.

THE MAUSOLÆUM OF AUGUSTUS.

D. Pomarede Sculpt.

over ag.st page 323. Vol. V.



he was remarkably good-natured, and slighted preferments himself, as capable of disturbing his quiet and interrupting his pleasures, he employed all his credit and interest with the emperor in behalf of others, and for the most part with good success. Of the ascendant which he had gained over Augustus, and the liberty he took in correcting his faults and curbing his cruel temper, Dion Cassius gives us the following remarkable instance. As Augustus was one day judging some criminals, Mecænas perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give himself over to revenge without check or compassion, attempted to approach his tribunal; but not being able to break through the croud, he wrote the following note; "Come down from the tri-"bunal, butcher," and threw it into his lap. Augustus no sooner read it, than he rose up and quitted the tribunal, without sentencing any of the criminals to death [l]. As for the scandalous lewdness and debaucheries of Augustus, which gave occasion to many severe lampoons and cast a great blemish upon his reputation, Mecænas was not at all a proper person to set up for a censor in that particular. The generous protection, which he afforded to men of learning, especially to Virgil and Horace, will render his name immortal, and transfer his fame to the latest posterity. He was not only on encourager of learning, but published according to Priscian [m], Isidorus [n], and Seneca [o], several works, which entitled him to a place among the best writers of that polite age. The works ascribed to him by the above-mentioned writers are, a "history of animals;" a "journal of the life of Augustus;" a "treatise on short-"hand writing;" of which some will have him, others Tyro, Cicero's freedman, to have been the inventor, another "treatise on the nature and different kinds of preci-"ous stones;" and two tragedies, the one intitled "Oc-"tavia," and the other "Prometheus:" but none of these works have reached our times. Horace the prince of the Latin lyric poets, did not long survive his great patron and benefactor; for Mecænas died about the beginning of September, and Horace on the twenty-seventh of the following November. The fame of so great a poet will be as lasting as his works, which all ages must admire, as the utmost effort of a human genius. The same year died one Caius Cæcilius Isidorus, famous for the immense wealth

The liberty he took with Augustus.

His works.

The death of Horace.

[l] Dio, l. v. p. 552. [m] Priscian. l. x. [n] Isidor. orig. l. xix. [o] Seneca. epist. 91.

wealth of which he was poſſeſſed; for he left to his heir 4116 ſlaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 200057 head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in ſpecie.

Tiberius triumphs.

ON the calends of January of the enſuing year, Tiberius who was now come to Rome, entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip with Cn. Calpurnius Piſo, and was the ſame day honoured with a triumph, which was a new ſight to the Roman people. The bucklers and arms, which he had taken from the Germans, were carried before him, and the captive generals and officers of diſtinction marched in chains by the chariot of the triumphant victor. Before he left Rome, he repaired the temple of Concord, placing his own name and that of his deceaſed brother Druſus on the frontiſpiece of that ſtately building. After this he dedicated a temple, which the ſenate had erected, to his mother Livia, ſhe herſelf being preſent at the ceremony. On this occaſion he gave a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to all the ſenators, while Livia feaſted the women of diſtinction by themſelves. In the beginning of the ſpring he left the capital and returned to Germany, but performed nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. This year a dreadful fire happened in Rome, which reduced to aſhes many ſtately buildings, and was thought to have been occaſioned by the debtors, with a deſign to make their eſcape, in that confuſion, out of the houſes of their creditors. To prevent the like misfortunes and diſorders for the future, Auguſtus created new officers called "curatores vicorum," who were permitted on certain days to wear, within the verge of their juriſdiction, the robe peculiar to magiſtrates, and to have two lictors to attend them. To them were now aſſigned the ſix hundred ſlaves, who had been formerly appointed to attend the ædiles for the extinguiſhing of fires. At the ſame time, by Auguſtus's particular order, the city was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and theſe into inferior precincts, the government of which wards and precincts was committed to the above-mentioned "curatores vicorum," and alſo to the tribunes of the people and the prætors [n].

Curatores vicorum appointed by Auguſtus.

THE following year, Caius Antiſtius Vetus and D. Lælius Balbus being raiſed to the conſulate, Lucius Cæſar boldly demanded of Auguſtus in the public theatre, that his elder brother Caius Cæſar might be named conſul for the enſuing year. The emperor, no leſs ſurpriſed than offended at this unſeaſonable demand, notwithſtanding his affection for the

The bold and unſeaſonable demand of Lucius Cæſar.

two

[n] Dio, p. 556, 557.

two brothers, anſwered, that he hoped he ſhould never lie under the neceſſity of raiſing any to the conſulate under twenty years of age. The bold youth not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, but continuing to ſolicit him with great earneſtneſs in behalf of his brother, the emperor raiſing his voice, told him with a grave air, "That an office of ſuch "importance ought to be diſcharged only by a man who "could bridle his own paſſions, and reſiſt the deſires of the "giddy and head-ſtrong multitude." However, his tenderneſs for the two brothers, whom he looked upon as his own children, having adopted them into the Julian family and the name of Cæſars, in ſome degree got the better of his reaſon; for he granted to Caius the prieſthood, a place in the ſenate, and the privilege of ſitting among the ſenators at all public ſhews and ſports; but at the ſame time, to curb their ambitious temper, he conferred on Tiberius the tribunitial power for five years, which gave the two young Cæſars no ſmall jealouſy. But Tiberius had ſcarce received this new addition of power, when, to the great ſurpriſe of Auguſtus and the whole city, he deſired leave to quit the city and retire to Rhodes. Various reaſons are alledged by the antients for this ſudden reſolution; Tiberius indeed pretended a deſire of improving himſelf in the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence, there being then at Rhodes famous profeſſors of both theſe ſciences. But Suetonius is of opinion, that the infamy of his wife Julia, which was now the talk of the whole city, and reflected great diſgrace on his perſon and family, prompted him to retire, that he might not be an eye-witneſs of her ſcandalous debaucheries [o]. Velleius Paterculus, a great flatterer of Tiberius, tells us, that he withdrew out of reſpect to the two young Cæſars, that he might not ſtand in their way to the higheſt preferments [p], following therein the example of Agrippa, who had retired to Mitylene, when Marcellus firſt entered upon public offices. Dion thinks he was piqued at the favour which Auguſtus ſhewed to his grandſons, eſpecially at his declaring them "princes of the Roman youths (G)," which entirely defeated his ambitious projects, and

Tiberius demands leave to retire.

[o] Suet. in Tiber. c. 10. [p] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 99.

(G) The firſt Roman emperors gave this title to their children, or to thoſe whom they had appointed their heirs and ſucceſſors in the empire. The youth, who was honoured with this title, had all the children of the Roman noblemen under his command, and appeared

and left him no hopes of ever enjoying the ſovereign power, the ſole object of all his wiſhes [q]. But, whatever his motive was, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and tears of his mother Livia, he was very preſſing with Auguſtus for his permiſſion to retire; which the emperor not only refuſed, but took great pains, in concert with Livia, to divert him from ſuch an unſeaſonable reſolution. He even complained to the ſenate of his being abandoned by one, from whoſe abilities he had promiſed himſelf great relief in the government of the republic. But Tiberius, deaf to all entreaties and remonſtrances, and obſtinately bent upon departing, continued importuning Auguſtus for his permiſſion, which he conſtantly refuſed, being unwilling to loſe the only perſon, in whom, after the death of Agrippa and Mecænas, he repoſed any confidence, his grand-children not being yet of an age fit to be truſted. At length Tiberius, finding all other means ineffectual, retired into his own apartment, and, there ſhutting himſelf up, abſtained four whole days from all kind of nouriſhment. Hereupon the emperor, ſeing he could not get the better of his obſtinate and inflexible temper, complied at length with his requeſt, and granted him the ſo much wiſhed-for permiſſion to retire; which he no ſooner obtained, than he ſet out for Oſtia, without ſpeaking a word on the way to thoſe who attended him to the place where he embarqued, or taking any notice of them, a ſmall number of his particular friends excepted, at his departure [r]. However, Dion tells us, that before he took his leave of Livia and Auguſtus,

Which Auguſtus refuſes him.

But at laſt yields to his importunities.

[q] Dio, in excerpt. p. 662. [r] Suet. ibid.

apeared at their head, when they performed their military exerciſes in the field of Mars, or exhibited the tournament called Troy. In the times of the republic the children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families were called "principes juventutis," and "principes equitum(19)," becauſe they were reckoned "equites" or knights, till they attained the age, which the laws required in the candidates for offices. The principes juventutis was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a triumphal robe, as Tacitus informs us (20). On the reverſe of a medal of the emperor Severus, which has reached our times, are repreſented three youths on horſeback, and one of them in the attitude of commanding, with this legend, Princ. juvent. which ſhews, that the princeps or principes juventutis had ſome command over the young nobility.

(19) Vide Liv. l. xlii. c. 61. & Juvenal. ſatyr. 4. v. 32.
(20) Tacit. annal. 12. c. 5.

guſtus, he opened his will and read it in their preſence[s]. From Oſtia he ſailed along the coaſt of Campania, and ſtaid ſome time in that province, being informed there, that Auguſtus was indiſpoſed. But, in the mean while, a report being ſpread abroad, that he waited for the news of Auguſtus's death, he weighed anchor as ſoon as it came to his ears, tho' the ſea ran then very high, and ſailed for Rhodes, where he led at firſt a very private and retired life, frequenting the ſchools and academies without any attendants, converſing familiarly with the Greeks, and avoiding all appearance of grandeur both in his houſe and equipage. However, he once exerted the tribunitial power with which he was inveſted; for a warm diſpute ariſing one day in the ſchool of Theodorus the Gadaræan, of whom he was a conſtant hearer, he interpoſed, and endeavoured to put an end to the conteſt. But one of the diſputants, judging him partial, not only refuſed to acquieſce with his deciſion, but abuſed him in a moſt outrageous manner; which ſo provoked him, that he returned home, and aſſuming the habit of a public magiſtrate, appeared in the ſchool, as tribune of the people, with his apparitors, and ſummoning by a crier the philoſopher, who had reviled him, ordered him to be carried to priſon[t]. Velleius, a ſcandalous flatterer of the Cæſars, eſpecially of Tiberius, tells us, that he appeared greater in his retirement, than if he had been at the helm of affairs; that all the proconſuls and governors, who were ſent into the eaſt, went to wait upon him, lowering their faſces to him; that he gained the affection and eſteem of all the Greeks, &c.[u]. But all other writers tell us, that not being able to keep his vices concealed from the inhabitants of the iſland, they daily more deſpiſed and hated him, inſomuch, that the Nemauſians threw down his ſtatues and defaced his pictures; nay, ſome time after, as Caius Cæſar paſſed that way, mention being made of Tiberius at a private entertainment, one of the company addreſſing Caius, "Give only the word," ſaid he, "and you ſhall "have the head of the exile in an inſtant." The name of exile well ſuited Tiberius; for though he voluntarily retired to Rhodes, yet he was long kept there againſt his will. Growing weary of his retirement, he publicly declared, that he had left Rome purely to avoid giving umbrage to Caius and Lucius, and wrote to the emperor, after they had attained to man's eſtate and were promoted to the higheſt dignities, begging

His private manner of living at Rhodes.

[s] Dio, in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 665. [t] Suet. ibid. Quintilian. l. iii. c. 1. Dio, ibid. [u] Vell. Patercul. ibid.

ging leave to return home and viſit his friends, ſince his preſence could no longer be diſagreeable to his grand-children. But the favour was abſolutely denied him, and a meſſage ſent, bidding him lay aſide all care and thoughts of his friends, ſince he had been ſo impatient to abandon them. Thus he was obliged, ſore againſt his will, to continue at Rhodes, and it was not till after ſeven years that Auguſtus was prevailed upon to conſent to his return [w]. This year Auguſtus himſelf was conſul, and had for his collegue Cornelius Sylla. He had reſumed the faſces, after having declined the conſular dignity for ſeventeen years together, with no other view, as is ſuppoſed, but to render the ceremony of giving the "toga "virilis" to his grandſon Caius more ſolemn. For he preſented him in perſon to the ſenate, gave him the "toga viri-"lis" himſelf, with the uſual ceremonies, and deſigned him conſul; which dignity, as he was then but fifteen, he was to hold, after five years, to be reckoned from the day he was preſented to the ſenate. Thus the Ancyran marble [x]. This year Auguſtus reduced the number of thoſe who were ſupplied with corn at the public expence, to two hundred thouſand, corn having for ſome years been given indifferently to all who deſired it. Nothing remarkable happened in Rome or Italy the two following years, in the firſt of which C. Calviſius Sabinus and L. Paſſienus Rufus were conſuls, and in the ſecond L. Cornelius Lentulus and M. Valerius Meſſalinus. The enſuing year, Auguſtus again reſerved the conſular dignity for himſelf, and took for his collegue M. Plautius Sylvanus or Silanus. As Lucius, the younger of his grandſons was now of an age to receive the "toga virilis," Auguſtus conferred on him the ſame honours as he had done three years before on his brother Caius. Several medals, coined on this occaſion, have reached our times, on which are the heads of the two brothers with bucklers and ſpears, and this legend on the reverſe; "Caius and Lucius Cæſars, "the ſons of Auguſtus, deſigned conſuls, princes of the "youth." Thus were the two ſons highly favoured and honoured by Auguſtus; but their mother Julia met with a very different treatment. Her lewdneſs, infamy, and ſcandalous debaucheries, hardly to be matched in hiſtory, had for ſome years been the talk of the whole town. But Auguſtus had the misfortune of moſt princes, who are, generally ſpeaking, the leaſt acquainted with their neareſt concerns. He believed indeed, that ſhe did not lead a very ſtrict life, but

Auguſtus refuſes him leave to return to Rome.

Auguſtus's thirteenth conſulſhip.

[w] Dio, Suet. ibid.

[x] Vide Gruter. inſcript. 231.

but never imagined her capable of committing thoſe monſtrous and almoſt incredible exceſſes, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full diſcovery of her actions and conduct, he was ſo ſenſibly affected with grief and confuſion, that he ſhut himſelf up in his palace, and there continued ſeveral days, bewailing his misfortune, without ſeeing any even of his moſt intimate friends. Not able to conceal the tranſports of his grief and anger from the public, he communicated to the ſenate by a letter the exceſſes of the infamous proſtitute, and the diſgrace of his family, an indiſcretion which he afterwards ſaid ſhe would never have been guilty of, had Agrippa or Mecænas been living. Overcome with ſhame and rage, he firſt reſolved to put his daughter to death; but afterwards altered his mind, and contented himſelf with baniſhing her to Pandataria, a deſert iſland on the coaſt of Campania, now known by the the name of Santa Maria. Her mother Scribonia, whom Auguſtus had divorced the ſame day ſhe was born, that is, thirty-eight years before, attended her to the place of her baniſhment, and never afterwards abandoned her. The emperor not only puniſhed the infamous Julia with baniſhment, but at the ſame time forbad her the uſe of wine, and all ſorts of delicacy whatſoever either in diet or cloaths. By an expreſs order from the emperor, no perſon of what condition ſoever was to come near her without his leave. Not long after, her eldeſt daughter by Agrippa, named alſo Julia and married to L. Paulus, being convicted of the ſame crimes as her mother, was confined to the iſland of Tremera, now Tremiti, in the Adriatic ſea [y]. The puniſhment of Julia was followed by that of all thoſe who were any ways acceſſory to her debaucheries. Sempronius Gracchus, T. Quinctius Criſpinus, C. Claudius, and L. Scipio, all perſons of great diſtinction, were condemned to perpetual baniſhment. But Julius Antonius (H), the ſon of the triumvir, and many others, were by the emperor's orders put to death. Some writers tell us, that Auguſtus laid hold of this opportunity

Julia baniſhed;

And her daughter of the ſame name.

[y] Vell. Patercul. c. 100. Dio, ibid. p. 555.

(H) Julius Antonius was a man of learning, and wrote a poem entitled Diomedeæ, conſiſting of ten books. To him Horace addreſſed the ſecond ode of his fourth book. He left a ſon very young, whom Auguſtus baniſhed to Marſeilles under colour of having him inſtructed by the great maſters, who flouriſhed then in that city. He died without offspring and in him ended the Antonian family.

tunity to get rid of many conſiderable Romans, who gave him uneaſineſs and jealouſy. Be that as it will, it is certain that an incredible number of illuſtrious Romans were ſacrificed, under pretence of having received favours of Julia. Her chief confident, by name Phæbe, laid violent hands on herſelf before ſentence was pronounced againſt her. Auguſtus, when news was brought him of her death, could not help admiring her courage, and wiſhing that Phæbe, and not Julia, had been his daughter, intimating thereby, that he would have been well pleaſed, if Julia had had courage enough to end her days in the ſame manner. Tiberius heard, as we may imagine, the news of the diſgrace and baniſhment of Julia with great joy; but as no man knew better the art of diſſembling, he became her advocate; and, pretending great tenderneſs and compaſſion for her, he wrote frequent letters to Auguſtus, entreating him to forgive her, and reinſtate her in his favour. But the emperor continued inflexible to the hour of his death, nay, he carried, in a manner, his reſentment beyond his grave; for by his laſt will he ordained, that ſhe ſhould not be depoſited after her death among the Cæſars, whom ſhe had ſo diſgraced during her life. As for Tiberius, Auguſtus obliged him to divorce her, notwithſtanding the tenderneſs and affection which, by the deepeſt diſſimulation, he ſtill pretended to retain for her [z].

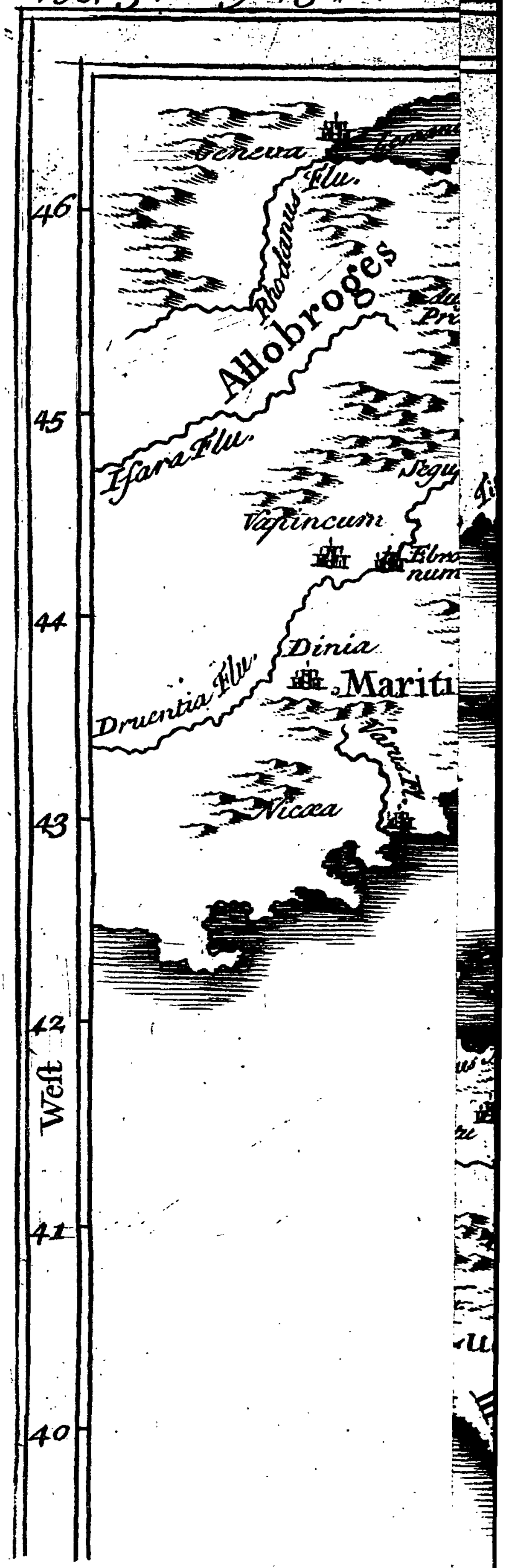
Many illuſtrious Romans baniſhed, and put to death, on her account.

AND now Auguſtus, to divert his mind from fixing on his domeſtic misfortunes, exhibited the moſt magnificent and expenſive ſhews that had ever been ſeen in Rome, chariot-races in the circus, repreſentations on the ſtage, combats of gladiators, &c. were now become common. Auguſtus therefore, the better to divert both himſelf and the people, revived thoſe ſports which had been for a conſiderable time laid aſide, on account of the extraordinary charges that attended them. He cauſed a canal to be dug eighteen hundred paces in length and two hundred in breadth, conveying into it the Flaminian water, and building ſcaffolds quite round it capable of holding numberleſs multitudes of ſpectators. And indeed the concourſe of people was ſo great, that the emperor was obliged to place guards in all the quarters of the city, leſt the thieves ſhould lay hold of that opportunity to plunder the empty and abandoned houſes. Auguſtus had frequently entertained the people with fights of lions, tygers, elephants, rhinoceros, &c. but now the new canal appeared all on a ſudden covered with crocodiles, of which thirty-ſix were killed

Magnificent ſhews exhibited by Auguſtus.

[z] Suet. Dio, ibid.

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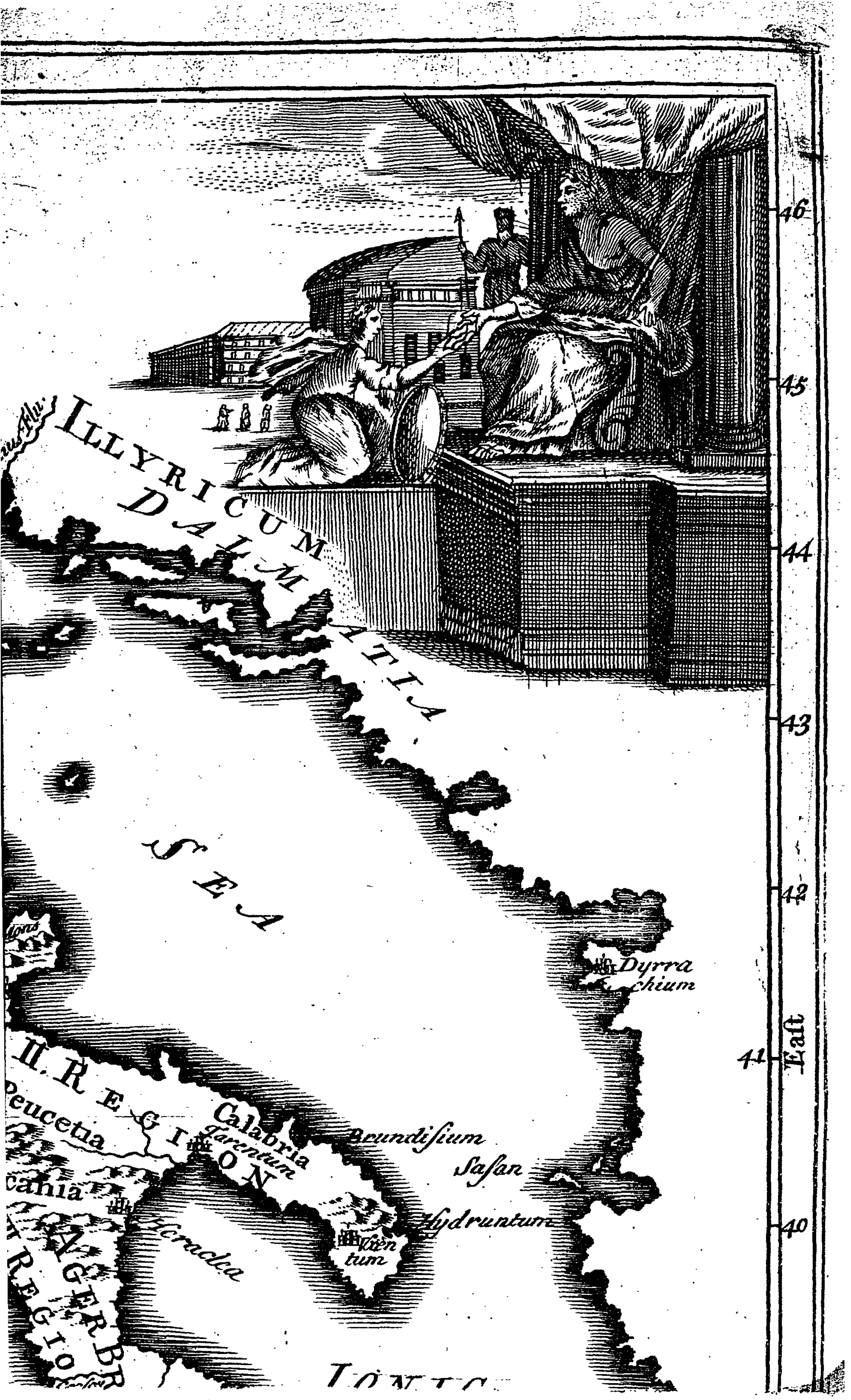
North

West

South

46 45 44 43 42 41 40 39 38

Geneva
Lemanus L.
Rhodanus Flu.
Octodurum
Allobroges
Augusta Prætoria
Graioceli
Alpes Penninæ
Lacus Verbanus
Lacus Larius
Sevinus Lacus
XI. REGION
Benacus Lac.
Ollius Flu.
Athesis Flu.
Feltria
Tridentum
Con: cordia
X. REGION
Aquileia
Tergeste
Stainum
Patauium
Athesis Flu.
VENETIA
Mantua
Atria
ISTRIA
LIBURNIA
ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
Ticinus Flu.
Vercellæ
Novaria
Mediolanum
Eporedia
Augusta Taurinorum
Dora Flu.
Duria Flu.
Padus fluc: & ostia
Padus Flu.
Spina
Clastidium
Dertona
VIII. REGION
Rauenna
Vapincum
Alba pompeia
Eburodunum
Padus Flu.
IX. REGION
Mutina
Arminum
Pisaurum
Tanarus Flu.
Genua
Apenninus Mons
Rubicon Flu.
Dinia
Maritime Alps
Pisauranum
Florentia
Rubicon Flu.
Ancona
VI. REGION
PICENUM
Druentia Flu.
Albam Ingaunum
Gallinaria Insf.
Luca
Arnus flu.
Firmum
Fanum Fortunæ
Nicæa
Var Flu.
Pisæ
Sena
Aretium
Cortona
VII. REGION
ETRURIA
Volaterræ
Perusia
Tiber Flu.
Matrinus Flu.
LIGUSTIC SEA
Vada
Clusium
Nar Flu.
Narnia
Interamna
Tibur
Ieate
Aqua Inf.
Roma
Ostia
Centum cellæ
IV. REGION
LATIVM
Garganus Mons
Durrachium
Maritima
Planasia
Igilium Insf.
FIRST REGION
Sipuntum
CORSICA
Aleria
Capreæ
Pandataria
Ponza
Misenum
Salernum
II. REGION
Surrentum
Salurus Flu.
Elea
Lucania
Caprea Island
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Buxentum
Calabria
Garganum
Brundisium
Sasan
Hydruntum
Heraclea
III. REGION
AGER BRUTTIORUM
Thurii
Croton
Clampetia
Æolie Islands
Lametia
Strongyle
Ericusa
Lipare
Vulcania
IONIC SEA
SEA of SICILY
Scylla
Rhegium
part of SARDINIA
ITALY as divided into REGIONS by C. AUGUSTUS
I. Barlow Sculp.


ILLYRICUM
DALMATIA
SEA
II. REGION
Calabria
Tarentum
Brundisium
Sasan
Hydruntum
Dyrrachium
46
45
44
43
42
41
East
40

led by Egyptians brought from the banks of the Nile for that purpose. The multitude were highly delighted with this fight, which was quite new; but the sea fight which ensued afforded them still greater diversion. For at the opposite ends of the lake, or canal, two fleets appeared, the galleys of one being built after the Greek, and those of the other after the Persian, manner. Both fleets engaged; and as they fought in good earnest, most of the combatants being persons sentenced to death, the battle proved very bloody [a].

Disturbances in Armenia.

In the midst of these public sports and diversions, news was brought to Augustus, that the Armenians, entering into an alliance with the Parthians, had driven out Artabazes, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raised to the throne Tigranes in his room. Hereupon the emperor, dreading the consequences of an alliance between those two powers, was greatly at a loss what measures he should take to put a stop to the war, which threatened the eastern provinces. He could not manage it in person, being now stricken in years; Tiberius was retired to Rhodes, and the emperor determined not to recall or employ him; on the other hand, he was afraid to trust any with the command of the army, except those of his own family. In this perplexity, he at length resolved to send into the east his grandson Caius, who was then entered into the nineteenth year of his age (I); but before his departure, to procure him the greater esteem, he honoured him with the title of proconsul, and married him to Lollia Paulina, either the daughter or niece of M. Lollius, an officer of great experience, who was his governor,

Caius Cæsar sent into the east.

[a] Suet. ibid. Ovid. de arte, l. i. Monument. Ancyran. apud Gruter. ibid.

(I) While Caius was preparing for this expedion, Ovid wrote the first book of his "art of love," as appears from the following lines:

"Ecce parat Cæsar domito quod defuit orbi
"Addere: nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris.
"Parthe, dabis pœnas: Crassi gaudete sepulti,
"Signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus.
"Ultor adest, primisque ducem profitetur ab annis;
"Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.

And a few lines after;

"Auspiciis

vernor, and whom he now appointed to command unde him [b]. Before the young general ſet out, Auguſtus, wh omitted nothing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of thi expedition, ſent Dionyſius, a geographer of great fame, int the eaſt before him, with orders to take an exact ſurvey o the country, which was likely to be the ſeat of war [c]. Whe ther this was the famous Dionyſius, whoſe periegeſis in Greel verſe has reached us, or another Dionyſius, the ſon of Dioge nes, who publiſhed the dimenſions of the earth, as we rea in Marcianus Heracleota [d], we know not. This commiſſio of Caius Cæſar is variouſly mentioned by the antients; Taci tus writes, that he had Armenia for his province [e]; Velleiu Paterculus, that he was ſent into Syria [f]; Suetonius, that h was appointed governor of the eaſt [g]; Oroſius, that he wa ſent by Auguſtus to ſettle the provinces of Egypt and Syria [h] and Pliny quotes a book wrote by king Juba, in which men tion is made of Caius's expedition into Arabia [i]; but adds that the young prince had only ſome thoughts of invadin Arabia [k]. In the mean time, Phrahates, king of Parthia, be ing informed of the warlike preparations that were carryin on in different parts of the empire, and not doubting, bu they were deſigned againſt him, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to Auguſtus; but as he deferred, under various pretences, with drawing his troops out of Armenia, which Auguſtus in his an-

ſwe

[b] Zonar. ex Dion. Suet. in Claud. c. 26. Plin. l. ix. c. 35. Solin. c. 53. [c] Plin. l. vi. c. 27. [d] Marcian. Heracleota. peripl. l. i. [e] Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 48. [f] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 101. [g] Suet. in Tiber. c. 12. [h] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 3. [i] Plin. l. vi. c. 27. in fin. [k] Idem ibid. c. 28.

" Auſpiciis anniſque patris, puer, arma movebis,
" Et vinces annis auſpiciiſque patris.
" Tale rudimentum tanto ſub nomine debes;
" Nunc juvenum princeps, deinde future ſenum (21)

Ovid was quite out in what he foretels of Caius, but ſets dow the juſt year of his age; for Auguſtus was nineteen years ol when he firſt put himſelf at the head of his army, as is manife from the Ancyran marble, containing a ſummary of the chief a tions of his life; and Caius was entered into his nineteenth ye when he began to prepare for his expedition againſt the Parthian ſo that his father and he went commanders at the ſame age.

(21) Ovid. de arte, l. i.

swer required him to do without delay, Caius, taking his leave of Augustus, set out from Rome, and hastened into Armenia [l]. In his passage he touched at Chios [m], or, as Suetonius will have it, at Samos [n]; which Tiberius no sooner understood, than he went to wait upon him, behaving himself on that occasion in a very submissive manner, and shewing the utmost respect not only to the young prince, but to all those of his attendance. Caius received him with great coldness, his governor M. Lollius, who hated Tiberius, having filled the mind of his pupil with prejudices against him [o]. Thus Suetonius: but Velleius, flattering Tiberius, according to his custom, tells us, that Caius received him with the greatest marks of esteem, and treated him as his superior [p]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that Tiberius's tribuneship, expiring about this time, he earnestly solicited the emperor for leave to return home, and received from him the answer, which we have related above; so that he was obliged much against his will to continue at Rhodes, which he no longer looked upon as the place of his retreat, but as the place of his banishment. However, his mother Livia, who had a great influence over the emperor, to cover the ignominy of her son, got him, with much ado, declared Augustus's lieutenant in those parts. But he, finding himself obnoxious to the sovereign, and apprehending himself in danger of his life, not only lived as a private citizen, but retiring into the midst of the island, concealed himself there to avoid the compliments of the Roman officers and magistrates, who were sent into the east [q]. Nay, he wrote to Augustus, desiring him to send some person, in whom he could confide, with a charge to watch him, and transmit to Rome a faithful account of all his words and actions [r].

Tiberius waits upon him.

Tiberius in disgrace.

But to return to Caius Cæsar; from Samos or Chios he hastened into Syria, where all the Roman forces in the east, and those of the allies of Rome, were assembled and ready to march. Suetonius tells us, that he passed through Judæa, but scorned to worship at Jerusalem, and adds, that his conduct therein was approved of, and much commended by, Augustus [s]. Upon his arrival in Syria, he put himself at the head of the army, and began his march towards the frontiers of Parthia. Upon his approach Phrahates,

[l] Dio, legat. 38. in exerpt. ab Ursin. [m] Xiphil. & Zonar. ex Dion. [n] Suet. in Tib. c. 12. [o] Suet. ibid. [p] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 101. [q] Suet. ibid. c. 12. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Suet. in Octav. c. 93.

Phrahates ſends embaſſadors to Caius.

diſtruſting his own ſubjects, who bore him an irreconcileable hatred, ſent deputies to him to treat of a peace. The young general received the embaſſadors with great politeneſs, and it was agreed, that Caius and Phrahates would have an interview in an iſland formed by the Euphrates. Thither they both repaired on the day appointed, each of them being attended with the like number of guards, while their two armies, drawn up in battalia, lined the oppoſite banks of the river. In the conference Caius only inſiſted upon the Parthian's renouncing all pretenſions to Armenia, which he readily conſented to; ſo that a treaty was ſoon concluded, and tranquillity reſtored, when leaſt expected, to the eaſtern provinces. Matters being thus ſettled, the two chiefs feaſted each other; Caius entertained Phrahates on the Roman ſide of the river, and Phrahates, Caius on the Parthian ſide. Thus Velleius Paterculus, who was preſent, as a ſpectator, at theſe entertainments, he being then a military tribune in Caius's army [t]. The ſame writer tells us, that the Parthian king acquainted Caius in a private conference, that he was betrayed by his governor M. Lollius, who had taken large bribes of him, and had heaped up immenſe ſums by laying, without his knowledge, heavy contributions on all the provinces of the eaſt. The ſame writer adds, that the king bid him beware of the treacherous deſigns and counſels of Lollius, at which the young prince being alarmed, forbid him his preſence. Lollius thus diſgraced, died a few days after; but whether of a natural or violent death, our author will not take upon him to determine [u]. Pliny and Solinus ſay, that he put an end to his life with poiſon; but none of the antients impute his death to Caius, though he deſerved to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, if the charge, brought againſt him by the Parthian king, was true. Upon his death Publius Quirinius was either appointed by Auguſtus, or choſen by the young prince himſelf, for his governor. He was a good commander, and had been rewarded by Auguſtus for his eminent ſervices firſt with the conſulſhip, and afterwards with a triumph, or rather an ovation, for driving the Homonades, a people of Cilicia, out of their ſtrong-holds [w]. He proved a friend to Tiberius, and reconciled Caius to him, as we ſhall ſee anon. The treaty of peace between the

A peace concluded.

M. Lollius accuſed of treachery.

[t] Vell Paterc. l. ii. c. 101.
[u] Idem ibid. c. 102.
[w] Tacit. annal. l. iii. c. 48.

the Romans and the Parthians was ſcarce concluded, when Artabazes, whom Auguſtus had placed on the throne of Armenia, died; and then Tigranes, who had been ſet up by the Parthians, ſent rich preſents to Auguſtus, accompanied with a ſubmiſſive letter, wherein, without ſtyling himſelf king, he begged the kingdom of him. The emperor, glad to put an end to the diſturbances of the eaſt, accepted his preſents, and ordered him to attend Caius in Syria; which he did accordingly, and received at his hands the crown of Armenia [x]. Auguſtus, to perpetuate the memory of this expedition, and the glory of young Caius, who managed it with ſuch ſucceſs, cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck, or pieces of money coined, ſome of which have reached us, with the figure of Armenia in a ſuppliant poſture, and the names of Auguſtus and Caius Cæſar on the reverſe.

Tigranes appointed king of Armenia.

And now, the temple of Janus being ſhut up (K), and all the provinces of the Roman empire, perhaps all the nations of the world, enjoying a profound tranquillity, "The

[x] Dio, in excerpt. ab Ful. Urſin. Sext. Ruf. in breviario.

(K) From the time of Romulus to the reign of Auguſtus the temple of Janus had been but twice ſhut, viz. during Numa's peaceable reign, and after the firſt Punic war (22). Auguſtus ſhut it up three times, viz. after he had vanquiſhed Antony and Cleopatra, four years after on his return from the war, which he had waged with the Cantabrians in Spain, and ſome years before the birth of our Saviour. Horace, who died ſeven years before, ſpeaks in his laſt ode of Auguſtus's victory over the Sicambri, and obſerves, that the temple of Janus was then ſhut. Oroſius ſays, that after Auguſtus had ſhut it the third time, it continued ſo for the ſpace of twelve years (23). On the other hand, F. Noris, is of opinion, that it was opened on occaſion of Caius Cæſar's expedition againſt the Parthians, whence he concludes, firſt againſt Oroſius, that it did not continue ſhut for twelve years, and ſecondly againſt moſt hiſtorians and chronologers, that our Saviour was born before the troubles in the eaſt broke out; for he was born, as all the fathers affirm, while the world was in peace; and, on the other hand, Tacitus aſſures us, that after Auguſtus had laid open the gates of Janus the third time, they were never ſhut again to the reign of Veſpaſian (24). But as no war was declared, and no hoſtilities committed either by the Romans or Parthians, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that the temple of Janus was opened on occaſion of this expedition.

(22) Liv. l. i. Plut. in Numa. (23) Oroſ. l. vi. c. 22. p. 297. (24) Vide P. Henric. Noris cenotaph. Piſan. C. & L. Cæſar. Venet. 1681. p. 199. & 200.

The birth of Chriſt. Year of the flood, 1999. Of Rome 748.

"prince of peace, the Lord of heaven," and "Saviour of "the world," joined himſelf, after an ineffable manner, to human nature, and appeared on earth, being born of a virgin in the city of Bethlehem, whither Joſeph and Mary had repaired, to be there regiſtered purſuant to the decree of Auguſtus, as citizens of that place (L). But to dwell on the particular circumſtances of this or the other myſteries of the Chriſtian religion, would be deviating from the deſign of the preſent work, and intrenching on the province of the eccleſiaſtic writers. To their hiſtories therefore we refer

(L) Auguſtus having iſſued out a decree for taking ſuch a deſcription or ſurvey of the whole Roman empire as ſhould contain an account of all perſons, poſſeſſions, and eſtates therein, and the taxes iſſuable from them. it was this year executed in Judæa in the manner St. Luke deſcribes it. When it came to Bethlehem, Joſeph and Mary were called from Nazareth in Galilee, the place of their habitation, to that city, the city of David, to which, as being of the houſe and lineage of David, they originally belonged, that there, as citizens of that place, their circumſtances, and eſtate, or trade, might be deſcribed and regiſtered among thoſe who were of the ſame houſe and family. Whenever a cenſus was made at Rome, the cenſors regiſtered all the Roman citizens, their wives and children, their age, qualities, trades, offices and eſtates both real and perſonal. "Cenſoris officium erat," ſays Florus (25) "omnia patri- "monia, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorum, diſcrimina in tabulas referre;" and Cicero (26) "Cenſores populi ævitates, "ſoboles, familias, pecuniaſque cenſento." Auguſtus was the firſt who extended this cenſus to the provinces, where thoſe who were charged with it, purſued, without all doubt, the ſame method as the cenſors did at Rome. 'Tis true, none of the antient hiſtorians mention this general cenſus extending to all the provinces, and kingdoms ſubject to, or depending upon, Rome but Tacitus (27), Suetonius (28), and Dion Caſſius (29), tells us that Auguſtus left behind him a book containing an exact account or ſurvey of all the provinces of the Roman empire, and their revenues, taxes, and tributes, which, it is manifeſt, he could not have done without a previous and general cenſus. Beſides St. Juſtin (30) and Tertullian (31) frequently refer the Gentiles to the regiſters which were made on occaſion of this cenſus and were ſtill extent in their time.

(25) Flor. l. i. c. 6. (26) Cic. de legibus, l. iii.
(27) Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 11. (28) Suet. in Octav. 101. (29) Dio, l. lvi. p 591. (30) Juſtin. apolog.
(31) Tertullian. in Marc. l. iv.

refer the learned reader for a full account of what we ſhall only hint at in ours.

THE following year, Caſſius Cornelius Lentulus and L. Calpurnius Piſo were raiſed to the conſulate, and ſucceeded the year after in that dignity by Caius Cæſar, tho' then abſent in Syria (M), and L. Æmilius Paulus. During their adminiſtration nothing remarkable happened in Italy, or in the countries ſubject to, or depending upon, Rome, except the death of king Herod, which was no leſs miſerable than his life had been deteſtable, and the diviſion of his kingdom made by Auguſtus, who gave one half of it to Archelaus, and divided the other half between his two brothers, Antipas and Philip, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the Jews [y]. During the conſulſhip of Caius, Auguſtus ended his great climacterical year, that is, the ſixty-third of his age, on which occaſion he wrote the following letter to his grandſon in Syria: "Hail "my dear Caius, my chief delight: your preſence is the "conſtant object of my moſt ardent wiſhes: I cannot, "my dear child, bear to be from you: when ſhall I have "the pleaſure of ſeeing my beloved Caius again, and tenderly embracing him? Your preſence would have doubled "the mirth of this day, my ſixty-fourth birth-day, which "I hope you have ſolemnly kept in good health: for I "have ended, you ſee, my ſixty-third year, the common "climacteric of old men. May the gods render the remaining part of my life uſeful and ſerviceable to the republic: may they continue to ſhower their bleſſings upon "you, till they ſhall think fit to remove me, and place "you in my room [z].

The death of king Herod, and diviſion of his kingdom.

THE following year, P. Alphinus Varus and P. Vinucius being conſuls, Tiberius was at length allowed to return to Rome; Caius, to whom Auguſtus had referred the matter,

Tiberius allowed to return to Rome.

[y] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 393. & 407. [z] Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 7.

(M) That Caius was abſent from Rome when he was raiſed to the conſulate, and that he diſcharged the office of conſul in the eaſt, is unanimouſly atteſted by all the antients. It is therefore ſurpriſing Joſephus ſhould tell us, that Auguſtus referred the diſpute, which upon the death of Herod aroſe between Archelaus and Antipas about the ſucceſſion, to a council, at which Caius Cæſar, the ſon of Agrippa and Julia, preſided, he being at that time in Rome.

ter, to deliver himſelf from the importunities of Livia, co ſenting to it at the earneſt entreaties of his new goverr Quirinius; but upon that condition that he ſhould bear office in the commonwealth [a]. We are told, that wh the ſhip, which brought him the news of his being lowed to return to Rome, firſt appeared, he was wa ing by the ſea-ſide with one Thraſyllus, a famous aſt loger, who aſſured him, though the ſhip was at a gr diſtance, that it brought him joyful tidings. The ſudden pearing of the ſhip ſaved Thraſyllus's life; for Tiberius had that very time determined with himſelf to throw h headlong into the ſea, as one who was privy to all ſecrets, and whom he now began to miſtruſt, after he h for ſome years entertained him as his boſom friend. put off the execution of his deſign till the arrival of ſhip, when finding the prediction of the aſtrologer fulfill he tenderly embraced him, and ever after had him in gr eſteem, though he pretended himſelf to a great knowled in judicial aſtrology [b]. Upon his return to Rome withdrew to Mecænas's gardens and there led a retir life, doing good offices to ſome of his friends, but r meddling with public affairs [c]. But he was ſoon deliver from the object of his envy and jealouſy; for Luci Cæſar, who was but a youth of tender abilities, died t year at Marſeilles on his journey to Spain, whither he h been ſent by his grandfather, who had no other view there than to bring him into favour with the ſoldiery, and accuſto him to a military life and a foreign climate [d]. Some write ſuſpect Livia, as if ſhe had found means to take him off poiſon; for his death was ſo ſudden, that it ſurpriſed his a tendants, and the art of poiſoning was at that time broug to great perfection, and became very common in Rom His body was brought by ſea from Marſeilles to one of t ports of Italy, and from thence carried to the capital on t ſhoulders of the military tribunes, and the decurions of t colonies and municipal towns. At Rome it lay in ſtate f ſeveral days in the forum, being watched and guarded by t Roman knights, who had preſented the deceaſed youth wi a ſilver ſpear when he took the toga virilis. The ſpear w hung up in the ſenate-houſe, and the body burnt with gre ſolemnit

The death of Lucius Cæſar.

[a] Suet. in Tib. c. 13. [b] Idem. ibid. c. 14. Xiphili ex Dion. [c] Idem Ibid. c. 15. [d] Flor. l. iv. c. ul Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 102, Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 3. Suet in Octa c. 65. Zonar. ex Dion.

ſolemnity, probably in the campus Martius. The aſhes, we ſuppoſe, were depoſited in Auguſtus's own mauſoleum, the burying-place of the Cæſars. The emperor was ſenſibly affected, as we may imagine, with the loſs of a youth whom he ſo tenderly loved, and ſaw thus ſnatched away in the ſpring of his life; and Tiberius, by affecting an extraordinary concern for the death of his ſon-in-law, wrought ſuch a change in the mind of Auguſtus, Livia, no doubt, contributing to it with her uſual art and dexterity, that he would have adopted him, if Velleius is to be credited, had he not abſolutely declined that honour, through fear of giving umbrage to Caius [c] (N).

Tiberius returns into favour with Auguſtus.

In the following conſulate of L. Ælius Lama and M. Servilius, the famous temple of the mother of the gods at Rome was reduced to aſhes; but the flames, which did not reſpect the ſtatue of the goddeſs, ſpared that of the veſtal Claudia, who, in former times being accuſed of inceſt, is ſaid to have given a glaring and miraculous proof of her innocence, by drawing aſhore with her girdle the ſhip which brought the mother of the gods to Rome, and had run a-ground off Oſtia [f]. This pretended miracle is much talked of by the Roman writers, and elegantly deſcribed by Ovid and Silius Italicus [g]. In the conſulate of Sextus Ælius Catus and C. Sentius Saturninus (O), Numidia, formerly ſubdued and reduced

[c] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 103. [f] Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxix, &c. [g] Ovid. faſt. l. iv. Sil. Ital. xvi.

(N) Alphenus Varus was of a mean deſcent, but raiſed himſelf by his own merit to the firſt office in the ſtate. Horace mentions him in the third ſatyr of his firſt book:

" Ut Alphenus vafer omni,
" Abjecto inſtrumento artis, clauſaque taberna,
" Sutor erat.

Upon which paſſage Acron comments thus: Alphenus was a native of Cremona, by profeſſion a ſhoe-maker; but abandoning his trade, applyed himſelf to the ſtudy of the Roman law, under the famous civilian Servius Sulpicius. The great progreſs he made in the Roman juriſprudence gained him ſuch reputation, that he was judged worthy of the greateſt honours of the ſtate. When he died, he was buried at the public expence, a diſtinction granted to few and thoſe perſons of the higheſt merit.

(O) When Agrippa was recalled from the eaſt, Sentius Saturninus and Titus Volumnius were appointed to ſucceed him in the government of Syria and Phœnice. Some writters think, that Saturninus

Numidia rebels, but is ſoon reduced.

duced to a Roman province by Julius Cæſar, rebelled, b was ſoon brought again under ſubjection by Paſſienus a Coſſus, whom Auguſtus honoured on their return to the c pital with triumphal enſigns, that is, he allowed them all t privileges and honours which were peculiar to triumpha victors [h], the cuſtom of triumphing being now laid aſid But the troubles which this year broke out anew in Armeni

The Parthians invade Armenia.

were not ſo eaſily quelled: the Parthians, notwithſtanding t treaty concluded a few years before between them and t Romans, invaded that kingdom with a numerous arm Hereupon Caius, who was ſtill in Syria, having with gre expedition drawn together his forces, marched againſt th enemy, and penetrating into the heart of Armenia witho oppoſition, appeared before Artagera. Upon his arrival, on Addo, whom ſome call Domnes, the governor of the place ſent deputies to him, inviting him to a private interview under pretence that he had ſomething to communicate to hi of the utmoſt importance. Caius, not ſuſpecting any treach ery, complied with his invitation; but Addo, or, as Strab calls him, Ador, having inſenſibly drawn the unwary youth during the conference cloſe to the wall, wounded him, and retired that inſtant into the city; which the Romans, pro-

Caius Cæſar wounded.

voked at the treachery of the barbarian, immediately aſſault ed on all ſides, took by ſtorm, and diſmantled, after having put the traitor, and with him the whole garriſon, to the ſword [i] (P). The wound did not prove mortal; but never-

theleſs

[h] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 104. Strabo, l. xi. p. 529. Zonar. ex Dion.

[i] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 102.

Saturninus was governor or preſident of the province, and that Volumnius was only his lieutenant, or rather Auguſtus's procurator under him; but Joſephus ſpeaks of him as in joint commiſſion with Saturninus (32).

(P) Florus relates this event in the following manner: Domitius, on whom the king of Parthia had conferred the government of Artaxata, pretending to revolt, came out to meet Caius and delivered into his hands a writing, which, he ſaid, contained an account of all the king's treaſures; but while he wa peruſing it with great attention, the traitor, drawing a poniar concealed under his garment, ſtabbed him (33). Sextus Ruſu follows Florus, and, by an unpardonable miſtake, adds, that "th "Parthians

(32) Joſeph. antiq. l. xvi. c. 12, 13.

(33) Flor. l. iv. c. ult

theleſs weakened the body, and ſunk the ſpirits of Caius to ſuch a degree, that after he had driven the Parthians out of Armenia, and placed Ariobarzanes, by birth a Mede, on the throne, he gave himſelf up to an idle and indolent life, leaving the whole management of affairs to his officers and lieutenants. Hereupon Auguſtus, who had a great deſire to ſee his favourite grandſon, recalled him to Rome; but he, taken with the delights of that ſoft climate, and having many flatterers about him, who made it their conſtant ſtudy to feed his vicious inclinations with new pleaſures, begged leave to continue in Syria, declaring, that he had rather live in the moſt remote and inhoſpitable corner of the earth, than return to Rome. This unexpected propoſal ſtung Auguſtus to the heart, who, in his anſwer to him, inſiſted on his returning to Italy, aſſuring him, that he ſhould there be allowed to do what he pleaſed. Caius therefore, with the utmoſt reluctance, left Syria, and ſailing for Lycia, arrived at Limyra, a city of that country, where he died ſoon after in the twenty-fourth year of his age [k] (Q). Thus was Auguſtus, His death.

in

[k] Vell. Paterc. ibid.

" Parthians, by way of ſatisfaction for ſo bold and treache-
" rous an attempt, did then firſt give hoſtages to Octavianus
" Cæſar, and reſtored the enſigns which had been taken from
" Craſſus (34).

(Q) Tacitus ſays he died of his wound as he was returning from Armenia (35), and Sextus Rufus, that he returned into Syria, and died there; but Suetonius, Dion Caſſius, and Velleius Paterculus, who ſerved under Caius, aſſure us, that he died at Limyra in Lycia on his return to Rome. Auguſtus was extremely grieved at his death, and complained of Aſinius Pollio, one of his chief favourites, for inviting his friends to an entertainment while his grief was yet freſh, Pollio anſwered, " I ſupped after the ſame " manner when I loſt my ſon Arterius, and can any one require " more grief of a friend than of a father (36)?" The body of Caius was conveyed to Rome, and buried there with great pomp. Bellonius tells us, that he ſaw the tomb and epitaph of C. Cæſar at Hama or Emeſa in Syria (37); but that his bones were buried at Rome is manifeſt from the following epitaph, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the church of the apoſtles behind the temple of Minerva: Oſſa C. Cæſaris Auguſti F. Principis Juventutis (38).

(34) Sext. Ruf. in breviar. (35) Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 3. (36) Senec. in proæm. l. iv. de controver. (37) Bellon. obſervat. l. ii. (38) Vide Gruter. inſcript. 235.

in the ſpace of eighteen months, deprived of both his grandſons, whom he had adopted, and brought up to ſucceed him in the ſovereign power. His death, as well as that of Lucius, is by ſome imputed to the ſecret arts of Livia, who left no ſtone unturned to advance her ſon Tiberius to the empire. The grief of Auguſtus for the death of one, whom he loved with all the tenderneſs of a fond father, was great beyond expreſſion. Livia and Tiberius endeavoured to comfort him; and on this occaſion it was that the artful Livia who had gained an abſolute ſway over her huſband, prevailed upon him to adopt her ſon Tiberius. However, he adopted at the ſame time Agrippa Poſthumus, the third ſon of Agrippa and Julia, whom he had hitherto quite neglected, as being a youth of no parts, and of an untractable temper. He likewiſe obliged Tiberius to adopt Germanicus, the ſon of his brother Druſus, tho' he had a ſon of his own; ſo that the joy of Tiberius in ſeeing himſelf at length adopted into the family and name of the Cæſars, was not a little allayed by this mortifying and unexpected preference. His nephew Germanicus was now become the emperor's grandſon, while his own ſon Druſus was denied that honour [l]. Theſe three different adoptions happened on the ſame day, viz. on the fifth of the calends of July; and it is remarkable, that Auguſtus, in adopting Tiberius, ſolemnly ſwore before the people, that "he adopted him for "the good of the commonwealth [m]." At the ſame time he conferred on him the tribunitial power, for five years according to ſome writers [n], but according to others for ten [o]. Thus, by the addreſs of Livia, were all honours heaped upon her ſon, now ſole candidate, we may ſay for the ſucceſſion.

Tiberius adopted by Auguſtus, and Germanicus by Tiberius.

The conſpiracy of Cinna.

WHILE Auguſtus was thus ſtrengthening himſelf by the adoption of Tiberius and Agrippa, a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered, at the head of which was Cornelius Cinna, grandſon to Pompey by his daughter Pompeia. As ſeveral perſons of the higheſt rank were engaged in the plot, Auguſtus was greatly at a loſs what meaſures to take in ſo nice an affair. If he uſed rigor, he was afraid their friends, and relations, who were very powerful, might raiſe dangerous diſturbances to revenge their death; if he pardoned them, he apprehended this might encourage others to the like attempts.

[l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. & c. 104. Suet, in Tiber. c. 21. [n] Suet. ibid. c. 16. [o] Dio, l. lv. p. 556.

tempts. In this perplexity he passed several nights without being able to take the least rest, or come to any resolution. At length Livia, by her refined artifices, drew from him the true cause of his disquiet and uneasiness. Dion Cassius relates a conference between her and the emperor, which seems rather to have been framed by him than real [o]. However that be, it is certain, that she, by many ingenious and politic arguments, convinced him, that it was safer in so critical a conjuncture to use clemency than rigor. Pursuant to her advice, Augustus sent for Cinna, and taking him into his closet, charged him with the conspiracy, named to him all his accomplices, and shewed himself thoroughly informed of the place, time, and other circumstances, which the conspirators had agreed on in their last meeting. Cinna was thunderstruck, as we may well imagine, when he saw his treason thus discovered, and himself in the power of the person whom he sought to destroy, without any possible means of escaping the punishment due to his crime. His surprise was still greater when Augustus, instead of treating him as a traitor, only upbraided him in a gentle manner with ingratitude, putting him in mind of the many favours he had bestowed upon him, and adding, that he was resolved to get the better of his obstinacy; and therefore not only freely forgave him, but, for his sake, all those he had seduced into the same wicked designs; "and to shew you," said he, "that I am sincerely reconciled to you, I now name you "consul for the ensuing year." This generous behaviour made such a deep impression upon the mind of Cinna, that he continued, from that time to the hour of his death, inviolably attached to the interest of Augustus and his family [p]. It was about this time, and perhaps on this occasion, that the people offered him the title of Dominus, that is, Lord or Master, which he not only refused, but published an edict, forbidding any one to address him under that name; a name peculiar to masters with respect to their slaves, and therefore no less injurious to him than the Roman people [q]. Towards the end of this year, the people earnestly entreated him to recal his daughter Julia; but he answered, "That fire and "water should sooner meet than they two;" and when the people were very pressing with him, he could not refrain his anger, but, in a violent passion, wished "they might have "such

He is pardoned by Augustus.

[o] Idem ibid. p. 557. l. i. c. 9. p. 318, 319. l. lv.

[p] Idem ibid. Senec. de clemen.

[q] Suet in Octav. c. 53. Xiphil. l. lv.

"ſuch wives and ſuch daughters. However, they prevailed upon him at length to change the place of her confinement, and to remove her from the iſland to the continent; but he would not by no means ſuffer her to return to Rome [r].

Julia removed to the continent.

In the beginning of the enſuing year, when Cn. Cornelius Cinna, who had conſpired againſt Auguſtus, and L. Valerius Meſſala were conſuls, Tiberius was ſent into Germany, to complete the conqueſt of that country, and keep in awe the ſeveral nations which had been ſome years before ſubdued by him and his brother Druſus. C. Sentius Saturninus, the laſt year's conſul, an officer of known valour and great experience, was appointed by Auguſtus to command under him, as one who was well acquainted with the country, he having been formerly Auguſtus's lieutenant in thoſe parts. Velleius Paterculus the hiſtorian attended Tiberius in this expedition, and ſerved under him in quality of præfectus equitum, or commander of horſe; which poſt had been held by his father, and at his death was conferred upon him. He tells us, that Tiberius, entering Germany, over-ran the country of the Caninefates, now the province of Utrecht; that from thence he advanced againſt the Attuati and Bructeri, that is, the people of the territory of Munſter, whom be eaſily reduced; that the Cheruſci, the inhabitants of the preſent duchies of Brunſwic and Lunenbourg, ſubmitted at his approach; that he made himſelf maſter of all the countries lying on the Viſurgis and the Lupias, now the Weſer and the Lyppe; and that putting his troops into winter-quarters on the banks of the Lupias, he returned to Rome towards the end of December, where he was received with loud acclamations by all ranks of men [s].

The exploits of Tiberius in Germany.

In this and the following year, Rome was afflicted with a dreadful famine, inſomuch, that all foreigners, gladiators, athletæ or wreſtlers, and ſlaves, except phyſicians and ſchoolmaſters, were driven out of the city, and ordered to keep at eighty miles diſtance from the capital, Auguſtus himſelf ſending away the greater part of his own ſlaves and attendants. On this occaſion he doubled his uſual largeſſes, ordering a certain quantity of corn to be weekly diſtributed among the indigent citizens, and proviſions to be brought from Sicily, Sardinia, and the neighbouring countries at the public expence, and ſold at a low rate. This ſtill more gained him the

A famine in Rome.

[r] Suet. & Dio, ibid.

[s] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 104, 105, 106.

the affections of the people, who were therefore for decreeing him new honours, which he abſolutely refuſed; but the glory which accrued to him from a ſolemn embaſſy ſent this year to Rome in the name of the Parthian nation, is greatly celebrated by all the writers of thoſe times; for the Parthians, quite tired with the troubles that were daily raiſed in their country by pretenders to the crown, had at length recourſe to Auguſtus, begging him to give them a king. The emperor, highly pleaſed with this embaſſy, named Vonones, one of the ſons of Phrahates, who had been ſent to Rome, as we have obſerved above, commending him both to the Parthian embaſſadors, and the Roman governors in the eaſt. The Parthian nobility received him with great joy, and placed him on the throne; which Auguſtus was no leſs proud of, than if he had ſubdued that warlike nation [t]. The next year, M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Aruntius, being conſuls, Tiberius, returning into Germany, purſued his conqueſts there with ſurpriſing rapidity, if Velleius his hiſtorian, or rather panegyriſt, is to be credited. He firſt ſubdued the Chauci (R), the moſt flouriſhing and numerous nation of Germany, and then the Langobardi or Lombardi, who ſurpaſſed in fierceneſs all the inhabitants of that vaſt continent. He over-ran and brought under ſubjection all the countries between the Rhine and the Albis or the Elbe, while his fleet ſtruck terror into the warlike and barbarous nations bordering on the ocean. In ſhort, the Roman enſigns and eagles were revered and adored by numberleſs nations, who, till the arrival of the invincible Tiberius, had never heard of the Roman name. Such is the account which Velleius gives us of the victories and exploits of Tiberius [u]. But another writer, unbiaſſed by any affection or prejudice, tells us, that Tiberius indeed over-ran all the countries between the Albis and the Viſurgis; but performed

Auguſtus appoints Vonones king of Parthia.

Tiberius over-runs great part of Germany.

formed

[t] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 748. Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 2. Joſeph. p. 620. [u] Vell. Patercul. ibid.

(R) The Chauci inhabited eaſt Frieſland, the counties of Oldenburg and Hoya, and part of the archbiſhopric of Breme: The Longobardi or Langobardi that part of the marquiſate of Brandenburg which is now called Middlemarck, and lies between the Elb and the Oder: The Semnones part of Holſatia and Sileſia: And the Hermunduri part of Voitland, of Miſnia, of Upper Saxony, and of the langravedom of Thuringen.

formed nothing which he thinks worth mentioning, th both Tiberius and Auguſtus were honoured with the tit of Imperator on account of the pretended ſucceſs of th campaign, and Sentius Saturninus with the enſigns of t umph [w]. While Tiberius was carrying on the war

The Getuli revolt, and are ſubdued.

Germany, Cornelius Coſſus was employed in Mauritan againſt the Getuli, who, revolting from king Juba, ma ſacred all the Romans ſettled in his country, and com mitted moſt dreadful ravages in the provinces ſubject to tha prince. But Coſſus marching againſt them, overthrew th rebels with great ſlaughter, and obliged them to ſubmi upon what terms he thought fit to impoſe upon them; fo which he likewiſe was honoured with the privileges peculia to thoſe who had triumphed. This year Agrippa Poſt-

Agrippa Poſthumus diſgraced, and baniſhed.

humus, having incurred the diſpleaſure of his grandfathe Auguſtus, was by him baniſhed to the iſland of Planaſia, now Pianoſa, in the Mediterranean ſea. Some writers tell us, that Auguſtus conceived an irreconcileable hatred to him on account of his irregular and ſcandalous life, which he thought a diſgrace to his family; whence, when mention was made of him, or the two Julias, he uſed to ſay with a profound ſigh, "O, had I lived without a wife, or died "without children!" nor did he commonly call them by any other name than his three impoſthumes. But Tacitus aſcribes the diſgrace of young Agrippa not to any vices of his own, but to the arts and ambitious views of Livia, who was glad to remove the only perſon who ſtood in her ſon's way to the abſolute power. As Auguſtus was now very old, ſays that writer, Livia had obtained ſuch an aſcendant over him, that, to pleaſe her, he baniſhed into the iſland of Planaſia his only ſurviving grandſon Agrippa Poſthumus, one indeed deſtitute of extraordinary talents, in his temper untractable, and ſtupidly conceited of his own ſtrength, but guilty of no miſdemeanour or tranſgreſſion [x].

THE next year, when A. Licinius Nerva and Q. Cæcilius Metellus were conſuls, Rome had three mighty wars to maintain, viz. one in Germany, another in Pannonia, and the third in Dalmatia. In Germany, Maroboduus king of the Marcomanni (S), a prince of extraordinary ſtrength, which

[w] Dio, l. lv. p. 557. [x] Tacit. annal. l i. c. 3.

(S) The Marcomanni inhabited firſt that country which lie between the Rhine, the Danube, the Cochera, and the Necker From

which was a great merit among the Germans, of uncommon addreſs, and great perſonal courage and experience in military affairs, having raiſed a formidable army, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, threatened the countries lately ſubdued by Tiberius, nay, Italy, itſelf, with an invaſion. Againſt him was ſent Tiberius, who arriving in Illyricum, divided the numerous forces he had under his command into two bodies. The one he put under the conduct of C. Sentius Saturninus, who, purſuant to Tiberius's order, taking his rout through the territories of the Catti, and opening himſelf a paſſage through the Hercynian foreſt (T), brought his legions to the confines of the Marcomanni, called by the antients Boiohemi. As for Tiberius himſelf, he ſeemed to be in no great haſte to enter the liſts with the king of the Marcomanni; for, under various pretences, he put off his march, and continued in Illyricum, as if he were afraid of the enemy, or deſigned to ſpin out the war. Auguſtus was old, and Tiberius

Tiberius ſent againſt Maroboduus king of the Marcomanni.

From thence they paſſed with the Harudes and Seduſii into Boiohemia, now Bohemia, and having driven out the Boii, ſettled there. Velleius Paterculus gives us an account of their migration under the conduct of Maroboduus (39). They made themſelves afterwards maſters likewiſe of Moravia. They were in proceſs of time driven out of Bohemia by the Sclavonians, whoſe deſcendents hold that kingdom to this day.

(T) Julius Cæſar ſpeaks in his commentaries of this foreſt thus: "It is nine days journey over; we cannot otherwiſe de-" ſcribe it, becauſe the Germans have no fixed meaſures of di-" ſtances. It begins on the confines of the Helvetii, Nemetes, " and Rauraci, (that is, of Switzerland, Baſil, and Spires) and ex-" tends along the Danube to the borders of the Daci and Arnates " (that is, to Tranſilvania); then turning from the river to the " left, it runs through an infinite number of countries. None " could ever yet come to the end of it, or know its utmoſt " extent, tho' ſome have gone ſixty days journey in it (40)." Mela gives this foreſt an immenſe length; for, according to him, it extended from the Rhine to the country of the antient Sarmatæ, which is at preſent a conſiderable part of Muſcovy. In proceſs of time the Hercynian foreſt was grubbed up, and inhabited by different nations. The black foreſt and the foreſt of Bohemia, were formerly parts of the Hercynian.

(39) Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 108.

(40) Cæſar comment l. vi. c. 25.

rius well knew how much it would be for his intereſt have at his death an army under his command ready ſecond his ambitious views. Be that as it will, he paſſ great part of the ſummer in a ſtate of inaction, at the he of a numerous and well diſciplined army. In the me time, M. Valerius Meſſalinus, having, by Auguſtus's orde led the troops he commanded in Dalmatia and Pannon into Illyricum, to reinforce Tiberius's army there, the i habitants of thoſe two countries, being now awed by r Roman garriſons, conſpired to ſhake off the yoke, and r cover their antient liberties, under the conduct of tw

The Pannonians and Dalmatians revolt.

chiefs of the ſame name. The two Batos, for ſo they we called, raiſed each in his own country an hundred thouſan foot and nine thouſand horſe, ſlew all the Romans who ha ſettled in Pannonia or Dalmatia, over-ran the neighbourin countries ſubject to the Romans, and penetrating into Ma cedon, committed there moſt dreadful ravages. The tw chiefs had agreed to act jointly or ſeparately, as occaſio ſhould require, and not to lay down their arms till they ha delivered their reſpective countries, and all Germany, fro the Roman bondage. This general and unexpected inſu rection filled Rome with terror and confuſion. The em peror, having aſſembled the ſenate, inſtead of leſſening magnified the danger, telling the conſcript fathers, that un leſs a new army was raiſed with all poſſible expedition, the might in ten days ſee the enemy at the gates of Rome Levies were therefore made without delay, the veteran were ordered to return to their colours, and not onl freed-men, but great numbers of ſlaves, were admitted int the legions. By this means a numerous army was raiſed

Germanicus appointed to make head againſt them.

and the command of it given to Germanicus, the ſon o Druſus and nephew of Tiberius, a youth of extraordinar accompliſhments. As for Auguſtus, he left the capital, an went to reſide at Ariminum, whence he could with mor eaſe and quickneſs ſend his orders to the two general and aſſiſt them with his advice in the carrying on of a wa which he looked upon as the moſt dangerous one he had y been engaged in, the enemy's troops being very numerou well diſciplined, and at no great diſtance from Italy, whic if any misfortune ſhould happen either to Tiberius or Ge manicus, they would not fail to invade, and might over-r before a new army could be raiſed [y]. Tiberius no ſoon hea

Tiberius leads his army againſt them.

[y] Dio, l. lv. p. 569, & ſeq.

heard that Germanicus was appointed to command againſt the revolted Pannonians and Dalmatians, than he turned his arms againſt them, hoping he ſhould be able to reduce them before the arrival of Germanicus, whom he now looked upon as his rival, and therefore would have willingly deprived of the glory, which might accrue to him from that expedition. With this view, quitting Illyricum, he encamped in the country which parted Pannonia from the kingdom of Maroboduus, to prevent the conjunction of the Pannonians and the Marcomanni. But in the mean time Bato the Pannonian laid ſiege to Sirmium (U); and tho' defeated by Cæcina Severus, governor of Mœſia, had again recruited his army, and obliged Cæcina to quit the field. On the other hand, Bato the Dalmatian laid ſiege to Salona (W), and tho' wounded in the attack of the place, yet marched at the head of his troops to meet Meſſalinus, whom Tiberius, had detached againſt him, gave him battle, and put him to the rout. The Roman general being

The tranſactions of this campaign.

(U) Sirmium, now Sirmiſch, was in former times the metropolis of Pannonia inferior, and the place which the emperors choſe for their reſidence, when the affairs of the empire called them into thoſe parts. Many laws were publiſhed at Sirmium by the emperors, which Jacobus Gothofredus has with great pains collected. The emperor Probus was killed in this city, and Theodoſius, if we believe Aurelius Victor, firſt ſaluted emperor by the Romans who were here in garriſon. The emperor Decius was born in a village called Budalia, or Bubalia, in the neighbourhood of this city. Pliny places it near the confluence of the Save and a river which he calls the Bacuntius (41).

(W) Salona, one of the chief cities of Illyricum, ſtood on the Adriatic ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent city of Spalatro. It became afterwards a Roman colony, as appears from ſeveral antient medals and inſcriptions, in which it is called ſometimes Colonia Julia, ſometimes Colonia Martia, and ſometimes Colonia Claudia Auguſta. It is mentioned by Lucan in the following verſe:

" Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas (42).

Salona was the native city of the emperor Diocleſian, who retired hither after he had abdicated the empire.

(41) Plin. l. iii. c. 35.

(42) Lucan. l. iv. ver. 304.

obliged in his retreat to pass through certain defiles, was there unexpectedly shut up, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. However, he found means to make his escape without losing a man, which Paterculus magnifies as an exploit worthy of a triumph; but Dion Cassius assures us, that Tiberius ascribed it wholly to Bato's generosity, and that he afterwards acknowledged it as a favour, and rewarded him for it. However that be, the two Batos soon after united their forces, and encamping on mount Almus in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, kept that place blocked up, and laid the country to a great distance under contribution. Tiberius detached Rhymetalces, a petty king of Thrace, against them, who gained indeed some advantages over them, but was not able, tho' joined by A. Cæcina governor of Mœsia, at the head of a considerable body of Roman troops, to dislodge them [z]. At length Tiberius, who had hitherto acted only by his lieutenants, marched against them in person; but the enemy, not thinking it adviseable to engage him, upon the news of his approach, abandoned their post, and dividing their numerous forces into several small bodies, retired by different ways into Macedon, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. As winter drew near, Tiberius did not pursue them; but Rhymetalces and his brother Rascipolis, at the head of the Thracian auxiliaries, followed them close, and coming up with them on the confines of Macedon, gave them a great overthrow, and cut many thousands of them in pieces [a]. These are the exploits of Tiberius in this campaign, which Velleius magnifies and extols more with the partiality of a panegyrist, than the sincerity of an historian [b]. As for Germanicus, he did not, it seems, enter Dalmatia this year.

Upon the approach of winter, Tiberius, according to his custom, returned to Rome, where M. Furius Camillus and Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus were soon after raised to the consulate. During their administration, embassadors came to Rome, both from the Jews and Samaritans, to accuse Archelaus, to whom Augustus had given the half of his father Herod's kingdom under the name of ethnarchy, of male-administration, tyranny and oppression. Hereupon Archelaus being called to Rome to answer the charge brought

[z] Dio, ibid. p. 569----571. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 114, &c.
[a] Dio, ibid. [b] Vell. Paterc. ibid.

brought againſt him, and not being able to juſtify himſelf before the emperor, he was by him depoſed, his goods were confiſcated, and he himſelf baniſhed to Vienna in Gaul, where he ended his days. Archelaus, being baniſhed, Auguſtus appointed Publius Sulpitius Quirinius, who, according to the Greek way of writing that name [c], is by St. Luke called Cyrenius, to be preſident of Syria, and ſent him into the eaſt to ſeize on the countries over which Archelaus had reigned, that is, Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, and reduce them to a Roman province. Coponius, a Roman knight, was ſent with him to take upon him the government of them, with the title of procurator of Judea. Theſe two arriving at Jeruſalem, ſeized all Archelaus's effects and treaſures, purſuant to the ſentence paſſed againſt him by Auguſtus, and having in great part aboliſhed the Jewiſh polity, introduced the Roman in its ſtead. Coponius took on him, in the name of Auguſtus, the adminiſtration, but in ſubordination to the preſident of Syria, Judea being made a part of that province. Thus was the power of life and death taken out of the hands of the Jews, and placed wholly in the Roman procurator and his ſubordinate officers. All taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the Roman emperor, and the Jews might now ſay with truth what they were heard to ſay ſome years after, *We have no king but Cæſar* [d]. But what diſturbances attended this change of government, we have related at length elſewhere [e]. While Cyrenius or Quirinius was in Judea, he depoſed the high-prieſt Joazar, the ſon of Boethus, and appointed Annas, the ſon of Seth, to ſucceed him in that office, which he held ſeveral years [f].

Archelaus depoſed and baniſhed.

Judea reduced to a Roman province.

EARLY in the ſpring, Tiberius and Germanicus took the field, the former againſt the Pannonians, and the latter againſt the Dalmatians. We read of no great advantages gained by Tiberius; but Germanicus obliged the Dalmatians to quit the field, and ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of their cities and caſtles, ſome of which he beſieged and took. We are told, that while he lay before one of their ſtrong-holds, and was ready to abandon the enterprize,

Exploits of Germanicus.

[c] Vide Strabo, l. xii. p. 569. [d] Dio, lv. p. 561. Joſeph. antiq. l. xvii. c. 85. & de bell. Judaic. l. ii. Lightfoot. in Johann. c. 18. ver. 31. [e] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 410, & ſeq. [f] Joſeph. ibid. l. xviii. c. 3.

terprize, on account of the vigorous oppoſition he me with, a German, by name Pulio, who ſerved under him taking up a ſtone of an enormous ſize, threw it again the wall with ſuch violence, that one of the battle ments fell with the ſhock, and brought down a ſoldier who was leaning againſt it; which ſtruck the garriſo with ſuch dread, that they abandoned the city, and re tired into the citadel, which ſoon after ſubmitted. Whil they were thus preſſed by Germanicus, a famine, occaſi oned by the laſt and this year's ravages, began to rag all over their country, and was attended by various diſ tempers, ariſing from their feeding on herbs and roots to which they were not accuſtomed. In this extremity, Bato, the chief of the Dalmatians, began to think o ſubmitting; and accordingly ſent deputies to treat with Tiberius, who received both them and Bato himſelf, when he appeared before him the next day, in a very obligin manner. The Roman aſked him from his tribunal

The Dalmatians reduced.

"What had induced him to revolt, and perſiſt ſo long
"and with ſuch obſtinacy, in his rebellion againſt Rome?"
"The Romans," anſwered Bato with great intrepidity,
"who, inſtead of ſhepherds to protect and defend us,
"ſend wolves to devour us." The kind treatment he met with from Tiberius, made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he was eaſily prevailed upon to turn his arms againſt his name-ſake and ally, whom he defeated, and inhumanly murdered, having perſuaded the garriſon of a caſtle, to which the unfortunate Pannonian had fled after the battle, to betray him into his hands. Upon his death, the greater part of the Pannonians ſubmitted; but ſome ſtill continued in arms, whom Sylvanus was charged to reduce, and left for that purpoſe in Pannonia, with a conſiderable body of Romans [g].

AUGUSTUS no ſooner heard of the ſubmiſſion of one Bato and the death of the other, than he left Ariminum, and returned to Rome, where great complaints were made to him by the knights, againſt the law which he had publiſhed ſome years before, concerning unmarried perſons and ſuch as had no children. The knights, whoſe averſion to marriage proceeded from the looſeneſs of their lives, as it generally does were very preſſing with the emperor to get this law aboliſhed. Whereupo

[g] Dio, l. lvi. 570, 571. Vell. Paterc. ibid.

Whereupon Auguſtus, having aſſembled the whole body of knights, ordered the married and unmarried perſons among them to be placed ſeparately; then, obſerving the former to be much inferior to the latter in number, he firſt addreſſed thoſe who had complied with his law, telling them, that they alone had ſerved the ends both of nature and civil ſociety; that mankind was ordained male and female to prevent mortality; that as the ſpecies could not ſubſiſt without children, ſo no commonwealth could be ſupplied either with men for the wars, or for civil employments. He added, that they alone deſerved the name of men and of fathers, and as ſuch he praiſed them, promiſing to prefer them to ſuch offices as they might tranſmit to their offſpring. To the others he made a quite different ſpeech, telling them, that he knew not by what name to call them; not by that of men, for they had performed nothing that was manly; not by that of citizens, ſince the city might periſh for them; nor by that of Romans, for they ſeemed determined to extirpate the Roman race and name; but by what name ſoever he called them, their crime, he ſaid, equalled all other crimes put together: for they were guilty of murder in not ſuffering thoſe to be born, who ſhould proceed from them; of impiety, in aboliſhing the names and honours of their fathers and anceſtors; of ſacrilege, in deſtroying their ſpecies and human nature, which owed its original to the gods, and was conſecrated to them: that, by leading a ſingle life, they overturned, as far as in them lay, the temples and altars of the gods, diſſolved the government by diſobeying its laws, betrayed their country by making it barren and waſte, and utterly demoliſhed the city by depriving it of inhabitants. He added, that he was well appriſed their leading a ſingle life did not proceed from any ſentiments of virtue, but from a looſeneſs and wantonneſs, which ought not to be encouraged nor ſuffered in any civil government. Having ended his ſpeech, he doubled the rewards and privileges of ſuch as had children, and laid heavy fines on all unmarried perſons, allowing them, however, the term of a year, in which ſpace, if they complied with the law, they were to be freed from the penalty. This law obliged all men to marry at a certain age, eſtabliſhed great exemptions and privileges to ſuch as had children, and laid heavy fines on all, who, after a certain age, continued ſingle. It was called the Papian-Popæan law, becauſe enacted by the conſuls M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Popæus Secundus, to whom the conſuls of this year C. Sulpicius Camerinus and C. Poppæus Sabinus had reſigned the faſces, after having held them

Auguſtus encourages marriage.

His ſpeech to the unmarried knights.

The Papian-Popæan law.

only six months. It was also called the Julian law, as ha ing been published by Augustus's order, who was of the Ju lian family. For the further encouragement of marriag Augustus abrogated the Voconian law (X), forbidding ma ried women to receive any legacies above a certain sum; ye that he might not seem to discourage any thing that had th appearance of virtue, he bestowed upon such women as ha vowed perpetual virginity the same rewards and privileges upon mothers [h].

New troubles in Dalmatia and Pannonia.

During these transactions at Rome, the war broke ou anew in Dalmatia and Pannonia, Bato, who had submitted th year before, being the ringleader of the revolt, whether upo some new provocation, or merely from the fickleness of hi temper

(X) Nothing was more common, before the publication of th law, than for men to give excessive legacies to women, and leave them by will the whole estate of a wealthy family. One the laws of the twelve tables impowered all citizens to appoi whomsoever they pleased to be their heirs, without regard to fa or relations. This law was attended with inconveniencies; de bauchery was encreased by it, and it became more easy to debauc a sex, who are not always deaf to their interest. Besides, it wa no uncommon thing to see women, who were by legacies becom richer than their husbands, insulting them, and behaving them selves in their families with great haughtiness. To remedy th evil, Q. Voconius, tribune of the people, drew up a new law which he at last got passed in the comitia. The chief heads o this law were, 1. Every citizen was forbidden to make any wo man whatsoever universal legatee, even an only daughter not ex cepted. 2. A daughter's fortune, after the death of her father was to be proportioned to his estate, or to be "pro rata" of what h had left, according to the estimation of prudent men; and gene rally speaking, the daughter was allowed only one fourth of he father's estate. 3. It was enacted, that all the legacies of the te tator should not exceed one half of his estate (43). This testamen tary law had been preceded by another, which C. Furius, tribun of the people, had got passed, and which was thence called th Furian law. It forbad, according to Ulpian, Pomponius, and Ju tinian, any Roman citizen to leave by legacy above the value o one thousand asses to any one person, and at the same time con demned the legatee to pay four times the sum which was give him above what the law stipulated; so that the Voconian la ought to be looked upon as a supplement to this, which was probab

(43) Cic. de finibus, & Verrina 1. Aul. Gel. Noc. Attic. l. x c. 10. Pædian. in Var. 1.

temper, we know not. Germanicus, who had acquired in the laſt year's war a perfect knowledge of the country, and of the manner of fighting in uſe among the rebels, was ordered to lead the ſame legions againſt them, which he had commanded the year before. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Rhætinum, a ſtrong city in Dalmatia, where he was in imminent danger of periſhing, with the greateſt part of his army; for the inhabitants, having, after a faint reſiſtance, abandoned the town, and retired into the citadel, Germanicus, at the head of his legions, entered the place, with a deſign to attack the citadel; but while the Romans were buſy in planting their machines and ladders, they ſaw themſelves all on a ſudden ſurrounded by flames, the inhabitants having filled their houſes with all ſorts of combuſtible materials before they abandoned them, and appointed ſome reſolute perſons to ſet fire to them when the Romans were entered. The legionaries, to avoid the fire, crowded round the citadel, which ſtood at ſome diſtance from the houſes: but, by avoiding one kind of death, they met with another; for the beſieged plyed them with ſuch ſhowers of darts, arrows, and ſtones from the citadel, that the ground was in an inſtant covered with heaps of dead bodies. In this extremity the Romans attempted to ſcale the fortreſs; but met with ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance as quite diſheartened them. Nothing therefore now remained but to attempt a retreat through the flames, and this they effected, but with great loſs, many of them being cruſhed by the ruins of the houſes, ſuffocated by the ſmoke, or deſtroyed by the fire, which with great violence flamed out of the houſes on either ſide the ſtreet thro' which they paſſed. In the night the beſieged abandoned the fortreſs, which began to take fire, and concealed themſelves in the neighbouring

Germanicus's troops in great danger.

ly grown out of uſe in the time of Q. Voconius. Cato the cenſor made a ſpeech in favour of the Voconian law, which he inſerted in his book "de originibus," and which was in being in Livy's time. There are ſome fragments of it ſtill extant in Aulus Gellius. Cicero fixes the paſſing of the Voconian law to the year of Rome 584, when Quintus Marcius Philippus and Cneius Servilius Cæpio were conſuls (44). From that time it continued in force to the reign of Auguſtus, who revoked it in favour of Livia, to whom he was reſolved, as Dion Caſſius informs us, to deviſe by will great part of his eſtate; but that hiſtorian ſpeaks ſo ambiguouſly of the Voconian law, that he has given the civilians occaſion to put different interpretations upon it.

(44) Cic. de ſenect.

He reduces ſeveral cities

neighbouring woods. Hereupon Germanicus, having waite till both the city and citadel were reduced to aſhes, led h legions againſt Sertium, another city of great importance in th ſame country, which he inveſted, and reduced in a ſho time, tho' Tiberius had in vain attempted the reduction of i the year before. Being encouraged with this ſucceſs, and n enemy appearing in the field, he divided his army into ſevera bodies, and laying ſiege to different places at the ſame time, made himſelf maſter of moſt of their ſtrong-holds. But, in the mean time, Auguſtus, impatient to ſee this war ended, ordered Tiberius to march likewiſe into Dalmatia, and haſten the final reduction of that country. Tiberius, without loſing time in beſieging and taking cities, went in ſearch of Bato, who had under his command a conſiderable body of Pannonians and Dalmatians; and having met him in the neighbourhood of Anderium or Andetrium (Y), a ſtrong caſtle, ſituated on a ſteep and inacceſſible rock, offered him battle; but Bato declining an engagement, retired into the caſtle, and poſted his troops on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, where he thought the enemy would ſcarce venture to attack them. Tiberius boldly advanced through the narrow paſſages among the mountains to the foot of the rock on which Andetrium ſtood, with a deſign to beſiege it; but was greatly alarmed, when he ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden ſurrounded by the enemy, who, deſcending from the mountains, had ſeized on the defiles, and by that means cut off his retreat. He expected to find at Andetrium the Caudine forks; and truly he muſt have inevitably periſhed with his whole army, had the Dalmatians

The ſiege of Andetrium by Tiberius.

(Y) This city is called by Ptolemy Andecrium, by Dion Caſſius Anderium, but that it's true name was Andetrium, is manifeſt from the following inſcription to be ſeen in Spon:

" Item viam Gabiniam
" Ab Salonis Andetrium aperuit
" Et muniit per Leg. vii, (45)

Pliny likewiſe calls it Andecrium (46); but Strabo, Andetrium. It ſtood on a ſteep rock, and was ſurrounded on all ſides by deep vallies and torrents, which rendered it almoſt inacceſſible (47). It is now known by the name of Cliſſa (48).

(45) Vide Spon. miſc. erud. antiq. p. 179. (46) Plin. l. iii. c. 22. (47) Dio, l. lvi. p, 579. (48) Spon. itiner. l. ii. p. 82.

Dalmatians ſhewed as much bravery and reſolution as the Samnites did on the like occaſion; but while Tiberius gave all up for loſt, as not being able either to retire or advance, the cowardly Dalmatians, ſeized with a panic, abandoned their poſts, and, retreating in diſorder to the tops of their mountains, left all the avenues open to the Roman general, who thereupon advancing without oppoſition to the foot of the rock on which the caſtle ſtood, ſummoned it to ſurrender. Bato, finding he could not depend upon his men, hearkened to the offers made him, and leaving the caſtle in the night, delivered himſelf up to Tiberius, who received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and allowed him to retire to what part of the world he pleaſed, after he had ſolemnly promiſed never to bear arms againſt the Romans. But the garriſon of Andetrium ſtill held out, and the place was not taken but after repeated aſſaults, in which great numbers of the Romans loſt their lives. At length they capitulated, and ſurrendered upon honourable terms, which Tiberius religiouſly obſerved [i]. At the ſame time, Germanicus made himſelf maſter of Arduba, a town no-ways inferior in ſtrength to Andetrium, and defended by as numerous a garriſon; but the reduction of that important place was more owing to the diſagreement which reigned among the inhabitants, than to the valour of the Romans; for the greater part of the citizens being for ſurrendering and ſubmitting to the yoke, the women more fond of their antient laws and liberties than the men, joining ſome Roman deſerters, and falling upon their huſbands, made a great ſlaughter of them. But the men prevailing at length ſubmitted, and the unhappy women, diſdaining to outlive the loſs of their liberty, either threw themſelves headlong from the walls, or ſetting fire to their houſes, conſumed themſelves and their children in the flames. After this the two Roman generals uniting their forces, over-ran all Dalmatia and Pannonia, reſtoring every-where peace and tranquillity, and obliging the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and return to their former employments. The war being thus ended, to the great ſatisfaction of Auguſtus, Tiberius and Germanicus returned to Rome, where they were decreed triumphal honours, and two triumphal arches, which by a decree of the ſenate were to be erected in Pannonia, and adorned with magnificent trophies. The title of imperator was conferred on Auguſtus, and Germanicus was allowed to ſtand for the conſulate before he attained the age required in other candi-

Bato ſubmits.

Arduba taken by Germanicus.

The war ended.

Honours decreed to Tiberius and Germanicus.

dates,

[i] Idem ibid. p. 578---581.

dates, and to vote in the ſenate before the ſenators of con lar dignity. As for Tiberius, it was decreed, that his ſ Druſus, though he had no ſhare in the war, ſhould be a mitted into the ſenate, and deliver his opinion, after he h executed the office of quæſtor, before thoſe who had be prætors. The lieutenants both of Tiberius and Germanic were rewarded with prætorian honours, that is, were allow all the honours and privileges which thoſe enjoyed who h been prætors [k].

BUT the joy, which the total reduction of Pannonia ar Dalmatia occaſioned in Rome, was allayed and changed int the deepeſt melancholy by the diſmal news of the entire defe of Quintilius Varus by the Germans under the conduc of Arminius, which was brought to Rome five days after th arrival of Germanicus and Tiberius. Quintilius Varus wa born, as Velleius Paterculus expreſſes it, rather of an illuſtri ous than a noble family, had governed Syria, and been re moved from thence into Germany to keep thoſe countries i awe, which had been lately ſubdued by the Romans. Whe he firſt entered Syria, he found that province rich, ſays Vel leius, and was himſelf poor; but when he came away, h was rich, and the province poor. In Germany he purſue the ſame methods of filling his coffers as in Syria, loading th people with heavy taxes, and ſelling without diſtinction to th natives thoſe employments which his predeceſſors uſed freely to beſtow on ſuch as were nobly born, or had ſignalized their attachment to the Romans. The Germans before the arrival of Varus had begun to bear the yoke with leſs reluctance; they had quitted their foreſts, built ſome cities, where they lived in a ſociable manner, under the protection of the Roman laws, and, forgetting their native ſavageneſs, had for ſome time applied themſelves to the peaceable arts of huſbandry. But the extortions and rapines of the new governor revived in that warlike nation their antient love of liberty, eſtranged their minds from Rome, and inſpired them with an eager deſire of ſhaking off a yoke which they could no longer bear. Among the Germans was a young nobleman of extraordinary parts, of uncommon penetration, and great valour named Arminius. He was the ſon of Sigiſmer, one of th moſt powerful lords of the Catti, had ſerved with great repu tation in the Roman armies, and been honoured by Auguſtu with the privileges of a Roman citizen and the title of knigh But the love he had for his country getting the better of h gratitude, he reſolved to improve the general diſcontent whic reigne

Quintilius Varus provokes the Germans by his extortions.

[k] Dio, Vell. Patercul. ibid.

reigned in the nation, to the advantage of his countrymen, and deliver them from the bondage of a foreign yoke. With this view he engaged underhand, by means of his friends and emiſſaries, in a conſpiracy againſt the Romans, the chief lords and leading men of all the nations between the Rhine and the Elb; and then, to draw Varus from the neighbourhood of the former river, where he might with great eaſe and quickneſs receive ſuccours from Gaul, he ſuggeſted to him the neceſſity of ſhewing himſelf to the inhabitants of the more diſtant provinces, of adminiſtering juſtice among them, and accuſtoming them by his example to live after the Roman manner, which, he ſaid, would more effectually render them obedient to Rome, than the Roman ſword. As Varus was a man of a peaceable temper, indolent, and a great lover of his eaſe, he readily came into the propoſal of the crafty Arminius, and, quitting the neighbourhood of the Rhine, marched into the country of the Cheruſci. There he made it his whole buſineſs to civilize the barbarians, by introducing among them the Roman laws and manners. He was continually employed in hearing cauſes, and deciding civil controverſies; inſomuch, that his tent looked more like the tribunal of a prætor, than the prætorium of a general. And indeed this was a more ſuitable employment to the genius of Varus, than military expeditions; not that he wanted courage, but becauſe he loved his eaſe, and thought he could better tame the barbarians by acting the law-giver than the general. In the mean time, the conſpiracy being ripe for execution, and the Germans ready to riſe upon the firſt notice, Arminius, under pretence of clearing the high-ways of robbers, and keeping ſome places in awe, as if they deſigned to revolt, perſuaded Varus to ſend out ſeveral detachments; by which means his army being weakened, ſome diſtant nations in Germany roſe up in arms, by Arminius's directions, while thoſe, through which he was to paſs in marching againſt them, pretended to be in a ſtate of profound tranquillity, and ready to join the Romans againſt their rebellious countrymen. Varus upon the firſt news of the revolt, marched with three legions, a conſiderable body of horſe, and ſix cohorts, to reduce the rebels, being attended by Arminius and his father Sigimer, who, taking upon them to be his guides, led him into a thick foreſt, ſurrounded on all ſides with ſteep hills and marſhy grounds. There while the legionaries

Arminius ſtirs up the Germans againſt the Romans.

His treachery.

Varus and his legions ſurprized and ſurrounded.

gionaries were busy in cutting down trees to open themselves a passage through the forest, and no-ways upon their guard, as not suspecting any treachery, a great body of Germans appeared unexpectedly, and discharging upon them a shower of darts, killed a great number of them, before they could rally and put themselves in a posture of defence. However, they formed themselves at last in order of battle, so far as the ground would allow; but a heavy rain falling, which rendered their arms almost quite useless, and the barbarians pouring in upon them hourly in vast crouds, they attempted to retire to a neighbouring valley; but finding all the avenues beset with numerous bodies of the enemy, they were forced to continue all that night, and the next day, exposed to the darts and arrows which the barbarians incessantly showered upon them. In this extremity Varus, giving up all for lost, and being dangerously wounded, put an end to his life with his own sword, following therein the example of his father and grandfather, who had both fallen by their own hands, the former after the battle of Philippi, and the latter after that of Pharsalia, or, as some writers will have it, after the defeat of Domitius in Africa. Most of the chief officers scorning to outlive their general, or to be made prisoners by the barbarians, laid violent hands on themselves. The greatest part of the cavalry opened themselves a way through the enemy sword in hand, and made their escape; with them Vala Numonius, one of Varus's lieutenants, abandoning the foot, which he commanded, arrived safe at the Rhine, where he soon after perished as a deserter, but of what kind of death our author has not thought fit to acquaint us. Cesonius, another of Varus's lieutenants, after the retreat of the cavalry, and the death of Varus and most of the other officers, was for surrendering at discretion. But this motion cost him dear; for he was immediately tried as a coward by the surviving officers, sentenced to death, and executed; to such a degree were cowards abhorred in the Roman armies. And now a very small number of the legionaries, and scarce any officers, being left alive, the enemy abandoned them as it grew dark, and fell upon the baggage. In the mean time, the Roman trumpets sounding, probably to call those together who were dispersed up and down the forest, the barbarians imagined, that Asprenas, who was quartered at a small distance from that neighbourhood, was come to the assistance of his countrymen; and

Varus and most of the officers lay violent hands on themselves.

and therefore after having plundered the baggage, they retired in the night, and gave the few legionaries, who outlived that fatal day, an opportunity of saving themselves by flight. Thus were three complete legions and six cohorts almost entirely cut off, the greatest overthrow, if Velleius is to be credited, the Romans had received ever since the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians [l]. The legions that perished on this occasion were the best of the whole empire for valour, discipline, and experience; so that the news of this loss threw the city into the utmost consternation, there being few families there that had not a share in the common misfortune. As for Augustus, he set no bounds to his grief, but upon the first news of so dreadful and unexpected an overthrow, he tore his garment, and, like one beside himself, knocked his head against the wall, crying out, "Restore the legions, Varus." This he was observed to do in the transports of his grief for several months, letting in the mean time his hair and beard grow, and abandoning himself entirely to grief and sorrow. However, he did not forget to provide with all possible care for the safety of Rome and Italy: he placed guards in all the quarters of the city, to prevent tumults and disturbances; he raised new levies, obliging all the Roman youth, who were able to bear arms, to list themselves, confiscating the estates of such as refused to give in their names, and even threatening the most refractory with death: he vowed the great games to Jupiter, as had been formerly done in the wars with the Marsi and Cimbri: in short, Augustus never forgot this fatal day, but observed it the remaining part of his life as a day of mourning. Some time after the news of this misfortune had reached Rome, the head of Quintilius Varus was sent to Augustus by Maroboduus king of the Marcomanni; but what induced him to make that present to the emperor, history does not inform us. From his having the head of the deceased general, it was concluded at Rome, that he had contributed to his destruction. However that be, the emperor, though he had great reason to be displeased with Varus, received his remains with great respect, and caused them to be honourably interred in the tomb of his ancestors [m]. Dion tells us, that when news of this defeat was first brought to Rome,

Most of the legionaries cut in pieces. Year after the flood 2010. After Christ 11. Of Rome 759.

The concern of Augustus for this overthrow.

The head of Varus sent to Rome.

[l] Dio, p. 582---585. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 117. Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 62.

[m] Dio, ibid. Suet. in Octav. p. 182.

Rome, no-body doubted there, but the Germans after complete a victory would paſs the Rhine, and invade at ſame time Gaul and Italy; but that the fear and conſt nation which had ſeized the city were much abated, wh they underſtood, that Lucius Aſprenas, nephew to Var guarded the banks of the Rhine, and that the barbarians, tisfied with the advantages they had gained, neglected improve them. However, as the emperor aſcribed this fa overthrow to the anger of the gods, and gave credit to ſ veral pretended prodigies (Z), which were related to hin his fears were not quite removed till the enſuing yea

Tiberius ſent into Germany.

when Tiberius after the election of the new conſuls, Cornelius Dolabella and C. Junius Silanus, leaving Rom paſſed the Alps, and entering Germany, obliged the rebels though elated with their late ſucceſs, to retire from th neighbourhood of the Rhine, and lay aſide all thought of raiſing diſturbances in Gaul. Velleius Paterculus tells u that he over-ran great part of the country, that he force Arminius to fly before him, that he penetrated into th countries of the Catti and Cheruſci, which he laid waſt with fire and ſword, and in ſhort, that he fully revenge the death of Varus, and the ſlaughter of his legions [n]. But whatever that biaſſed hiſtorian may write in com mendation of Tiberius, Dion Caſſius aſſures us, that he ne ver attempted to bring back to their duty any of the re volted nations, but kept his troops in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, not daring to ſtir from that river for fear of ſome ſurprize. In the latter end of the year, he cele brated the birth-day of Auguſtus in his camp with public games, and then returned to Rome [o].

THIS

[n] Vell. Patercul. ibid.

[o] Dio, ibid. 586.

(Z) The temple of Mars was ſtruck with lightning: a ſwarm of graſhoppers appeared over the city, and were diſperſed by th ſwallows: great rocks fell from the top of the Alps, and fir was ſeen to iſſue out of the ground in various places: a ſtatu of Victory on the confines of Germany, with its face toward that country, changed its poſture, and turned its face toward Italy. Theſe pretended prodigies gave the old emperor grea uneaſineſs, which was not removed till the next year, whe Tiberius entered Germany at the head of a numerous army

THIS year the ingenious and celebrated poet Ovid was banished to Tomos (A), for seeing some lewd and scandalous action of Augustus, who had not even in his old age renounced the vices of his youth. That this was the true cause of his disgrace and misfortune, the poet himself tells us in express terms: "Why did I see," says he, "what "I ought not to have seen? Why did I make my eyes "criminal [p]?" (B). Fear restrained him, as is evident, from

The poet Ovid banished.

[p] Ovid. Trist. l. ii. ad August.

(A) Tomos, Tomi, or Tomis, stood on the Euxine sea, and was the metropolis of Lower Mœsia: for Mœsia extended from the confluence of the Save and the Danube to the Euxine sea, being bounded to the south by the mountains of Dalmatia, and to the north by mount Hæmus; and was divided into the Upper and Lower Mœsia; the former contained all the country that lies between the Ciabrus, now the Moravia, and the conflux of the Danube and the Save, and the latter the rest of the country to the Euxine sea; so that the Upper Mœsia comprehended part of Bosnia and Servia, and the Lower Bulgaria. The antients comprised under the name of Pontus that part of Lower Mœsia which bordered on the Pontus Euxinus; and hence the city of Tomi is by them called a city of Pontus, though it did not belong to the kingdom of Pontus properly so called, which we have elsewhere described at length (49). The antient city of Tomos is at present, according to Niger, called Constantia; according to Cœlius Calcagnius, Tomiswar; according to Giosanius, Kiow or Kiovia, there being in the neighbourhood of this last city a lake called by the inhabitants Oviduue jezero, that is, Ovid's lake. Whence it was called Tomos, is well known from the following distich out of Ovid:

"Inde Tomos dictus locus hic, quia fertur in illo
"Membra soror fratris consecuisse sui (50)."

The poet speaks of Medea.

(B) His words are;

"Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
"Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?"

(49) Vide Histor. Univers. Vol. IX. p. 371. (50) Ovid. Trist. l. iii. eleg. 9.

from explaining himſelf any farther, and letting his readers into the particulars of this myſtery (C). The pretence Auguſtus made uſe of for baniſhing him was, the poiſonous books he had wrote of the art of love; whence Sidonius Apollinaris and others aſcribe his diſgrace to the lewdneſs of his muſe, as he does himſelf in ſeveral places of his works out of complaiſance to Auguſtus, and to prevent any farther enquiries. But it is very certain, that he was in high favour with Auguſtus long after he had publiſhed his books of love; for which we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that the emperor would have inflicted ſo ſevere a puniſhment on the poet, after he had written himſelf verſes of that nature, ſome of which have reached our times, and are more ſcandalous than any we read in Ovid. As for Julia, Auguſtus's daughter, ſhe had been many years in ba-

(C) Auguſtus, though ſtricken in years, had not yet renounced the vices of his youth, but carried on an amour with a lady of great diſtinction, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us. The lady's huſband, either out of fear or complaiſance, pretended for a long time to be quite unacquainted with the whole affair; but at length the ſcandal becoming public, he grew very uneaſy, and imparted his concern, and the cauſe of it, to one Athenodorus, who had been preceptor to Tiberius, and was in great favour with Auguſtus. Not long after Auguſtus ſent a covered litter for the lady, and Athenodorus, who happened to be with the huſband when the meſſenger arrived, in order to deter Auguſtus from ſuch ſcandalous practices, and warn him of the danger, to which they expoſed him, diſguiſed himſelf in the lady's dreſs, and covering his face, placed himſelf in the litter, and was conveyed in that attire to the emperor's apartment, who was no leſs frightened than ſurprized to ſee, inſtead of the lady, whom he impatiently expected, a man with a drawn ſword in his hand ſtart out of the litter; but Athenodorus, diſcovering himſelf in that inſtant, "You ſee," ſaid he, "to what dangers your unſeaſon-"able paſſion expoſes you; an enemy inſtead of a friend might "have laid hold of this opportunity to deprive the republic of "ſo gracious a prince." Auguſtus took his advice in good part, and returned him thanks; but whether he reformed his conduct we know not (51). Some writers conjecture, that to this adventure was owing Ovid's misfortune, who, as he had free acceſs to the emperor, might have been an eye-witneſs of his fright and ſurprize; a conjecture which we dare neither warrant or reject.

(51) Zonar. l. x. ſub. fin.

baniſhment before Ovid's misfortune, and all the accomplices of her debaucheries puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. But whatever was the true cauſe of his diſgrace and baniſhment, he was confined to an inhoſpitable climate, and there lived, or rather pined, to the hour of his death, without ever being able to prevail upon the emperor, either by his friends, or his affecting letters, to mitigate the rigour of the firſt ſentence by removing him to a more friendly climate (D).

(D) Ovid was born in the conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa, as he himſelf atteſts, and conſequently was fifty complete when he was baniſhed. This he deſigned to tell us in the following lines:

" Poſtque meos ortus Piſæa vinctus oliva,
" Abſtulerat decies præmia victor eques;
" Cum maris Euxini poſitos ad læva Tomitas
" Quærere me læſi principis ira jubet. (52)."

That is, as he expreſſes himſelf better in his book, " In Iben," which he wrote on his firſt going to Tomos againſt his accuſers;

" Tempus ad hoc luſtris mihi jam bis quinque peractis."

For by no ſmall miſtake he frequently confounds the olympiads, which contained the ſpace of four years, with the Roman luſtra, containing the ſpace of five. Had he lived but ten olympiads, he had been only forty, but ten luſtra make him fifty. In his third book " Triſtium," he tells us, that he had paſſed his firſt winter in Pontus, that is, the firſt year of his baniſhment; for he ſpent the former winter in his journey:

" Frigora jam zephyri minuunt; annoque peracto,
" Longior antiquis viſa Meotis hyems:
" Impoſitamque ſibi quæ non bene pertulit Hellen,
" Tempora nocturnis æqua diurna facit (53)."

In the ſixth book he ſpeaks of the ſecond year of his baniſhment;

" Ut

(52) Ovid. Triſt. l. iv. eleg. ultima; l. iii. eleg. 12.

(53) Idem Triſt.

Several laws publiſhed by Auguſtus.

THE next year, M. Æmilius Lepidus and T. Statiliu Taurus being conſuls, Auguſtus publiſhed an edict, forbid ding

" Ut patria careo, bis frugibus area trita eſt ;
" Diſſiluit nudo preſſa bis uva pede (54)."

In his fifth book he mentions the beginning of his third winter in Pontus :

" Ut ſumus in Ponto, ter frigore conſtitit Iſter ;
" Facta eſt Euxini dura ter unda maris (55)."

In his firſt book of Pontus he takes notice of the fourth winter he lived in exile in the following lines :

" Hic me pugnantem cum frigore, cumque ſagittis,
" Cumque meo fato, quarta fatigat hyems (56)."

The fifth elegy of the fourth book " De Ponto" is addreſſed to Sextus Pompeius, who with Sextus Apuleius was conſul the year Auguſtus died, and in the ſixth of the ſame book, inſcribed to Brutus, he mentions the death of Auguſtus, and alſo of Fabius Maximus, who died, as is plain from Tacitus (57), in the firſt year of Tiberius's reign ; at which time the poet had paſſed the fifth year of his baniſhment, and was then in the ſixth, as appears from the following verſes ;

" In Scythia nobis quinquennis Olympias acta eſt,
" Jam tempus luſtri tranſit in alterius."

The ſixth year he mentions alſo in the beginning of the tenth elegy to Albinovanus ;

" Hæc mihi Cimmerio bis tertia ducitur æſtas
" Littore, pellitos inter agenda Getas."

And in the thirteenth to Carus ;

" ——— ſed me jam, Care, nivali,
" Sexta relegatum bruma ſub axe videt."

In the ſame elegy he ſpeaks of a poem, written by him on th apotheoſis of Auguſtus in the language of the Getæ;

Ab

(54) Idem. l. vi. ibid. eleg. 4. (55) Eleg. 10. (56) Ele 2.
(57) Tacit, annal. l. i. c. 5.

ding all augurs, aſtrologers, and fortune-tellers, to utter, either in private or in public, predictions concerning the death of any perſon whatſoever; not that he was under any apprehenſion himſelf, ſays our hiſtorian, for he had cauſed his nativity to be calculated, and publicly expoſed, but on account of the diſturbances which theſe impoſtors had occaſioned in ſome noble families. He likewiſe revived the edict forbidding any of the equeſtrian order to fight in the arena, threatening ſuch as ſhould dare to tranſgreſs it, with infamy, the confiſcation of their eſtates, and death itſelf. He extended his care to the diſtant provinces, ordering, that no public honours ſhould be beſtowed on the governors ſent thither, during the time of their adminiſtration, nor within ſixty days after their departure. The haughty and imperious airs which ſome proconſuls and proprætors had aſſumed, gave riſe to this edict, the emperor judging that the extraordinary honours, which were often conferred upon them, inſpired them with pride, and made them look upon thoſe, over whom they were placed, with an eye of contempt. As there were this year ſixteen perſons of diſtinction who ſtood for the prætorſhip, Auguſtus, unwilling to diſguſt any of the candidates, named them all to that dignity, but the next year reduced their number again to twelve. He raiſed Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius by his firſt wife Vipſania Agrippina, to the quæſtorſhip, though he had not yet attained the age required for the diſcharge of that employment, and named Germanicus conſul for the enſuing year [p]. After this he ſent both Tiberius and Germanicus into Germany at the head of two very numerous armies, but during the whole campaign, they did nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth recording: they paſſed the

Tiberius and Germanicus ſent into Germany.

[p] Dio. ibid. p. 586.

" Ah! pudet, & Getico ſcripſi ſermone libellum.
" Structaque ſunt noſtris barbara verba modis.
" Et placui, gratare mihi, cæpique poetæ
" Inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas."

He died in the ſeventh, or, as others will have it in the eighth, year of his baniſhment, and was buried near the city of Tomos (58).

(58) Hieronym. in Chronico.

the ſummer on, or near, the banks of the Rhine, co
tenting themſelves to keep the Germans in awe at a di
tance, and to prevent them from invading Gaul. Abo
the middle of the autumn, they repaſſed the Alps, and re
turned to the capital, without having ſo much as attemp
ed the reduction of the provinces, which had ſhaken o
the yoke, and brought ſo dreadful a calamity upon Rom
Upon their return Auguſtus honoured Tiberius, for wha

Tiberius triumphs.

exploits we know not, with a triumph, which he had for
merly refuſed him, when he had a far better claim to it [q].

And now Auguſtus, not being able, on account of hi
great age, to bear the whole burden of public affairs
aſſumed Tiberius, we may ſay, for his collegue in the ſo
vereign power, inveſting him with a far more ample an
extenſive authority, than he had ever granted to his ſon

Is aſſumed by Auguſtus for his collegue in the ſovereign power.

in-law and faithful miniſter Agrippa. The decree which
the conſcript fathers paſſed, at the emperor's requeſt, in
favour of Tiberius, was couched in the following terms: "As
" the requeſt of the people of Rome we grant to Caius Julius
" Cæſar Tiberius the ſame authority over the provinces, and
" all the armies of the Roman ſtate, which Auguſtus has held,
" which he ſtill retains and which we pray the gods he may
" long enjoy [r]." This decree, which put Tiberius in a man-
ner, upon the level with Auguſtus, was propoſed, accord-
ing to Suetonius, by the conſuls [s], no doubt at the re-
queſt, or rather by the command, of Auguſtus. The next
year, Germanicus Cæſar and Fonteius Capito being con-
ſuls, Auguſtus, by a ſpecial edict, declared the authors of all
lampoons, and ſatirical writings, attacking or blackening
the reputation of any perſon whatſoever, guilty of high trea-
ſon, and puniſhable with death. In the times of the repub-

Libels brought under the law of majeſty.

lic actions indeed were puniſhed, ſays Tacitus, but words
were free; Auguſtus was the firſt who brought libels un-
der the penalties of the law of majeſty, or of treaſon [t]. By
the ſame edict, the ædiles in the city, and the governors
in the colonies and municipia were ſtrictly enjoined to make
a diligent ſearch after all libels and lampoons, to commit
them to the flames, and to proceed with the utmoſt rigour
againſt the authors of them. This put a ſtop to the liber-
ty or rather licentiouſneſs of the libellers, but was attended
b

[q] Suet. Dio, ibid.
[r] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 12
[s] Suet. in Tiber. & Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 3.
[t] Tacit. a
nal. l. i.

by moſt dreadful conſequences under the ſucceeding emperors, who abuſed this wreſted law to the deſtruction of many innocent perſons, whom on other accounts they diſliked. Towards the end of this year, Auguſtus wrote two letters; one to the ſenate, recommending Germanicus to the conſcript fathers, and another to Tiberius, recommending the ſenate, to him; which was generally looked upon as an open declaration on the part of Auguſtus, that he deſigned to leave the ſame authority to Tiberius over the ſenate, which he himſelf had enjoyed, but would have all others, thoſe of his own family not excepted, to pay an entire obedience to that venerable body. In his letter to the ſenate he begged the fathers not to be at the trouble for the future of waiting upon him, according to their cuſtom, at his houſe, adding, that he hoped they would diſpenſe with him for not attending in the ſenate-houſe as formerly, ſuch an attendance being very inconvenient to him by reaſon of his age; he deſired they would appoint him twenty counſellors out of their body, with whom he might adviſe in matters of importance relating to the ſtate; the ſenate readily granted him his requeſt, and moreover decreed, that whatever he ſhould reſolve upon with the twenty ſenators aſſigned him, the conſuls for the year, the conſuls elect, and his adopted ſon and nephew, ſhould have the ſame force as if voted and paſſed in the ſenate [u]. The following year, when C. Silius and L. Munacius Plancus were conſuls, the fourth term of his ten years being near ended, he accepted, though much againſt his will, ſays Dion Caſſius, of the government of the republic for ten years longer; and at the ſame time renewed the tribunitial power in favour of Tiberius for the like ſpace of years [w]. As for Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, he empowered him to ſtand for the conſulate after two years, though he had not yet diſcharged the office of prætor; but as both he and Germanicus had places in the ſenate, and it was natural to ſuppoſe that their ſentiments were thoſe of Auguſtus, which none of the conſcript fathers would dare to contradict, he ordered them not to vote, or any ways declare their opinion, in ſuch matters as were debated by the conſcript fathers. Auguſtus having thus ſettled matters at home, and made his will, which he delivered to the veſtal virgins, reſolved once more to attempt the reduction of Germany, and the revenging of the death of

Auguſtus recommends the ſenate to Tiberius, and Germanicus, to the ſenate.

Renews his term of ten years the fifth time.

[u] Dio, ibid. p. 588. [w] Idem ibid.

Varus, and the loſs of his legions. With this view he raiſed two numerous armies, the one to be commanded by Tiberius, and the other by Germanicus. The latter was ordered to march this very year into Gaul, and from thence to invade the countries, which at the inſtigation of Arminius had withdrawn their obedience to Rome. As for Tiberius, he was appointed to lead his army into Illyricum, and penetrate on that ſide into the kingdom of Marobo-duus, which the Romans had not yet ſubdued. Auguſtus, however, kept him at Rome all this, and part of the following, year, when Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius were raiſed to the conſulate: the former was grandſon to the famous Sextus Pompeius, whoſe war with Auguſtus we have deſcribed in this volume: his collegue Apuleius was one of Auguſtus's chief favourites, and is ſaid to have prevailed upon him to change the ſentence of death, which he firſt pronounced againſt Ovid, into that of perpetual baniſhment. During their adminiſtration, Auguſtus, taking Tiberius for his collegue in the cenſorſhip, made a third cenſus, by which it appeared, that the number of Roman people amounted to four millions one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand, counting women and children as well as men [x]. Euſebius makes the number of Roman citizens amount to 9370000, counting probably thoſe who lived both at Rome, and in the provinces [y]. While the ceremony was performing in the field of Mars, an eagle was obſerved to fly ſeveral times round Auguſtus, and then light on a neighbouring temple over the firſt letter of Agrippa's name. This was looked upon not only by the multitude, but by Auguſtus himſelf, as an omen of his approaching end. He therefore ordered his collegue Tiberius to make the vows which were uſual at the time of the cenſus, "for the ſafety of the "Roman ſtate, and the proſperity of the citizens," ſaying, that he would not make vows which he ſhould not live to perform [z]. He was confirmed in his opinion by ſeveral other prodigies: the firſt letter of his name in an inſcription on the pedeſtal of one of his ſtatues was ſtruck off with lightning, and the ſoothſayers, who were conſulted on that occaſion, declared that he had only an hundred days to live, the letter C ſtanding for that number among the Latins; they added, that after his death he would be ranked among

Sends Germanicus into Germany.

Makes a third cenſus.

Prodigies preſaging his death.

[x] Suet. l. ii. c. 97. Gruter. inſcript. p. 230. [y] Euſeb. in Chron. [z] Suet. ibid.

among the gods, the word Cæsar, which was the remaining part of his name, signifying a god in the Hetruscan language [a]. To these two omens Dion Cassius adds a third which in his opinion plainly presaged his imminent death. It had been customary ever since the death of Julius Cæsar, to place his chair with a crown upon it at the public sports. In this chair Augustus used to sit, when he assisted at the shews; but it happening to be empty while the sports were exhibiting this year in honour of Augustus, a fool placed himself in it, and taking up the crown, put it upon his head; and hence it was concluded, that the sovereign power, signifyed by the crown, would soon pass into other hands [b]. In the mean time, Augustus wrote a short account of the chief actions of his life, which he caused to be engraved on brass, and placed over his tomb [c]. Great part of this valuable monument has been transmitted to us in the Marmor Ancyranum, and is to be seen in the inscriptions of the learned Gruter [d].

As Augustus visibly declined every day both in his health and strength, so that no body could doubt but his end was at hand, some few there were who began to talk of restoring the republic to its former liberty; but far the greater part, dreading a civil war, were for tamely submitting to the person, whom Augustus should think fit to place over them. All the zealous republicans had been slain in the battles of Philippi and Actium; their posterity had been long inured to the yoke, there being scarce any living now who had beheld the old free state, and as for the Roman people, they were become a mere mob, addicted to idleness, void of all sentiments of honour or virtue, without any traces of the antient Roman spirit, or any attachment to the virtuous institutions of their ancestors. The zealous republicans therefore, who were very few, despairing of success, and laying aside all hopes of ever seeing the antient free state restored, resolved to submit to the heir and successor whom Augustus should name, and bear with patience the evils which it was not in their power to prevent or redress [e].

The Romans lay aside all thoughts of attempting the recovery of their liberty.

And now it being high time for Tiberius to leave Rome, and set out for Illyricum, Augustus, to the great surprize of the whole city, declared his intention of accompanying him as

Augustus goes to Naples.

[a] Idem ibid. Dio, l. vi. p. 589.
[b] Dio. ibid.
[c] Suet. l. ii. cap. ult. Dio, p. 591.
[d] Gruter. inscript. p. 220.
[e] Tacit. annal. l. i.

as far as Beneventum, and purſuing his journey from thence to Naples in Campania, in order to aſſiſt at the ſolemn ſports which were to be exhibited there on his approaching birth day. As he found his ſtrength decaying apace, he promiſed himſelf no ſmall benefit from the wholeſome air of Campania, eſpecially of Naples, whither many Romans uſed to reſort, even in thoſe days, for the recovery of their health; and this was, as is ſuppoſed, the true motive of this ſudden and unexpected reſolution, though he did not think fit to own it. He performed the journey with uncommon chearfulneſs and alacrity, being attended by his beloved Livia, who, as we may well imagine, was very aſſiduous about him in ſo critical a juncture. At Beneventum he parted with Tiberius, and purſued his journey to Naples, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. After he had ſpent ſome time at Naples very agreeably, and aſſiſted there at the public ſports, he was ſeized with a diarrhœa, a dangerous diſtemper in a perſon of his years. He therefore reſolved, before his ſtrength failed him, to return to Rome, and accordingly, leaving Naples, ſet out for his capital; but his illneſs encreaſing in ſpight of all the remedies preſcribed him by the phyſicians who attended him, he was obliged to ſtop at Nola in Campania, and there betake himſelf to his bed. In the mean time, Livia, well appriſed that his end was at hand, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to Tiberius, acquainting him with the ſtate of the emperor's health, and preſſing him to return with all poſſible expedition. Tiberius, upon the receipt of his mother's letters, immediately left Illyricum, and flew to Nola, not with any private view, ſays Velleius, but merely out of the great tenderneſs and filial affection he had for Auguſtus, whom he found alive, if that author is to be credited, and had long conferences with him; in one of which, the dying emperor, after having publicly declared him his ſucceſſor in the ſovereign power, deſired him to maintain all his acts in their full vigor, and to purſue the ſame methods of government which he had uſed [f]. But Tacitus tells us, that it was never well known, whether Tiberius on his arrival at Nola found the emperor dead, or ſtill alive, Livia having carefully beſet the palace, and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards, and given out from time to time good news of the emperor's recovery. He adds, that when ſhe had taken all neceſſary meaſures in ſo nice a juncture, in one and the ſame moment

Is taken ill on his return.

Tiberius ſent for by Livia.

[f] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 128.

moment were publiſhed the death of Auguſtus, and acceſſion of Tiberius [g]. But to return to Auguſtus; finding his end approaching, he looked death in the face with greater intrepidity than was expected from one who had ever carefully avoided it in the field. He diſcourſed very chearfully with his intimate friends and chief favourites, giving them many wiſe and uſeful inſtructions relating to the management of their private affairs, and thoſe of the public. In ſpeaking of his own actions, he told them, that "he had found Rome "of brick, but left it of marble," alluding by this expreſſion, ſays Dion Caſſius, not ſo much to the beauty and ſtatelineſs of the buildings, as to the majeſty, grandeur, and firmneſs of the empire. And now finding his ſtrength quite failed him, he called for a looking-glaſs, and having cauſed his hair to be ſet in order, and his wrinkled cheeks to be ſmoothed, as was cuſtomary among the ſtage-players, he asked his friends with a languiſhing voice, "Whether he "had acted his part well?" and they anſwered, "he had; "Then clap me" ſaid he, "for I have ended my part." After this fixing his eyes on Livia, who held him in her arms, he deſired her "to remember their marriage, and the "ties which had kept their hearts ſo long united," and then quietly expired [h]. Thus died the celebrated Auguſtus on the nineteenth of Auguſt, which month was ſo named from him, the ſame day on which he had entered upon his firſt conſulſhip. He had lived ſeventy-five years, ten months and twenty-ſix days, and reigned from his firſt conſulſhip fifty-ſix years, but from the battle of Actium only forty-three. Tacitus and Dion Caſſius obſerve one very remarkable circumſtance of his death; for he died in the ſame town, as theſe two writers tell us, in the ſame houſe, and in the ſame chamber, where his father Octavius died [i]. Livia was ſuſpected of having haſtened the emperor's death, fearing he might be reconciled on his return to Rome with his grandſon Agrippa Poſthumus, whom he had privately viſited ſome months before, ſailing over to the iſland of Planaſia with Fabius Maximus alone, without the privity of Livia, Tiberius, or any other of his moſt faithful and truſty favourites. This Fabius diſcloſed to his wife Martia, and ſhe to Livia, and thence the emperor knew that the ſecret was betrayed; which

He dies at Nola. Year of the flood 2014. After Chriſt 15. Of Rome 763.

Livia ſuſpected of having haſtened his death.

[g] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 5. Patercul. ibid. Dio, p. 590.

[h] Suet. ibid. c. 98. Vell.

[i] Tacit. annal. l. i c. 5. Dio, p. 589.

which ſo provoked him againſt Fabius, that he baniſhed him his preſence for ever, bidding him, when he came to wait upon him the next morning, "an eternal farewel." Fabius did not long ſurvive his diſgrace; but ſoon after laid violent hands on himſelf [k]. We are told, that in the interview between Auguſtus and his grandſon Agrippa many tears were ſhed on both ſides, and many tokens of mutual tenderneſs ſhewn, which gave the unhappy youth hopes of being reſtored to his own place in his grandfather's family. This Livia dreaded, and in order to prevent it, haſtened her huſband's death, as ſome authors write, with poiſoned figs [l]. The body of the deceaſed emperor was carried from Nola to Bovillæ in the neighbourhood of Rome on the ſhoulders of the chief magiſtrates of the colonies and municipal towns on the road. At Bovillæ it was received by the Roman knights, and by them conveyed to Rome, and expoſed in the porch of the imperial palace on mount Palatine. Tiberius, in virtue of the tribunitial power with which he was inveſted, appointed the ſenate to meet the next day, but would ſuffer no other buſineſs to be tranſacted, except what related to the funeral of his deceaſed father. In the firſt place, his laſt will was brought in by the veſtal virgins, and read aloud by Polybius one of Auguſtus's freedmen. It began thus: "Since the gods have been pleaſed to deprive me "of my grand children Caius and Lucius, I declare Tiberius my heir, &c. (E). By the ſame will Tiberius and Livia

His body conveyed to Rome.

[k] Tacit. ibid. [l] Tacit. ibid. Anonym. de vita. Aug. & l. de garrulitate. Oroſ. Zonar. &c.

(E) From this preamble it is manifeſt, that Auguſtus would never have adopted Tiberius, or appointed him his ſucceſſor, had thoſe two young princes, or either of them, lived. Some writers tell us, that Auguſtus was well acquainted with the bad qualities and tyrannical temper of Tiberius, and that on his death-bed he could not help pitying the Roman people, who, to uſe the expreſſions aſcribed to him, "Were to be under "ſo ſlow a pair of grinders; Miſerum populm Romanum, qui "ſub tam lentis maxillis erit." What then prompted him to adopt for his ſon, and name for his ſucceſſor one whom he knew to be no ways qualified for ſo great a charge; To this queſtion ſome writers anſwer, that the promotion of Tiberius was entirely owing to his mother Livia, who had gained an abſolute aſcendant over Auguſtus, eſpecially in his old age; others

via were appointed his firſt heirs, his grand-children, and their children, his ſecond, and the great men of Rome his third. His will.

others ſays, that he was actuated therein by a ſecret ambition of making his death more regretted by the badneſs of his ſucceſſor. But Suetonius cannot perſuade himſelf, that a prince of Auguſtus's ſagacity and prudence could proceed upon motives of this nature, in an affair of ſo great importance; he is rather inclined to believe, that having weighed both his vices and virtues, he thought the latter overbalanced the former; and hence, when he adopted him, he ſolemnly declared upon oath, that he was prompted thereunto by no other motive but that of the public welfare, and often commended him in his letters not only as an excellent commander, but as the only ſtay and ſupport of the Roman people. Out of theſe letters Suetonius inſtances ſome of his expreſſions: "Farewel," ſays he, in one of them, "my dear Tiberius; may you be happy "in your enterprizes, fighting, as you do for me and the muſes: "may I be happy, as you are a moſt valiant and accompliſh-"ed commander, Farewel, take care of your ſummer-quarters; "as for my own part, my dear Tiberius, I confidently believe, "that amongſt ſo many difficulties and diſorders, in the midſt "of ſo much remiſſneſs and cowardice in the army, no man "could have behaved with more prudence than you have "done; inſomuch, that all thoſe, who have had the honour of "attending you, do unanimouſly acknowledge that this verſe "cannot more properly be applied to any man living, than to "yourſelf:

"Unus homo nobis vigilando reſtituit rem."

And in another letter; "Whether I ſeriouſly conſider of an "affair, or any thing falls out which I ought to reſent, I want "my Tiberius immediately, and this ſaying comes conſtantly "into my mind. By this man's conduct and prudence we might "both eſcape even out of the fire. As often as I am told "how much you are fallen away by your indefatigable labour, "may I periſh if I do not tremble to hear it. Let me de-"ſire you therefore to have more care of yourſelf for the "future, leſt the firſt news of your ſickneſs be the death of "your mother and me, and the people of Rome be in great "danger of loſing their empire. I do not value my own health, "unleſs you be well too. I beg the gods to preſerve you "for our good, if they bear no prejudice or grudge to the "Roman people (59)." From theſe letters it plainly appears, that

(59) Suet. in Tiber.

third heirs: Livia was adopted into the Julia family, a honoured with the title of Auguſta. As for the great me of Rome, Tacitus tells us, that he hated them, but nevel theleſs named them out of vanity. To the Roman peopl he left by way of legacy four hundred thouſand great ſeſter ces; to the populace thirty-five-thouſand; to every com mon ſoldier of the prætorian guards a thouſand ſmall ſeſter ces; and to every ſoldier of the Roman legions thre hundred. His laſt will being read, Druſus produced to th conſcript fathers four ſmall books wrote by the deceaſed em peror; the firſt of which contained regulations relating t the ceremony of his obſequies; the ſecond was a journal o the moſt memorable actions of his life, which by his laſt will he ordered to be engraved on the pillars of braſs, which ſup ported the frontiſpiece of his ſtately mauſoleum. Grea part of this journal has been preſerved in an antient marbl found about an hundred and fifty years ſince in the city o Ancyra [m]. The third book contained a ſummary of th ſtrength and income of the empire, the number of the Romans and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy of the ſeveral kingdoms paying tribute, and of the variou provinces and their revenues, with the ſtate of the treaſury the expences of the empire, and the demands upon th public. This regiſter, as we may call it, was all writ wit Auguſtus's own hand. The fourth book was a collection inſtructions for the uſe of Tiberius, and the other governor and magiſtrates of the republic, whom he adviſed to la aſide all thoughts of extending the limits of the empire by new conqueſts [n]. But whether this advice was dictated by his love for the public, ſays Tacitus, or by envy and jealouſy of the glory of his ſucceſſors, is uncertain [o]. The funera honours were next conſidered, when Aſinius Gallus moved that the funeral ſhould paſs through the triumphal gate Lucius Aruntius, that the titles of all the laws he had made and

And legacies.

Four writings left by him.

Opinions of the ſenators relating to his funeral honours.

[m] Vide Gruter. inſcript. p. 130.
[n] Dio, Suet. ibid.
[o] Tacit. annal. l. 1. c. 11.

that Auguſtus had a real value and ſincere affection for Tiberius that he looked upon him as the only perſon capable of ſup porting with dignity the title of emperor, and conſequently that it was not out of complaiſance to Livia, nor a ſecret ambition of inhancing his own reputation with poſterity by the badneſs of his ſucceſſor that he choſe him.

and the names of all the nations he had conquered, ſhould be carried before the corſe; ſome were of opinion, that on the day of his funeral all the magiſtrates and knights ſhould in token of their grief wear iron rings inſtead of their gold ones, and that, to eternalize his memory, not only the month Sextilis, but the whole time he had lived, ſhould bear his name, and be ſtiled "Seculum Auguſtum," that is, "the age of Auguſtus." Valerius Meſſala, departing from the matter in queſtion, added, that the oath of allegiance to Tiberius ſhould be renewed every year. Tiberius, ſurpriſed at this unexpected propoſal, asked him, whether he had made that motion at his inſtigation! "I ſpoke it," anſwered Meſſala with a new turn of flattery, "as my own "opinion, nor will I ever be controuled by any man in "things which concern the welfare of the public, let who "will be provoked at my freedom [p]." The ſenators at length all agreed to carry the body of the deceaſed emperor to the funeral pile on their ſhoulders; but this Tiberius would not ſuffer; nay he cautioned the people by an edict to refrain their zeal, and not to inſiſt upon having his body burnt, as Julius Cæſar's had been, rather in the forum, than in the field of Mars, which was the place appointed. However, his funeral was performed with the greateſt pomp and magnificence, that had ever been ſeen in Rome. Druſus read from the roſtra a ſhort elogium of the deceaſed emperor, and Tiberius pronounced his funeral oration in the forum, which was received with the applauſe it well deſerved, it being a maſter-piece of the kind [q]. When fire was ſet to his pile, an eagle was let looſe from the top of it, as it were to carry his ſoul to heaven. Livia, and with her ſome of the chief men among the knights, continued for five days together in the field of Mars gathering up the aſhes and the bones which the flames had ſpared. Theſe Livia put in an urn of gold, which ſhe repoſited in the magnificent mauſoleum, which Auguſtus had long before built for himſelf in a grove between the Tiber and the Flaminian way. It was decreed that men ſhould mourn for him according to cuſtom, that is, about three weeks; but women a whole year, probably for Livia's ſake. As ſoon as the funeral was over, divine worſhip was decreed him with a temple and prieſts: the houſe, in which he was born, that in which he died, and moſt of the houſes, in which he had lived, were changed into ſanctuaries.

His body burnt in the campus Martius.

Divine honours decreed him.

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Vide Dio, l. lvi. p. 598.

ries. Livia, now Julia Auguſta, took upon her to be the chief prieſteſs of the new deity, and made a preſent of ten thouſand great ſeſterces to a ſenator, named Numerius Atticus, who ſolemnly declared upon his oath, that he had ſeen the ſoul of Auguſtus aſcend up to heaven. This fable, which was a copy of that which Julius Proculus had many ages before publiſhed concerning Romulus, was ſoon ſpread and credited in all the provinces ſubject to Rome: temples were every-where erected in honour of the deified Auguſtus, and a new order of prieſts inſtituted. Tiberius conſecrated a ſanctuary to his deceaſed father in his own palace, and choſe twenty-one prieſts from among the ſenators, naming himſelf, his ſon Druſus, and his nephew Germanicus, among the firſt [r]. It was not out of any principle of religion, or any regard to Auguſtus, as Tacitus well obſerves, that Tiberius procured the deification of Auguſtus, but becauſe it nearly concerned him to have all the laws and acts of one who had left him his ſucceſſor paſs for ſacred. Beſides, in promoting this kind of ſuperſtition, he had another view, which was to rivet the public ſlavery, evidently included in religious worſhip paid to a prince who had enthralled his country.

His character. AUGUSTUS was a man of a ſound judgment, and great penetration, had a particular turn for buſineſs, and a wonderful talent in improving opportunities, and applying the abilities of others to his own ends. In the times of the republic, when valour and eloquence were the only means of riſing, and acquiring fame, he would have made but a middling figure; for he was quite deſtitute of the former, being bold indeed in council, but a coward in the field; and as to his eloquence, it was, according to Tacitus, eaſy and flowing, ſuch as became a prince, but no ways fit to move or controul the ſpirit of republicans. He did not make his way to the throne, but found it already made by his great uncle Julius, who happily accompliſhed what he would never have thought of attempting. He had, 'tis true, powerful enemies to contend with, whom he overcame; but his victories were owing to others, and not to himſelf. Thus by the bravery of Antony he conquered Brutus and Caſſius, and by the valour of Agrippa he conquered Antony. Nor did it require extraordinary abilities to hold the empire, when he had once acquired it, the Roman ſpirit being entirely

[r] Dio, p. 598—600. Tacit. ibid. c. 11, 15, 78.

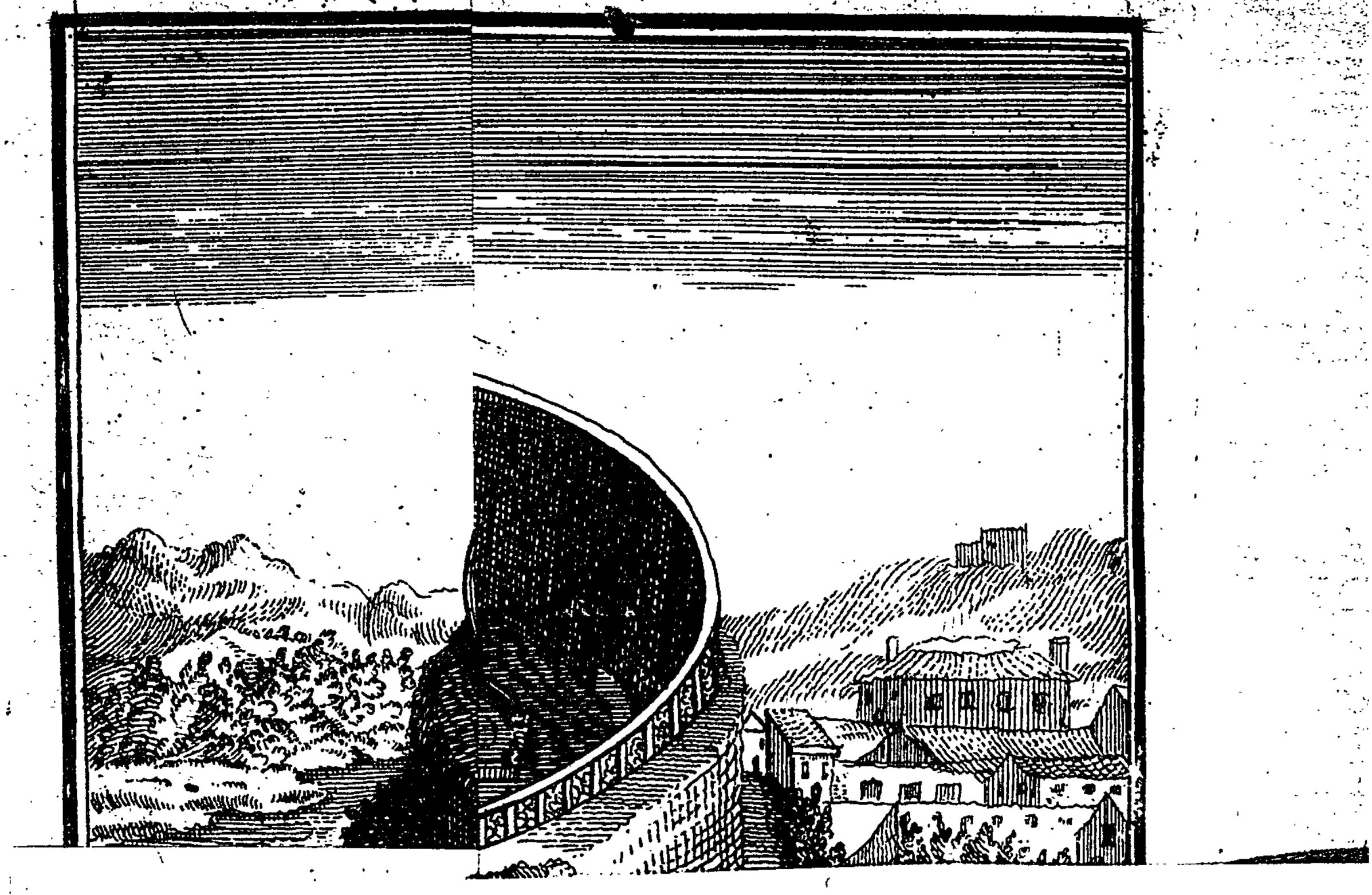
tirely broken, and all thoſe cut off either in the battles of Philippi and Actium, or by bloody proſcriptions, who had courage enough to ſtand up in defence of their liberties. He was naturally of a cruel and vindictive temper, and did many mean things to ſatisfy his revenge, which the great heart of Cæſar would have ſcorned. We meet with no inſtances of his ſo much boaſted clemency and moderation, till he had ſacrificed to his jealouſy all thoſe whom he either feared or ſuſpected. When he had thoroughly maſtered the ſtate, utterly extinguiſhed all maxims of liberty, and inhumanly maſſacred ſuch as he thought capable of thwarting his deſigns, or diſturbing him in the poſſeſſion of his uſurped power; he then governed with great mildneſs, and diſcharged all the duties of an excellent prince; which gave riſe to the ſaying, that "he ſhould never have been born, "or never have died." As he ſtuck at no wickedneſs to gain power, we cannot help thinking but that he would have committed more to maintain it, if he had found more to be neceſſary. He made, 'tis true, a feint or two to abdicate the ſovereignty; had he been in earneſt, he might at leaſt have left for a legacy to the Roman people that liberty of which he had robbed them. But inſtead of reſtoring to them that dominion over themſelves, which none but themſelves had any right to exerciſe, he provided by a long train of ſucceſſors againſt any poſſible recovery of liberty. When he had no longer any heirs of his own blood, whom he liked, he adopted the ſons of his wife, and their ſons; which plainly ſhews, that he was determined to entail ſlavery upon his country, and extend his uſurpation even beyond his grave. Some writers to excuſe him tell us, that the ſtate was irretrievable, and that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary the ſovereign power ſhould be lodged in one man. But Auguſtus himſelf judged otherwiſe; for by propoſing to reſign, however inſincere this propoſal was, he at leaſt ſhewed, that he thought the reſettling of the republic practicable. Druſus, brother to Tiberius, declared his deſign to effect it; nay, it was what Tiberius himſelf, after he was emperor, pretended to do. Auguſtus might, without all doubt, by his abſolute authority have reduced the commonwealth to her firſt principles and firmneſs. This would have been true glory, the only true uſe of his abſolute power, and the only amends for having aſſumed it. But inſtead of reſtoring the ſtate to its antient luſtre, he did all that lay in his power to perpetuate ſlavery, to extinguiſh all maxims of liberty, and to render his ſucceſſors as abſolute as himſelf.

But not to dwell any longer on this ſubject, we ſhall conclude with Dion Caſſius, that Auguſtus would have been deſervedly eſteemed one of the beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter, had he not uſurped, but received the ſovereign power lawfully conveyed to him from his anceſtors. But whether the wiſe laws he publiſhed, and the mildneſs with which he governed, after his ſovereignty was thoroughly eſtabliſhed, ſufficiently attoned for his uſurpation, and the many crimes attending it, is what we ſubmit to the judgment of our readers (F).

THE

(F) The news of Auguſtus's death, when firſt brought to Rome, gave occaſion to various diſcourſes and obſervations concerning him, which it would be an unpardonable omiſſion in us not to take notice of, ſince they acquaint us with the ſentiments, which his friends as well as his enemies entertained of him, and have been tranſmitted to us by one of the moſt judicious and accurate writers of antiquity (60), in whoſe words we ſhall deliver them: "The ſuperſtitious multitude," ſays that writer, "admired the fortuitous events of his life, the laſt day of which "and the firſt of his reign was the ſame; that he died at "Nola, in the ſame town, in the ſame houſe, and in the ſame "chamber, where his father Octavius died. They obſerved "to his glory his many conſulſhips, equal in number to thoſe "of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Marius put together; that "he had exerciſed the tribunitial power for thirty-ſeven years "ſucceſſively; that he had been proclaimed emperor twenty-one "times, and that he had enjoyed many honours, ſome of which "had been conferred upon others, and ſome created for him. "Men of penetration entered further into his life, but differed "about it. His admirers ſaid that his filial piety, and the diſ-"orders which reigned in the republic, and had got the bet-"ter of the laws, forced him to enter into a civil war, which "can never be carried on without dreadful diſturbances; that "to be revenged on thoſe who had murdered his father, "he had been obliged to comply with the violent temper of "his collegues, Antony and Lepidus, and give up to their "revenge and jealouſy many illuſtrious citizens! that when "Antony was loſt in ſenſuality, and Lepidus in ſloth and idle-"neſs, there was no other remedy for the diſtracted ſtate, rent "into parties and factions, but the ſovereignty of one: Auguſtus, "however, did never take upon him to rule over his country "as king or dictator, but ſettled the government under the "legal title of prince of the ſenate: he extended the bounds "of

(60) Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 6.



Augustus's Theatre erected in Honour of Marcellus

THE firſt feat of the reign of Tiberius was the murder of Tiberius.

young

" of the empire, and ſet for its limits the diſtant ocean, and
" remote rivers; the ſeveral parts and forces of the ſtate, the
" legions, the provinces, and the navy, were well connected
" and governed; the citizens lived peaceably under the protection
" of the laws, the allies reſpected the Roman name, and Rome
" herſelf was adorned with magnificent ſtructures: he had in-
" deed on ſome occaſions exerted his arbitrary power, but in
" very few, and then only to ſecure the peace of the whole.
" In anſwer to all this, others, who did not entertain ſo good
" an opinion of the deceaſed emperor, urged, that his filial
" piety, and the diſtractions of the republic, were mere pre-
" tences; but his luſt of reigning the true and only motive,
" which prompted him to kindle a civil war in the bowels of
" his country; that in order to get the whole power of the
" ſtate into his hands, he gained over by bribery a body of
" veterans: and though a private youth, levied an army in de-
" fiance of the laws; that for the baſe purpoſe of power, he
" debauched the Roman legions under the command of the con-
" ſuls, as if he deſigned to join Pompey's republican party;
" that ſoon after, when he had obtained of the ſenate, or ra-
" ther uſurped, the prætorſhip, the two conſuls, Hirtius and
" Panſa being ſlain, he ſeized both their armies; that it was
" doubted whether the conſuls were killed by the enemy, or
" their own men, Hirtius in the battle, and Panſa after it, by
" having poiſon poured into his wounds, and whether young
" Cæſar was not the author of this execrable treaſon; that he
" extorted the conſulſhip in ſpite of the ſenate, and employed
" againſt the commonwealth the very arms with which ſhe had
" truſted him for her defence againſt Antony. To all this they
" added, his bloody proſcriptions, the maſſacre of numberleſs ci-
" tizens, his robbing the public of ſo many lands and poſſeſſions,
" and diſtributing them among his own creatures; a piece of in-
" juſtice ſo notorious, that even thoſe who were gainers by it,
" could not help condemning it. But allowing him to have had
" no other view in the deſtructive war he carried on againſt
" Brutus and Caſſius, but to revenge by their death the murder
" of the dictator, though it had been more to his reputation to
" ſacrifice his private reſentment to the public welfare, did he
" not betray young Pompey by a deceitful peace? Did he not
" enſnare Antony firſt by treaties, viz. of Tarentum and Brun-
" duſium, then by a marriage, that of his ſiſter Octavia? And
" did not this perfidious alliance at length coſt Antony his life?
" After this, 'tis true, there was peace, but a bloody peace in the
" defeat of Lollius and Varus in Germany; and at Rome the
" Varrones, the Egnatii, the Julii, illuſtrious citizens, were put

" to

young Agrippa, whom he cauſed to be diſpatched by a military

" to death. Neither was his domeſtic life ſpared on this occa-
" ſion: he had arbitrarily robbed Nero of his wife, when ſhe
" was big with child, and in deriſion of the gods conſulted the
" prieſts, whether he might marry her before, or was obliged to
" wait till after her delivery. His favourites, Tedius and Ve-
" dius Pollio had lived in exceſſive luxury: his wife Livia, who
" had an abſolute ſway over him had proved a cruel governeſs to
" the republic, and a more cruel ſtep-mother to the Julian fa-
" mily: he had even uſurped honours peculiar to the gods,
" and raiſing temples to himſelf, would be adored as a deity
" with all the ſolemnity of prieſts and ſacrifices: he adopted
" Tiberius for his ſucceſſor, not out of affection to him, or
" any concern for the republic, but having diſcovered in him a
" cruel and haughty temper, he ſought glory from the com-
" pariſon of their reigns." Such were the ſentiments and ob-ſervations of the Romans on the deceaſed emperor. But after all, it muſt be owned, that Auguſtus, whether we conſider him as a magiſtrate at the helm of the republic, or, as a private citizen in his domeſtic life, had many good qualities, which few perſons in either ſtation have ever ſince his time poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree. Theſe together with his vices we ſhall here without any prejudice or partiality expoſe to the conſideration of our readers, that they may the better be able to form a right judgment of the famous and ſo much celebrated Auguſtus.

In the firſt place, when his authority was once thoroughly eſtabliſhed, he made it his whole ſtudy to redreſs the public grievances, to ſuppreſs the diſorders which had been introduced by the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, during the civil wars, to ſettle in all the provinces a laſting peace, and to promote the happineſs and welfare of his ſubjects. That he had nothing more at heart than to ſee the republic flouriſh, he frequently declared in his private diſcourſe, but more remarkably in one of his edicts in the following words: " I wiſh I may be able
" to eſtabliſh the commonwealth on its proper baſis, and reap
" ſuch fruits of my labour as I deſire, that I may hereafter be
" reputed the founder of ſo excellent a fabric, and carry this
" hope with me to the grave, that the commonwealth will
" continue and flouriſh upon the foundations which I have
" laid." Some writers have thought, that he would have reſigned after his firſt illneſs, or at leaſt left Rome free at his death, had he not been perſuaded, that other pretenders would have riſen up, and involved the republic in new troubles. He enacted many excellent laws for the reformation of manners,

tary tribune, in whoſe cuſtody he was at that time, before

 he

ners, and extirpation of vice; and it may be truly ſaid, that virtue was never more countenanced than in his reign. His ſumptuary laws, his laws againſt bribery, adultery, unnatural luſt, and all kind of incontinence, wrought a great change in the city, where vice had long appeared bare-faced, and triumphed. After he had reformed the manners of the citizens, he applied himſelf wholly to the embelliſhing of the city. In order to this, he raiſed many public buildings, among which the chief were, the forum, or court of juſtice, the temple of Mars the avenger, the temple of Apollo in Palatio, the temple of Jupiter the thunderer in the capitol, the portico of Lucius and Caius, the palaces of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus. He repaired many old temples, and rebuilt many, which had been deſtroyed either by time or fire, enriching both them and the reſt with moſt magnificent preſents. To the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, not to mention others, he gave at once ſixteen thouſand pound weight of gold, beſides jewels and precious ſtones, to the value of fifty millions of ſeſterces. He often exhorted the principal and moſt wealthy citizens to repair or erect ſome monument or other, which might ſerve as an ornament to the city: and upon his perſuaſion Marcius Philippus built the temple of Hercules Muſarum, L. Cornificius, the temple of Diana, Aſinius Pollio the court of Liberty, Munatius Plancus the temple of Saturn, Cornelius Balbus a theatre, Statilius Taurus an amphitheatre, and Marcus Agrippa a great number of moſt ſtately and magnificent ſtructures. In order to ſecure the city, thus embelliſhed, againſt fires and inundations, to which it was ſubject, he divided it into fourteen regions or wards, appointing a peculiar magiſtrate for each ward, and committing the care of each ſtreet to ſome citizen of diſtinction. Theſe had under their command guards and watchmen, who were to patrol all night to prevent fires, robberies, and other diſorders: againſt the inundations of the Tiber, which often laid the lower parts of the city under water, he cleanſed and enlarged the bed of that river, which had been long choaked up with rubbiſh, and the ruins of houſes; and that the city might be the more acceſſible on all ſides, he took upon himſelf the reparation of the Flaminian way as far as Ariminum, leaving the reſt of the public ways to be mended by ſuch as had triumphed, and the charges to be defrayed out of the ſpoils of the enemy.

He ſhewed high regard for the Roman name, and was ſparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of citizens; whereof we have the two following inſtances: Tiberius, having deſired him

to

he ſuffered Auguſtus's death to be made public. Tiberius avoided

to grant the citizenſhip of Rome to a certain Greek, who was one of his clients, he wrote him this anſwer; that "he would "not comply with his requeſt, unleſs he came himſelf, and ſatiſ- "fied him of the juſtice of it:" in like manner Livia interceding for a Gaul, he peremptorily rejected her petition, but granted the Gaul an exemption from his tribute with this declaration; that "he would rather condeſcend to a diminution of the "public revenue, than to proſtitute the honour of the Roman "name." As he had a particular veneration for the memory of thoſe heroes who had contributed to the advancement of the Roman empire, he repaired all their monuments, retaining their old titles and inſcriptions, and dedicating their ſtatues in the two portico's of his forum; on which occaſion he declared in an edict, that "his deſign was to propoſe them as a pattern and "example, by which he himſelf, and the princes, who ſhould "ſucceed him, might frame themſelves, and regulate their "conduct."

As he had no great talent for war, he commanded the army in perſon but twice againſt a foreign enemy, viz. in Dalmatia, when he was but young, and in his expedition againſt the Cantabrians. The other wars he managed by his lieutenants, who under his auſpices reduced the Cantabrians, Aquitans, Dalmatians, Pannonians, Illyrians, Rhœtians, Vindelicians, Salaſſians, and the Germans inhabiting the countries between the Rhine and the Elbe. He held it for an infallible maxim, that war was never to be undertaken, nor a battle fought, but when the advantage hoped for was apparently greater than the loſs feared; "for "thoſe who hazard much," ſaid he, "to gain but little, are "like men who fiſh with hooks of gold, the loſs of which "will hardly be repaired by what they catch." He uſed to ſay, that raſhneſs and precipitancy were the greateſt faults in a general; whence he had this ſaying frequently in his mouth, Feſtina lente, which is much the ſame in ſenſe with our common proverb, "No more haſte than good ſpeed." He was very ſevere in keeping the ſoldiers to their duty, not ſuffering, but with much difficulty, even his lieutenants to quit the camp, and return to Rome; and that only when the troops were in winter quarters. A Roman knight, having cut off the thumbs of two of his ſons to diſable them from ſerving, he condemned him to be ſold for a ſlave, and confiſcated his eſtate. He diſbanded the tenth legion only for betraying an unwillingneſs to obey his commands, and diſmiſſed others, without the rewards due to veterans for having demanded their diſcharge. If in an engagement any cohort or legion gave ground, or were

even

avoided mentioning this tranſaction in the ſenate, and would

 have

even put into confuſion, he ordered every tenth man by lot to be executed, and allowed the reſt nothing but barley. The centurions and tribunes likewiſe, abandoning their poſts, were immediately puniſhed with death. For ſmall offences he contented himſelf with condemning them to ſtand all day before his prætorium, ſometimes ungirt in their tunics only, and ſometimes with long poles in their hands. After the civil wars he never called thoſe who ſerved under him fellow-ſoldiers, but only ſoldiers, nor would he ſuffer his own or his wife's children to call them otherwiſe, thinking it inconſiſtent with military diſcipline, with the tranquillity of thoſe times, and the grandeur of his family, to treat them with familiarity.

He was no leſs careful in adminiſtering juſtice, than ſevere in exacting military diſcipline: for he not only appointed ſuch judges as were men of known integrity, but was himſelf very aſſiduous in hearing cauſes, often ſitting up with great patience the beſt part of the night: when he was by any indiſpoſition confined to his palace, he uſed then to hear cauſes in his own room lying upon a couch, thinking the adminiſtration of juſtice the chief and indeſpenſable duty of a prince. Notwithſtanding his aſſiduity in hearing cauſes, and continual application, he was at all hours ready to give audience even to the meaneſt of the people, to hear their complaints, and receive their petitions; and becauſe one preſented him his requeſt ſomewhat timorouſly, he pleaſantly rebuked him, ſaying, "That he had delivered "his petition to him, as if he had been preſenting ſomething to "an elephant." To encourage perſons of all ranks to recur freely to him, he carefully avoided all outward appearance of grandeur; hence he very ſeldom entered, or left any city, but in the night-time, to avoid all formalities, and the attendance of the inhabitants. He never went to the ſenate without ſaluting all the ſenators, in the order they ſat, each of them by his own name; and at his departure took his leave of them in the ſame manner. He aſſiſted in perſon at all public and private feaſts and entertainments till he began to be in years, and could no longer bear the inconveniencies of a croud. He had had ſo great an averſion to the title of dominus or lord, that he looked upon it as a reproach, and even publiſhed an edict, forbidding any one, his own children and grandchildren not excepted, to give him that title. In the aſſemblies held for the election of magiſtrates, he gave his vote in his own tribe, as if he had been one of the people; and in the courts of judicature, he not only ſuffered himſelf to be interrogated, but allowed the judges and advocates of the adverſe party to object againſt his depoſition.

have the world believe that it was done by the command of Auguſtus

fition. How great and powerful ſoever his favourites were in Rome, he would not allow them any exemption from the judiciary laws, nor even recommend them to the judges. Of all the criminals and accuſed perſons in his time, he ſaved but one, by whoſe means he had diſcovered a conſpiracy formed againſt him, and him he preſerved by prevailing with his entreaties upon his accuſer to withdraw his accuſation. The antients give us ſeveral inſtances even of his clemency, after his authority was thoroughly eſtabliſhed. One Junius Novatus publiſhed a letter full of bitter invectives againſt him in the name of young Agrippa, for which offence Auguſtus only laid a ſmall fine upon him. One Caſſius Patavinus declared boldly at a public entertainment, that "he neither wanted will nor cou-"rage to rid Rome of her new monarch;" and Auguſtus contented himſelf only with ordering him to depart Rome. Æmilius Ælianus being accuſed among other things of ſpeaking of him with great contempt, the emperor turning to the informer, and pretending to be in a great rage, "I wiſh with "all my heart you could prove it," ſaid he: "if you did, I "would make Ælianus know, that I have a tongue as well as "he, and can ſay twice as much of him;" and reſented it no further. Tiberius likewiſe complaining in a letter to him of the inſolence of Ælianus, he returned him this anſwer; "Do "not, my dear Tiberius, indulge too much in this caſe your "paſſion; let us deſpiſe words, and think ourſelves happy if "they can do us no greater harm."

As for his liberality, it knew no bounds; he conſtantly ſupplied with corn above an hundred thouſand families, which he cauſed to be diſtributed monthly among them: he frequently preſented the people with large ſums, giving them ſometimes two, ſometimes three, and ſometimes four hundred ſeſterces a head, not excluding even the children. He was always ready to lend without intereſt, any ſum to ſuch perſons as were able to ſecure him his principal by double the value. When he publiſhed the law excluding from the ſenate ſuch as were not worth twelve hundred thouſand ſeſterces, out of compaſſion for many noble families, he made up that ſum with his own money. He exhibited at an immenſe charge twenty-four ſhows in his own name, and twenty-three for other magiſtrates, who were either abſent, or not able to bear the expence attending them.

Thus far of Auguſtus as a public magiſtrate: as to his domeſtic and private life, Suetonius repreſents him as a tender and careful parent, a conſtant friend, and both a ſevere and gentle maſter.

Auguſtus, as if he had tranſmitted orders to the tribune who guarded Agrippa Poſthumus murdered.

maſter. He brought up his daughter and her children with the utmoſt care, not allowing any but perſons of unblemiſhed characters to have acceſs to them: his grandchildren he taught himſelf the rudiments of learning, promiſing himſelf great happineſs from his iſſue, and the care he took of their education; but he was therein, to his inexpreſſible grief, greatly diſappointed, as we have related in the hiſtory of his reign. His friendſhip, when once acquired, was firm and conſtant: he not only rewarded his friends ſervices, but patiently bore with their faults. Of all of them none ever received any ill treatment at his hands, except Salvidienus Rufus, and the famous poet Cornelius Gallus, who well deſerved it, as we have related above. The reſt of his favourites flouriſhed in honour and riches to the end of their lives. As to his domeſtics, he conferred honourable employments, and heaped riches upon ſuch of them as behaved well; but Proculus, a freedman, and one of his chief favourites, he cauſed to be put to death, for carrying on intreagues with married women. Thallus, another freedman, and his amanuenſis, having betrayed ſome ſecrets for five hundred denarii, had his legs broke by his order. Several of his grandſon Caius's attendants he ordered to be thrown headlong into a river, and drowned, for levying money in their maſter's province without his knowledge. He choſe rather to turn into mirth the timorouſneſs of Diomedes, another of his freedmen, than to impute it to any malicious deſign, when walking with him alone, a wild boar coming ſuddenly upon them, Diomedes, to ſecure himſelf, made bold to thruſt his maſter to the boar.

He applied himſelf from his youth to the ſtudy of eloquence, and other liberal arts. During the war of Modena he is ſaid not to have paſſed a day in the midſt of his moſt important affairs without reading, writing, and delaiming. He wrote ſeveral books upon different ſubjects; viz. "An anſwer to Bru-
" tus's Cato; exhortations to the ſtudy of philoſophy; the
" hiſtory of his life to the Cantabrian war in thirteen books,
" an epic poem intitled Sicilia, and a book of epigrams, which
" he compoſed for the moſt part in his baths:" he began a tragedy in a lofty ſtyle, but finding he could not hold out at that rate, he expunged what he had wrote, and being aſked by his friends what was become of Ajax, who was the ſubject of the performance, he anſwered, "Ajax has diſpatched himſelf
" with a ſponge." Though he was well acquainted with the Greek tongue, yet he neither ſpoke it readily, nor ever ventured to compoſe any thing in it; when he was obliged to uſe

that

guarded the youth, to diſpatch him upon the firſt intelligence

that language, he firſt wrote down in Latin what he had a mind to ſay, and then gave it to another to tranſlate into Greek. In peruſing the authors of both languages, his chief obſervation was what precepts and examples he might collect for the public or private inſtruction of his ſubjects and friends; when he thought any of them proper, he copied them word for word, and ſent them to his domeſtics, the governors of the provinces, or the magiſtrates of the city, as any of them wanted admonition; nay, ſometimes he read whole books to the ſenate, and recommended them afterwards to the people by proclamation. His generoſity to men of learning knew no bounds, and hence ſo many famous writers flouriſhed in his time, that the age of Auguſtus will ever be looked upon as the age of elegancy and politeneſs, and every admirer of the poets and hiſtorians, who flouriſhed in thoſe days, will be an admirer of Auguſtus, who was ſo generous to them, and is the chief ſubject of their panegyrics.

But his virtues were not without the allay of ſome vices highly unbecoming a perſon in his ſtation. He abandoned himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs, without renouncing even in his old age the vices of his youth: his ſevere laws againſt adultery were no check upon him, no more than the ſacred ties of friendſhip; for he did not ſpare the wife even of his own favourite, and faithful counſellor Mecænas. It was not extreme prudence in ſo great a politician to be daily violating his own laws, eſpecially after he had, by ſentencing thoſe to death, who were guilty of adultery, declared how heinous and unpardonable a crime he thought it. Marc Antony in one of his letters to him before they quarrelled, rallies him upon his intrigues with ſeveral married women of great diſtinction, whom he names. His friends to excuſe theſe ſcandalous practices, which were too notorious to be denied, pretended, that he courted the favour of the wives to diſcover by their means the plots and deſigns of their huſbands. He is ſaid to have divorced Scribonia for reſenting the authority of one of his concubines: as for Livia, ſhe out of policy indulged his vicious inclinations ſo far, as to make it her buſineſs to bring him acquainted with ſuch women as ſhe thought he might like: he employed many of his friends in the ſame vile miniſtry, which gave occaſion to ſeveral lampoons, and ſharp ſatires. Marc Antony reproached him with having gained the favour of his great uncle Julius Cæſar at the expence of his modeſty, and his brother Lucius Antonius charged him with abandoning himſelf, while he was in Spain, to the will of A. Hirtius, who was afterwards conſul, for three hundred thou-

ſand

ligence of his death. The better to ſupport this ſtory, when the tribune, according to the cuſtom of the army, acquainted Tiberius, that his commands were executed, he anſwered, that he had given no ſuch commands, and that he ſhould be anſwerable to the ſenate for what he had

ſand ſeſterces; hence the people at a comedy not only interpreted to his diſhonour, but applauded the following expreſſion ſpoke of a prieſt of Cybele, playing upon his timbrel, as if it had been ſpoken of him, "Videſne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet? "Don't you ſee how the catamite governs the world with "one finger?" Some writers have alſo repreſented him as covetous of rich furniture, eſpecially of Corinthian veſſels; and tell us, that in the time of the proſcription the following paſquinade was writ under his ſtatue, "Pater argentarius, ego "Corinthiarius," that is, "My father dealt in money, and I "in Corinthian veſſels;" for it was ſuppoſed, that ſeveral perſons had been proſcribed for their plate, and that his father had been a banker, which laſt ſuppoſition was entirely groundleſs, for his father was raiſed very early to the higheſt honours in the republic. As for his immoderate deſire of rich furniture, Suetonius clears him from this imputation, by telling us, that the goods and furniture of his houſe, which were ſtill to be ſeen in his time, were not rich enough for a private perſon of any taſte, and adding, that at the taking of Alexandia, of all the queen's rich furniture, he reſerved for himſelf only a porcelain cup. He was given to gaming, and took great pleaſure in playing at dice, which gave occaſion to the following diſtich, which was made during the war in Sicily;

"Poſtquam bis claſſe victus naves perdidit,
"Aliquando ut vincat, ludit aſſidue aleam."

That is, "having loſt his fleet twice at ſea, he plays daily, that "he may at laſt win." But Suetonius tells us, that he played only for his diverſion, and not out of a deſire of winning his friends money; to this purpoſe he quotes one of his letters to Tiberius, wherein he tells him, that he had paſſed the feaſt of Minerva merrily, and played every day at dice; "Your brother," ſays he to Tiberius, "was at firſt a great loſer, but in the end "came off pretty well, having recovered himſelf beyond expecta"tion: I loſt twenty thouſand ſeſterces; but had I exacted what "was owing to me, or kept what I gave away, I ſhould have won a"bove fifty thouſand." He was naturally very ſuperſtitious, a great obſerver of dreams, and looked upon the flight or chattering of birds as infallible preſages. If in the morning his ſhoes were

had done. This alarmed Criſpus Salluſtius (G), who was privy to all the ſecret counſels of Tiberius, and had ſent the tribune the warrant: he knew it was equally dangerous to confeſs the truth, and charge the emperor, or to clear the emperor, and accuſe himſelf. In this perplexity he had recourſe to Livia, adviſing her "by no means to divulge the "ſecrets were given him wrong, or the right foot ſhoe preſented him for left, he counted it ominous. If it rained when he was ſetting out on a journey, he reckoned it a ſign of a ſpeedy and happy return: he would never begin a journey the day after the nundinæ, nor undertake any buſineſs of conſequence upon the nones; he was ſo afraid of thunder and lightning, that he carried a ſeal's ſkin always about him, imagining as was then generally believed, that it had we know not what ſecret virtue againſt thunder; but nevertheleſs, for his greater ſecurity, upon the leaſt apprehenſion of an extraordinary ſtorm, he uſed to ſeek for ſhelter in a vault or cellar under-ground.

Such were the virtues, ſuch the vices of the famous Auguſtus, As for his conduct during the civil war, it was ſuch as brought, we may ſay, diſgrace upon uſurpation itſelf. He ſtuck at no crime, however heinous; but after he had either by public proſcriptions, or private aſſaſſinations, cut off all thoſe who gave him umbrage, he reigned with moderation over the reſt. He reigned long, and eſtabliſhed a laſting peace, a great relief after ſo long and deſtructive a war. In this long tranquillity, the calamities which had been occaſioned by the war were forgot, and Auguſtus cried up as the author of the bleſſings they enjoyed in a profound peace at home. Beſides, the badneſs of his ſucceſſors was a ſignal advantage to his name and memory; for in proportion as they were deteſted, he was regretted.

(G) Criſpus Salluſtius was born of an equeſtrian family, great-nephew by a ſiſter to the famous hiſtorian Caius Salluſtius, and by him adopted; he might have riſen to the greateſt honours in the ſtate, but in imitation of Mecænas, whom he propoſed to himſelf for his pattern, he contented himſelf with the title of a Roman knight, though he excelled in power many, who had been diſtinguiſhed with conſulſhips and triumphs. In Mecænas's life-time he was next in favour with Auguſtus, and upon the death of that faithful counſellor, he became the chief confident, firſt of Auguſtus, and afterwards of Tiberius, who repoſed an entire confidence in him: he was extreme nice in his dreſs, expenſive in his manner of living, and no ways inferior in luxury and magnificence to Mecænas himſelf; but could, upon any exigency, exert a vigour equal to the greateſt affairs, which he concealed under the appearance of indolence and ſloth (62).

(62) Tacit. annal. l. i.

" ſecrets of the palace, the counſels of the miniſters, or the " ſervices of the ſoldiery, adding, that Tiberius ſhould be- " ware of weakening the ſovereign authority by referring all " things to the ſenate, the nature of abſolute power being " ſuch as could not be preſerved entire but in one perſon [s]."

Livia followed the advice of Salluſtius, and no farther mention was made of the murder of the young prince (H).

As ſoon as the death of Auguſtus was known at Rome, the conſuls, ſenators, and knights, ran headlong into ſlavery, as Tacitus expreſſes it. With ſervile flattery they took care to frame their faces ſo as to reconcile falſe joy for the acceſſion of Tiberius with feigned grief for the loſs of Auguſtus. The two conſuls Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius took firſt the oath of fidelity to Tiberius, and then adminiſtered it to the ſenate, the people and the ſoldiery; for Tiberius affected to derive all his authority from the conſuls and ſenate, as if the antient republic ſtill ſubſiſted, and he were yet in ſuſpenſe about accepting or rejecting the ſovereign power: he even owned in his edict for ſummoning the ſenate, that he iſſued it in virtue of the tribunitial power granted him under Auguſtus, and that he claimed no other authority, no other title for having a ſhare in the public adminiſtration. But notwithſtanding

Tiberius affects modeſty.

[s] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 6. Dio, l. lvi. p. 590.

(H) Suetonius tells us, that Agrippa was killed by a military tribune, in whoſe cuſtody he was at that time, after he had read the warrant for his execution to him; which warrant, adds that writer, whether left by Auguſtus when he died, to prevent any troubles which might happen upon his death, or contrived by Livia in Auguſtus's name, with or without the privity of Tiberius, is a thing uncertain to this day (63). But Tacitus tells us in expreſs terms, that Auguſtus never dipt his hands in his own blood; neither does he think it credible, that he would barbarouſly ſacrifice the life of his grandſon to the ſecurity of his ſtep-ſon. It is therefore more probable, ſays that author, that this haſty murder was purely the work of Tiberius and Livia, and that the young prince fell thus untimely to ſatiate the hatred which Livia bore him, and to deliver Tiberius from a troubleſome rival. Though the aſſaſſin, who was charged with the execution of this cruel order, was a bold and reſolute centurion or tribune, as Suetonius calls him, and found young Agrippa unarmed, and little apprehending ſuch a deſtiny, yet it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he diſpatched him. In him ended the family of Auguſtus.

(63) Suet. in Tiber. c. 22.

withſtanding this pretended modeſty, from the moment Auguſtus expired, he aſſumed all the prerogatives of an abſolute prince, gave the word to the prætorian cohorts, placed guards about his perſon, went guarded in the ſtreets, and to the ſenate, and writ letters to the ſeveral armies in the undiſguiſed ſtyle of one who was already maſter of the Roman empire, and had under his command all its forces. This he did to prevent the armies in diſtant provinces from declaring for Germanicus, who was then in Germany at the head of eight legions, and a great body of allies. But with the ſenate he proceeded in a quite different manner: when the conſcript fathers offered him the government, he pretended to refuſe it, though he had already ſecured it to himſelf, and with a great deal of artifice began to diſcourſe of the greatneſs of the Roman empire, and in modeſt terms of his own inſufficiency; telling them, "That the divine genius of Auguſtus alone "was equal to ſo great a charge; that as for himſelf, he "knew by experience, having borne part of Auguſtus's cares, "how many difficulties, contingencies and dangers are inſe-
He affects to decline the ſovereign power. "parably annexed to rule and ſovereignity; that ſince the "city was ſo happily repleniſhed with great numbers of il-"luſtrious patriots, they ought not to lay the whole burden "of the adminiſtration upon one perſon, but divide it among "many, &c." When he had ended his ſpeech, the ſenators, who dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſeem to underſtand him, burſt into tears, and throwing themſelves at his feet, embraced his knees, begging him in the moſt low and ſervile manner imaginable not to abandon them, but to take upon him a charge, to which none but himſelf was equal. Then Tiberius, pretending to yield to their importunity, "I am," ſaid he, "unequal to the weight of the whole government; "but if you think fit to intruſt me with any particular part, "whatever it be, I am ready to undertake it." Hereupon Aſinius Gallus (I) riſing up, "I beg to know, Cæſar," ſaid he,

(I) Aſinius Gallus was the ſon of the famous Aſinius Pollio, the favourite of Auguſtus, and great patron of learning, and men of latters. He had been conſul eleven years before, with Caius Marcius Cenſorinus, and had alſo borne the office of "triumvir "monetalis, or overſeer of the coinage," as appears from one of Auguſtus's medals with his legend on the reverſe, C. Aſinius Gallus III. vir. A. A. A. F. F. that is, "triumvir, auro, argento, "ære, flando, feriundo." At firſt the conſuls took upon themſelves the care of the mint, and joined two ſenators with them in this office; but afterwards the heads of the republic were eaſed of this

he, "what part of the government you desire for your share?" This unexpected demand startled Tiberius, who for a while stood mute; but recovering himself, answered, that "it ill "became his modesty to chuse or reject any particular branch "of the administration, when he desired to be excused from "the whole." Gallus, perceiving him offended, as readily replied, that he did not offer that question, as if he designed to divide what was in itself indivisible, but to convince him by his own confession, that the commonwealth was but one body, and consequently could not be governed but by the wisdom of one person: then continuing his speech, he made a long descant upon the great merits and accomplishments of Tiberius, of his many victories and conquests, of the civil employments he had long borne with great credit and reputation, &c. but this did not assuage the wrath of Tiberius, who had long hated Gallus for having married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, whom Tiberius had been obliged by Augustus to divorce, to make room for his daughter Julia. He suspected that Asinius Gallus by this match designed to raise himself above the rank of a subject, and therefore upon this new provokation resolved to seize the first opportunity of delivering himself from his fears by the death of his supposed rival. Lucius Arruntius (K), Quintus Haterius, and

Several senators incur his displeasure.

this trouble, and sometimes two, sometimes three, sometimes four persons were appointed to direct and inspect the coinage, and were called, according to their number, "duumviri, triumviri, "quatuorviri monetales, æris, argenti, auri flatores, (64). These magistrates are sometimes described on medals which were probably the current coin of the Romans, thus; "Cur. X. Fl." that is, "Curatores denariorum flandorum," and they were so called till the triumviri monetales were created. But to return to Asinius Gallus, Suetonius ascribes to him a small performance, containing a parallel or comparison of Cicero and his father Asinius Pollio, in which he gave the preference to the latter; in answer to this work, the emperor Claudius published a book, which he entited, "A defence of Cicero against the writings of Gallus."

(K) A. Lucius Arruntius was descended of an antient and noble family, endowed with extraordinary talents, possessed of great wealth, and in high favour with the people. Augustus was well acquainted with his abilities, and not long before his death, in a familiar conversation with his friends, declared his opinion of him; for the discourse turning upon the great men in Rome, who were equal

(64) Vide Pompon. l, ii. de orig. juris.

and Mamercus Scaurus, incurred likewiſe on this occaſion the diſpleaſure of Tiberius; Arruntius by a ſpeech not much unlike that of Gallus; Hirtius, by aſking him, "How long, "Cæſar, will you ſuffer the commonwealth to remain deſti- "tute of a head?" and Scaurus for ſaying by way of raille- ry, "There is room to hope, that Tiberius will at length "yield to the entreaties and prayers of the ſenate, ſince he "has not oppoſed, as he might, in virtue of his tribunitial "power, the motion of the conſuls in his behalf." The ill-timed pleaſure, which theſe illuſtrious citizens took in ſhew- ing themſelves well appriſed of Tiberius's real intentions, coſt them dear; for he afterwards ſacrificed them all, under va- rious pretences, to his jealouſy and ſuſpicions. Some other ſenators ſpoke ſtill more boldly; and yet we do not find that Tiberius ever reſented the liberty they had taken; they were not in all likelihood, ſo conſiderable, either for their birth or talents, as to give him any umbrage. Of theſe one, no long- er able to bear the ambiguity of his anſwers, with which he held the ſenate in ſuſpence, who were all the while at his feet, cried out, "Let Tiberius either accept of the empire, "or declare in plain terms that he rejects it." Another boldly addreſſing him, "Other men," ſaid he, "perform "ſlowly what they readily promiſe; but you promiſe ſlowly "what you have already performed [t]." And indeed he reigned already, having, from the moment Auguſtus expired, aſſumed all the prerogatives of a ſovereign; but in this my- ſterious way of dealing with the ſenate, he had two things in view

The boldneſs of ſome ſe- nators.

[t] Tacit. ibid. c. 11, 12, Suet. ibid. Dio, l. lvii. p. 602.

equal to the ſupreme power, and ſome naming Marcus Lepidus, others Aſinius Gallus, and ſome Lucius Arruntius; "Marcus Le- "pidus," replied Auguſtus, "is indeed capable of the ſupreme "power, but will not, in my opinion, accept of it; Aſinius Gal- "lus will aſpire at it, but is not qualified for it; As for Lucius "Arruntius, he is both equal to ſo great a charge and will not fail, "upon a proper occaſion, to ſeize it (65)." That he ſpoke thus of Lepidus and Aſinius is agreed on all hands, but ſome writers, quoted by Tacitus, inſtead of Arruntius name Cneius Piſo, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this reign. All theſe great men, except Lepidus, were ſoon cut off by Tiberius's orders, being charged with various crimes feign- ed by him on purpoſe to get rid of all competitors to the ſove- reign power (66).

(65) Tacit. ibid. (66) Idem ibid.

view; the first was to make the world believe that he had been by the commonwealth chosen, and called to the empire, which was more glorious for him than to owe it to the intrigues of a woman, or to the adoption of a superannuated prince; the second thing he had in view was to discover the designs and intentions of the great men, and by that means be able to distinguish his friends from his foes [u]. At length pretending to be overcome by the importunities of the conscript fathers, and complaining of the heavy burden they laid upon him, he began to yield by degrees to their request, and in the end accepted the government, but so as to give them hopes that he would one day resign it; his words were, "I accept the empire, and will hold it till such time as you, conscript fathers, in your great prudence shall think fit to give repose to my old age." Thus was Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero (L), in the fifty-sixth year of his age, raised to the

Tiberius takes upon him the empire.

[u] Tacit ibid.

(L) The Claudian family, of which Tiberius was descended, was one of the most illustrious families of Rome. They were originally of Regillum, a city of the Sabines, whence, according to some writers, they removed to Rome, in the time of Romulus, being invited thither by Titus Tatius, who reigned jointly with him, according to others, whom we have followed (67), in the fourth consulship of Poplicola, when they were brought to Rome by Actius Clausus, chief of the family, and received into the number of the patricians by the senate, who assigned them a certain portion of land beyond the Anio, and a burying place under the capitol. Actius Clausus, on his arrival at Rome, whither he came with five thousand families of his friends and dependents, changed his name to Appius Claudius, and was immediately admitted into the senate. In process of time the Claudian family was honoured with twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, six triumphs, and two ovations. They were distinguished among themselves by several names and surnames, but they agreed absolutely to renounce the name of Lucius, which was common in their family, two of that name having been condemned and executed, and to take the name of Nero in its stead, which in the Sabine languge signifies "strong" and "valiant." Of this family were the famous Appius Cæcus, Appius Claudius Caudex, Appius Claudius Nero, Appius Claudius,

(67) Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. XI. p. 404.

the empire, and inveſted by the ſenate and people with the ſame unbounded power which Auguſtus had enjoyed.

TIBERIUS

us, the decemvir, Appius Claudius Druſus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, of whom we have ſpoken at length in different places of this work. Of the ſame family were the two celebrated Claudiæ, one of whom diſengaged the veſſel, which was ſtranded at the mouth of the Tiber, and laden with the ſacred image and the utenſils of the great mother of the gods; the other was arraigned of high treaſon before the people, which had never happened before to any woman, for ſaying as ſh epaſſed in her chariot through the ſtreets which were much crowded, "I wiſh my brother Pulcher "were alive, that by loſing another ſea-fight, he might clear the "ſtreets of that throng, and make more room for my chariot:" for Claudius Pulcher, as we have related elſewhere (68), having engaged the Carthaginians at ſea contrary to the opinion of all his officers, was by them entirely defeated with the loſs of ninety galleys, and twenty-eight thouſand men, killed, drowned, or taken priſoners. P. Claudius, the declared enemy of Cicero, was likewiſe of this family; but in order to obtain the tribuneſhip, and by the power annexed to that office enable himſelf effectually to deſtroy the Roman orator, he renounced his nobility, and got himſelf adopted by a mean plebeian into a very low family. The reſt were all patricians, and had ever been the principal aſſertors of the power and dignity of that order. Tiberius was of the patrician family of the Claudii both by the father's ſide, who was deſcended from Tiberius Nero, the ſon of Appius Cæcus, and by the mother's, who was the daughter of Appius Pulcher, brother to the ſaid Tiberius Nero. He was alſo allied to the family of the Livii by the adoption of his mother's grandfather. The Livian family was indeed plebeian, but nevertheleſs honoured with eight conſulſhips, two cenſorſhips, one dictatorſhip, and three triumphs. To this family Rome was indebted for many citizens of great proweſs and renown, among whom we may well reckon Livius Salinator, and Livius Druſus; of Livius Salinator we have ſpoke elſewhere (69); as to Livius Druſus, he is ſaid to have killed in a ſingle combat a general of the enemy named Drauſus, and to have in memory of that exploit aſſumed and tranſmitted to his poſterity the name of Druſus. In his prætorſhip he recovered, according to ſome writers, and brought back the gold which had been given to the Senones, when they beſieged the capitol. The father of Tiberius, was quæſtor to Julius Cæſar, and commanded his fleet in the Alexandrian war; after which he was by the dictator rewarded for his eminent ſervices, and appointed firſt pontifex

(68) Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XII. p. 143.

(69) Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XII. p. 180. 269.

TIBERIUS had no sooner accepted the empire, than the senators, to curry favour with their new sovereign, were for heaping extraordinary honours on his mother: some proposed decreeing her the general title of "mother," others that of "mother of her country," and almost all moved, that to the name of Tiberius should be added, "the "son of Livia." But Tiberius, jealous of his mother's glory, answered, that public honours ought to be conferred upon women warily, and with a sparing hand, adding, that he would use the same moderation in receiving the honours which should be offered to himself. He could not be prevailed upon to suffer so much as a lictor to be decreed her, tho' every vestal enjoyed that mark of distinction; nay, he prohibited the raising her an altar in memory of her late adoption into the Julian family, or paying her any honours of the like nature. Thus from the very beginning

His ingratitude to his mother Livia.

tifex in the room of Publius Scipio, and afterwards honoured with the command of the colonies which were sent into Gaul. However, when the dictator was slain, and most of the senators, apprehensive of new troubles, were for passing an act of oblivion, Tiberius, not thinking that enough, moved, that rewards might be bestowed on the tyrannicides. In the Perusian war he sided with Lucius Antonius against Octavianus, and though the rest abandoned Lucius, yet he could never be prevailed upon to forsake him; so that he was the only person who continued with him to the last. When the city of Perusia surrendered, he found means to make his escape first to Prænestе, and from thence into Campania, where he armed the slaves with a design to make a stand against Octavianus; but his undisciplined troops betaking themselves to flight at the approach of Octavianus's victorious legions, he was forced to shelter himself in Sicily, where he staid a very short time, being disgusted with Pompey, who neither deigned to admit him into his presence, nor would allow him to have the fasces carried before him, though the time of his prætorship was not yet expired. From Sicily he retired into Greece, where he was kindly received by Marc Antony, and entertained by him in a manner suitable to his rank, till a peace being concluded between Antony, Octavianus, and Pompey, and a general amnesty granted, he returned to Rome with the rest of the exiles; where Augustus, falling in love with his wife Livia Drusilla, obliged him to yield her to him, though she had already brought him children, among the rest Tiberius, and was then big with child. He died soon after, leaving behind him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, surnamed Nero's, as we have related above.

Some

of his reign, he requited with the utmoſt ingratitude the infinite obligations he owed to his mother, being aſhamed, as

Some authors have written, that Tiberius was born at Fundi, a city of the Auſones between Terracina and Formia; but the moſt credible writers aſſure us, that he was born at Rome on mount Palatine, the ſixteenth day before the calends of December, M. Æmilius Lepidus being conſul the ſecond time with L. Munatius Plancus. In his infancy he ſuffered great hardſhips, and was expoſed to frequent dangers, his parents having taken him along with them in their flight and exile; nay, his mother Livia, in their painful journeys round Sicily and Greece, is ſaid to have carried him great part of the way in her arms, her huſband being abandoned by all his friends, and even his domeſtics, on account of his ſteady adherence to the republican party. Some time after his return to Rome one M. Gallius, a ſenator, adopted him by his laſt will, and appointed him his heir: Tiberius accepted of the eſtate, but declined aſſuming the name of his benefactor, becauſe he had been formerly a zealous ſtickler for the republican party. He made a funeral oration for his father, when he was but nine years old, which was received with great applauſe. In Auguſtus's triumph for his victory over Antony at Actium, he attended him on horſe-back with Marcellus the ſon of Octavia. He afterwards commanded the young noblemen in the Trojan ſolemnities, or turnament called Troy, which were celebrated in the circus, preſided in the Actiac games, inſtituted in memory of Auguſtus's victory at Actium, and exhibited ſeveral combats of gladiators in honour of his father Tiberius, and grandfather Druſus, in one of which he engaged with three hundred thouſand ſeſterces, ſome of the rudiarii,, or gladiators who had been diſcharged and exempted from fighting, to return to the arena. He entertained the people with ſeveral other magnificent ſhews, partly at the expence of his mother, and partly of his father-in-law. His firſt wife was Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, and grand-daughter of the famous Titus Pomponius Atticus, by whom he had his ſon Druſus; but though ſhe was with child again, he was obliged much againſt his will to divorce her, and marry Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus, by whom he had one ſon, who died while he was yet an infant. Julia had, in her firſt huſband's life-time, expreſſed a great paſſion for Tiberius; but after their marriage ſhe deſpiſed him, and was, as it is commonly believed, with her ſcandalous and lewd life, the chief cauſe of his ſudden retreat to Rhodes.

He firſt ſerved under Auguſtus in quality of military tribune in the Cantabrian war; ſome time after he was appointed commander

as was commonly believed, to acknowledge himself indebted for the empire to the intrigues of a woman [w]. He proved a no less cruel husband, than an undutiful son. Julia had been long since banished by her father into the island of Pandataria on account of her scandalous lewdness, and from thence some years after removed to the city of Rhegium on the streights of Sicily, where she suffered a less painful exile. Tiberius in Augustus's life-time had shewn great tenderness and compassion for his unhappy wife, and often solicited the prince to recall her, and reinstate her in his favour. But he was no sooner declared emperor, than he stopt the small pension which her father paid her yearly for her support; so that the unfortunate princess, after a long series of miseries, died of want in the fifteenth year of her banishment [x] (M). At the same time Sempronius Grac- The death of Julia.

chus,

[w] Idem. ibid. [x] Idem. ibid. c. 53. Suet. l. iii. c. 11.

mander in chief of the army which was sent into Armenia to place Tigranes on that throne. On his return from that expedition Augustus raised him to the prætorship, and took him with him into Gaul, whence he sent him against the Rhœtians and Vindelicians, whom he conquered, reducing their country to a Roman province, as we have related above. He was no less successful in his expeditions against the Pannonians and Germans, whom he obliged to sue for peace. Augustus rewarded his victories with a triumph, which he obtained in his second consulship. But in the height of his glory he left Rome, and retired to Rhodes, whence after seven years banishment, as we may call it, he was allowed to return to Rome, reinstated in the favour of Augustus by the interest of his mother Livia, appointed to command the armies in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Illyricum, made in some degree partner of the empire with Augustus, and in his last will named his chief heir (70).

(M) Augustus had confined her only to the city of Rhegium, but Tiberius would not allow her the liberty of going out of the house in which she lodged, nor suffer any of the inhabitants to converse with her, or come near her. He deprived her, according to Suetonius (71), of the small pension which

(70) Vide Suet. in Tiber. & Dio, l. lvi. (71) Suet. ibid. c. 5.

chus, one of her chief favourites, was by Tiberius's orders put to death in the iſland of Cercina, to which he had been confined by Auguſtus. He was deſcended of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome, had a lively wit, great eloquence, and an engaging addreſs and behaviour. With theſe parts he had captivated the heart of Julia, and debauched her while ſhe was yet Agrippa's wife; neither did he break off his intrigues with her, after ſhe was married to Tiberius; nay, he is ſuppoſed to have inſpired her with contempt and averſion for her new huſband, and to have dictated the letters, which ſhe wrote to her father, full of bitterneſs againſt Tiberius, and painting him in the moſt odious colours. He had therefore been baniſhed by Auguſtus to the iſland of Cercina, where he had ſuffered great miſeries for fourteen years. But Tiberius, not judging baniſhment an adequate puniſhment for the injuries Sempronius had done him, ſent, or ordered Lucius Aſprenas, proconſul of Africa, to ſend, a band of aſſaſſins to diſpatch him. Theſe upon their landing found the unhappy exile on the ſhore, who, without betraying any fear or ſurprize, went to meet them, and entreat them, being well appriſed of their deſign, to ſuſpend the execution of Cæſar's orders, till he wrote a letter to his wife Alliaria, to acquaint her with his laſt will; which he had no ſooner done, than he offered his neck to the ſword of the aſſaſſins with a conſtancy and intrepidity worthy of the Sempronian name, though he had in his lifetime ſhamefully degenerated from the glory of his anceſtors. Some authors have written, that the aſſaſſins were not ſent directly from Rome, but from Africa, the crafty tyrant having committed the execution of his orders to Lucius Aſprenas, governor of that province, in order to ſcreen himſelf by that means from the imputation of putting to death an

Sempronius Gracchus one of her chief favourites murdered by Tiberius's orders.

which Auguſtus had allowed her for her maintenance, under pretence of an exact and religious obſervance of the laſt will of her father, in which no mention was made of her. But Dion Caſſius tells us (72), that he left her a ſmall legacy, though he ordained, that neither ſhe nor her daughter ſhould be laid in his mauſoleum; and Tacitus ſays, that he cauſed her to periſh with want, ſuppoſing that her tragical death, as ſhe was at a good diſtance from Rome, would remain concealed (73).

(72) Dio, l. lvi. (73) Tacit. annal. l. i.

an illuſtrious citizen of Rome, whom his father Auguſtus had only condemned to baniſhment, and caſt the odium of ſuch an action on Aſprenas [y]. But Tiberius's principal care in the beginning of his reign was to engage in his intereſt his nephew Germanicus, who, on account of his extraordinary parts, and ſweet temper, was equally adored by the people and ſoldiery. In order to this, though he hated Germanicus in his heart, yet pretending a tender affection for him, after he had forbid the ſenate to confer any particular honours on Livia, he recommended to them his nephew, and even aſked for him the proconſular power; which being granted, he immediately diſpatched into Germany perſons of the firſt rank to acquaint him therewith, and condole with him in his name for the death of Auguſtus [z] (N). He then named twelve candidates for the prætorſhip, among whom were Velleius Paterculus the hiſtorian, and his brother; the ſenate deſired him to appoint more, but as that number had been ſettled by Auguſtus, he not only refuſed to comply with their requeſt, but bound himſelf by an oath never to depart from the regulations of his predeceſſor. The people had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of creating magiſtrates, or at leaſt ſhared it with the emperor, one half of the magiſtrates being named by him, and the other by the tribes, aſſembled in the field of Mars (O); but Tiberius in the firſt elections, deprived them of their antient rights, and transferred them to the ſenate: the people complained of this innovation, but no diſturbances enſued, the ſenate being well pleaſed with the change, ſince by it they were delivered

He endeavours to engage Germanicus in his intereſt.

The privilege of creating magiſtrates tranſferred from the people to the ſenate.

[y] Tacit. ibid. c. 53. [z] Idem ibid.

(N) Germanicus had been inveſted with the proconſular power three years before by Auguſtus, as Dion informs us; the power therefore, which was now conferred upon him at the requeſt of Tiberius, was, no doubt, a confirmation of the proconſular authority for his life, ſuch as had been formerly granted to Auguſtus. In virtue of this new dignity, Germanicus had an almoſt abſolute authority over all the Roman forces both in the provinces and the city, and was every-where to be acknowledged as commander in chief, and under Tiberius generaliſſimo of the empire.

(O) Suetonius tells us that "Julius Cæſar ſhared the power of "creating magiſtrates with the people, except in the election "of conſuls," one half of the magiſtrates being declared by them

from the charge of buying votes, and the ſhame of begging them [a].

The army in Pannonia mutinies.

TIBERIUS had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, or, as we may well call it, the throne, when news was brought him, that the armies in Pannonia and Germany had mutinied. In Pannonia three legions, viz. the eighth, the ninth, and the thirteenth, being allowed by their general Julius Bloeſus a relaxation for ſome days from their uſual duties, either to mourn, according to the Roman cuſtom, for the death of Auguſtus, or to rejoice for the acceſſion of Tiberius, they grew wanton, quarrelſome and turbulent, began to hearken to ſeditious diſcourſes, to be fond of an eaſy and idle life, and to have an utter averſion to the toils and diſcipline of the camp. They were headed and inflamed by one Percennius, a common ſoldier, who, before he

[a] Idem ibid. Dio, l. liv.

them, and the other by himſelf, which he ſignified by billets ſent to the tribes in theſe words; "I recommend ſuch or ſuch "a perſon to you, that by your ſuffrage he may be admitted "into ſuch or ſuch an office (74)." The ſame writer in the life of Auguſtus informs us, that he reſtored to the aſſemblies of the people the antient rights, having firſt enacted ſevere laws againſt all ſorts of bribery, and corrupt acquiſition of offices. But whether Suetonius by antient rights meant thoſe which the people enjoyed in the times of liberty, or only the privilege of chuſing one half of the migiſtrates, which they were allowed in the dictatorſhip of Cæſar, and afterwards deprived of during the triumvirate, is matter of diſpute among the learned (75). As to the conſuls, they were both named by Cæſar the dictator, and afterwards by Auguſtus, at leaſt in the firſt years of his reign. Dion ſeems to inſinuate, that Tiberius named the conſuls himſelf, but allowed the ſenate to chuſe the other magiſtrates, reſerving to himſelf the recommendation of ſome who were to be elected without oppoſition: on the other hand, Tacitus tells us, that as to the conſular elections, he can ſcarce affirm any thing, there being in this particular a great diſagreement among the hiſtorians of thoſe times, and a ſeeming contradiction in the ſpeeches of Tiberius himſelf, always reſerved, always myſterious (76).

(74) Suet. in Julio, c. 41.

(75) Vide Lipſium in Excurſ. in annal. Tacit. l. i. litera E.

(76) Tacit. annal. l. i. in fine.

he ſerved in the army, had made it his whole buſineſs to raiſe diſturbances, and form parties in the theatres and playhouſes to hiſs or applaud ſuch players as he diſliked or favoured (P). As he had by this practice acquired a notable talent in ſpeaking to a crowd, and inflaming the mob, in the duſk of the evening, when thoſe whom he diſtruſted were withdrawn to their tents, he uſed to aſſemble the moſt turbulent, ſtir them up to mutiny, inflame them againſt their officers, and encourage them to lay hold of the preſent occaſion, while the emperor's authority was yet wavering, to prevail upon him either by force or entreaties to redreſs their grievances. " How long," ſaid he, " ſhall we obey, " like ſlaves, a few centurions and tribunes? When ſhall " we have courage enough to demand a redreſs of our " grievances, if we let ſlip the preſent opportunity? What " hinders us from laying our complaints before the new " emperor, and obliging him either by our prayers or " menaces to liſten to them? Are we doomed to be for " ever miſerable? Many of us have already ſerved thirty " or forty years, are decrepit with age, and maimed with " wounds; and yet either cannot obtain our diſcharge, or " after having obtained it, are ſtill kept in the camp un- " der the honourable title of veterans (Q), and obliged " to

Percennius inflames them.

(P) In the circus and theatres there were in the Roman times parties and factions, ſome favouring one actor, and ſome another: the oppoſite parties often came to blows; nay, much blood was ſometimes ſhed in thoſe frays. Suetonius tells us, that the emperor Nero took great pleaſure in theſe theatrical battles; and that being conveyed in his litter into the theatre, he not only beheld from the upper part of the proſcenium the oppoſite parties quarrelling about the players, but ſet them together by the ears; and when they were engaged, took great delight in throwing ſtones, and pieces of broken benches, among the crowd, with which he once wounded a prætor in the head (77).

(Q) In the times of the republic thoſe were called veterans, who had ſerved twenty years, after which they were diſcharged, and allowed to retire, if they pleaſed, as Suidas informs us; this diſcharge was called Miſſio. But under the emperors the veterans, that is, thoſe who had ſerved twenty years, were ſtill kept in the camp till they received the rewards which were due to them

(77) Suet. in Ner. c. 26.

" to undergo the ſame hardſhips, the ſame labours. But " ſuppoſe any of us ſhould eſcape ſo many dangers, and " outlive ſo many calamities, how in the end ſhall we be " rewarded? Under the name of lands we ſhall be doomed " to drain bogs and marſhes, or to till barren mountains " in countries far remote from our native ſoil. Could " our pay afford us a comfortable ſubſiſtence, we ſhould " not have ſo much reaſon to complain of the poorneſs of " our rewards. But our perſons and lives are valued on- " ly at ten aſſes a day, and out of this we muſt buy " cloaths, tents, and arms; out of this we muſt bribe our " cruel centurions, and redeem ourſelves from their blows: " for ſo poor a price we muſt patiently ſuffer ſtripes, " wounds, hard winters, laborious ſummers, bloody wars, " or a barren peace. For theſe miſeries there is no other " remedy left us, than that we refuſe to ſerve but upon " certain conditions fixed by ourſelves; particularly, that " our pay be a denarius, or ſixteen aſſes a day (R); that " ſixteen

them on account of their paſt ſervices, and in the mean time were exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight. This diſcharge or exemption from military toils was called by the antients exauctoratio, which we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh from what they called Miſſio; for after the former they often continued many years under their colours, whereas the latter was an abſolute diſcharge granted to them after they had received their rewards. Suetonius tells us, that Tiberius very rarely diſcharged his veterans, that he might be a gainer by their death (78); for the rewards due to them were not paid to their heirs. The ſame writer informs us, that Caligula in reviewing his army diſcharged ſeveral centurions, who had very near ſerved their time, under pretence that they were too old, and unfit for the ſervice (79). Thus ſome of the emperors declined diſcharging their ſoldiers after they had ſerved their time, and others diſcharged them before; all with the ſame view, to defraud them of their rewards.

(R) The Roman denarius was a piece of ſilver firſt coined in the year of Rome 484, Q. Ogulnius Gallus and Q. Fabius Pictor being conſuls. It was at firſt worth ten aſſes, and therefore marked with the numeral letter X. It underwent in proceſs of time many changes and reductions; but in the age we are now writing of, it was valued at ſixteen aſſes, and hence the mutineers

(78) Suet. in Tib. c. 48. (79) Idem in Calig. c. 44.

" ſixteen years be the utmoſt term of ſerving; that when " this time is expired, we be no longer kept under the " colours, but have our rewards paid us in ready money " in the camp where we earned it. Do the prætorian " cohorts, who receive two denarii a day, and are diſ- " charged after ſixteen years ſervice, undergo greater " dangers than we? I do not mean to detract from the " merit of the city guards, but only ſay, that we are " placed in the midſt of barbarous nations, and cannot " look out of our camp without ſeeing the enemy." This harangue was received with great applauſe by the enraged multitude: ſome of them immediately propoſed the incorporating of the three legions into one; but every one claiming for his own legion the prerogative of denominating the other two, this project was defeated; however, they agreed to place the three eagles of the legions with the ſtandards of the cohorts all together, and to raiſe with turf a tribunal, according to the Roman cuſtom (S), for the new

neers demanded, that their pay might be raiſed from ten aſſes to a denarius. Lipſius in his notes upon Tacitus pretends, that the denarius at this time was worth twelve aſſes only; but that he was therein miſtaken, is manifeſt from Gronovius's learned obſervations on the money of the antients (100). The ſoldiers pay was at firſt five aſſes a day; but it was afterwards, at what time preciſely we know not, raiſed to ten. Out of theſe ten aſſes they were to buy cloaths, tents and arms, as is manifeſt from this paſſage of Tacitus, contrary to the law publiſhed by Gracchus, enacting, that the ſoldiers ſhould be ſupplied with arms, cloaths, tents, &c. at the public expence. This law was probably revoked, when their pay was encreaſed; but nevertheleſs, ſome of the ſucceeding emperors cloathed their ſoldiers at the expence of the public, namely Alexander Severus, who, as Ælius Lampridius tells us in the life of that emperor, " gave his ſoldiers ſhoes, boots, breeches, coats and cloaks."

(S) The tribunal, from whence the emperors uſed to harangue their troops, was ſtill, nay, and many ages after, raiſed with turf. Flavius Vopiſcus, ſpeaking of the elevation of the emperor Probus, " The whole army," ſays he, " cried out unanimouſly, Probus! we ſalute Probus our ſovereign. The " gods ſave you! Then they erected a tribunal of turf, and pro- " claimed

(100) Vide Gronov. pec. vet. l. iii. c. 2.

new general they deſigned to chuſe. While they were thus buſy, Bloeſus arrived; and having ſeverely rebuked ſome, and threatened others, "Dip your hands rather in "my blood" he cried with a loud voice to all; "for to "murder your general will be a leſs crime than to revolt "from your prince; for I am determined, if I fall not by "your hands, to keep you in your obedience; if you "think fit to murder me, I hope at the ſight of my "blood you will repent of your crime, and return to your "duty." This diſcourſe did not affect the mutinous ſoldiery, who continued their work, till it was breaſt-high, when at length, being overcome by the conſtancy and intrepidity of their general, they forbore. When their fury was ſomewhat aſſuaged, Bloeſus, who was an able ſpeaker, remonſtrated to them, that ſedition and mutiny were not the proper means of conveying their claims to the emperor, that their demands were new and extraordinary, ſuch as no armies had in former times made to their generals, nor they themſelves to the deified Auguſtus; beſides, that they were ill-timed, ſince princes in the beginning of their government are taken up and embaraſſed with various cares. However, if they expected to gain in peace what the conquerors, even after the civil wars, had never had the confidence to demand, why ſhould they uſe violence, and trample upon the rules of military diſcipline? that they might appoint deputies, and in his preſence give them their inſtructions. At theſe words they all cried out with one voice, that they were willing to ſend deputies; and that the ſon of Bloeſus, who was a tribune, ſhould be immediately diſpatched to the emperor to demand in their name, that they might be abſolutely diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice; they added, that when he had obtained this, they would truſt him with their further pretenſions.

Bloeſus endeavours to appeaſe them.

In

"claimed him emperor." This cuſtom obtained likewiſe among foreign nations, eſpecially in Britain, as Xiphilinus informs us, who, in ſpeaking of the famous queen Boadicia, ſays, that "ſhe aſcended a tribunal reared with turf after the Roman "manner." Frequent mention is made of theſe tribunals by the antient poets (1).

(1) Vide Stat. in ſyl. Lucan. l. v. & Claud. de bell. Getic.

In the mean time, ſome manipuli or companies, which had been ſent, before the ſedition, to Nauportum (T), to mend the roads, being informed of the tumult in the camp, plucked up their ſtandards, and falling upon the neighbouring villages, plundered them, and Nauportum itſelf. The centurions endeavoured to reſtrain their violence, but the mutineers, inſtead of liſtening to their remonſtrances, or betraying any fear at their menaces, firſt derided them, afterwards abuſed them with moſt outrageous language, and at length came to blows. They were chiefly incenſed againſt Aufidienus Rufus, who, as he had been long a common ſoldier, and had raiſed himſelf by his courage and bravery to the poſt of præfectus caſtrorum (U), was a ſevere

(T) Nauportum was a city of Upper Pannonia, and is placed by Strabo, who calls it Naupontus, in the country of the Tauriſci, three hundred and fifty furlongs from Aquileia. It was ſo called from the river Nauportus, on which it ſtood (2). Cluverius is of opinion, that Nauportum ſtood on the ſpot where the preſent city of Oberlauback in Carniola was afterwards built.

(U) This was, without all doubt, a new office, inſtituted probably by Auguſtus; for no mention is made of the præfectus caſtrorum by any author, who wrote in the times of the republic. It was his province to pitch upon the ground for encamping, and lay it out, to diſtribute the quarters and pavilions, and to direct the workmen in raiſing the ramparts, digging the ditches, &c. He had alſo under his care all the military engines, carriages, and iron tools belonging to the army (3). Each legion had a præfectus caſtrorum, at leaſt when they encamped ſeparately; for Tacitus, ſpeaking of one Pœnius Poſthumius, calls him "præfectus caſtrorum ſecundæ legionis (4)." The ſame writer ſeems to place them in rank above the tribunes; for in deſcribing Vitellius's entry into Rome, he tells us, that before their ſeveral eagles marched firſt, the præfecti caſtrorum, next to them the tribunes, and after the tribunes the chief centurions (5). Veſpaſius Pollio, the grand-father of the emperor Veſpaſian, was præfectus caſtrorum. But we muſt not on that account confound, as a modern writer has done whom Lipſius confutes, the præfectus caſtrorum with the præfectus prætorii, an officer of a much ſuperior rank.

(2) Vide Plin. l. iii. c. 18. & Vell. Patercul. l. xi. c. 110.
(3) Vide Veget. l. xi. c. 18.
(4) Tacit. l. xiv.
(5) Tacit. hiſtor. l. ii.

ſevere obſerver of the primitive diſcipline, which he exacted from others with the more rigor, as he had himſelf borne with patience the hardſhips attending it. Upon him the furious multitude firſt vented their rage; they dragged him from his chariot, loaded him with baggage, and driving him before the firſt ranks, aſked him by way of inſult, how he liked ſuch burdens? how ſuch marches? Upon the arrival of theſe mutinous companies in the camp, the ſedition broke out anew with more fury than ever; the ſeditious, caſting off all obedience, roved about the country without controul, ravaging it on all ſides. Upon their return, Blœſus, who was ſtill obeyed by the centurions, and the legionaries of any reputation, cauſed thoſe, who were moſt loaded with plunder, to be beaten with rods, and caſt into priſon (W). But the furious multitude, flying to the relief of the criminals, reſcued them out of the hands of the lictors, and, breaking open the priſon, ſet all the priſoners at liberty. After ſo bold an attempt the mutineers grew more outragous, and the mutiny more general. One Vibulenus, a common ſoldier, being raiſed on the ſhoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of Blœſus, addreſſed thoſe who had delivered the priſoners, thus:

The mutineers fall upon Rufus.

They are ſtirred up by Vibulenus.

"I cannot ſufficiently commend the zeal you have "ſhewn for theſe innocent and unhappy ſufferers: you have "reſtored to them their liberty: but who will reſtore life "to my brother? who my brother to me? He was ſent "from the army in Germany with propoſals for our com-"mon good: but our cruel general cauſed him to be "butchered laſt night by his gladiators (X), whom he en-"tertains

(W) From this paſſage it is manifeſt, that the Romans built priſons in their camp, and alſo from the following lines of Juvenal:

"Inde fides arti, ſonuit ſi dextera ferro
"Lævaque, ſi longe caſtrorum in carcere manſit (6).

Theſe criminals were dragged along with the army in chains, when they decamped.

(X) Moſt of the governors of provinces, generals, and other great men, maintained vaſt numbers of gladiators at an immenſe charge

(6) Juvenal, ſatyr. 6.

" tertains and arms for our deſtruction." Then turning to Blœſus, " Tell me, Blœſus," ſaid he, " where have you " thrown his mangled body? Even the moſt cruel enemies " do not deny burial to the ſlain. When I ſhall have " ſatisfied my grief with a thouſand kiſſes, and a flood of " tears, command me alſo to be maſſacred, that our " fellow-ſoldiers may bury my brother and me together, " both inhumanly murdered for conſulting the common " good of the legions." When Vibulenus had ended his ſpeech, he threw himſelf at the feet of his companions, and beating his breaſt, tearing his face, and ſhewing all the ſymptoms of the deepeſt ſorrow, he endeavoured to raiſe at the ſame time pity and fury in the minds of the multitude, and indeed with good ſucceſs; for they fell immediately upon Blœſus's gladiators and domeſtics, and having bound them, diſperſed themſelves about the camp and the neighbouring fields in queſt of the ſuppoſed corſe, which if they had found, Blœſus himſelf would have been in great danger; but as they could find no corſe, and it manifeſtly appeared from the depoſitions of Blœſus's ſlaves upon the rack, and of other credible witneſſes, that the whole was a calumny maliciouſly invented, and that Vibulenus never had any brother, they ſpared their general; but nevertheleſs in the height of their rage, fell upon the præfectus caſtrorum, and the tribunes, drove them out of the camp, and plundered their baggage: they put to death the centurion Lucilius, whom they hated above all the reſt on account of his ſeverity, and had by way of ſarcaſm nicknamed " Cedo alteram, Reach me another," becauſe when he had broke one rod, or vine-twig, which was made uſe of on ſuch occaſions, upon the back of a ſoldier, he was wont to call for another, and then a third (Y). The other

They fall upon their officers.

charge for the public ſhews. We muſt not therefore imagine, that the gladiators mentioned in this place were liſted in the legions: they belonged to the general, and not to the army.

(Y) We have another inſtance of a nick-name made up of different words in the life of the emperor Aurelian wrote by Flavius Vopiſcus, who tells us, that there being two Aurelians in the army, and both tribunes at the ſame time, the ſoldiers uſed by way of diſtinction to call the Aurelian who was afterwards emperor, " Aurelianus Manu ad ferrum," becauſe he was on all occaſions ready to draw his ſword.

other centurions withdrew, and abſconded, all except Julius Clemens, whom, as he was a man of parts, the mutineers detained with a deſign to commit the management of their affairs to him. Another centurion, nicknamed Sirpicus (Z), had like to have occaſioned a bloody quarrel between the eighth and fifteenth legion, the former inſiſting upon his being put to death, and the latter protecting him; but the ninth legion, what with entreaties, what with menaces, compoſed the difference [b].

Druſus ſent to quell the tumult.

TIBERIUS no ſooner received intelligence of this mutiny, than he diſpatched his ſon Druſus to the rebellious legions at the head of two prætorian cohorts, the prætorian horſe, and the main body of the German horſe, at this time the emperor's guards (A). The prætorian cohorts were on this occaſion reinforced with an extraordinary addition of choſen men. Among the perſons of diſtinction who were ordered to attend and aſſiſt Druſus in bringing back the revolted legions to their duty, were Cneius Lentulus, an officer of great fame and experience, and Ælius Sejanus, who had been lately joined with his father Strabo in the commiſſion of præfectus prætorii, that is, in the command of the prætorian guards (B). Sejanus was appointed

[b] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 16----30.

(Z) The word Sirpicus may be derived from the antient verb Sirpare, which ſignifies "to blind," and is uſed in that ſignification by Varro (7). The centurion was perhaps called Sirpicus, becauſe he had frequently in his mouth that obſolete verb: perhaps becauſe he kept the ſoldiers to their duty with great ſeverity, and cauſed them to be bound and caſt into priſon for the leaſt breach of military diſcipline.

(A) Suetonius tells us, that Auguſtus, after the defeat of Varus, who was cut off with three legions in Germany, diſbanded all his German guards (8). But Tiberius, it ſeems, ſet that corps on foot again, in the very beginning of his reign.

(B) The præfectus prætorii was the chief commander of the emperor's guards called Prætorians from the Latin word Prætorium, which at firſt ſignified the general's quarters in the camp, the

(7) Varro. l. iv. ling. latin.

(8) Suet. in Aug. c. 48.

ed governor to the young prince; and as his credit with the emperor was known to be great, it was hoped he might either with promiſes or entreaties bring the ſeditious to a ſenſe of their duty. When news was brought to the camp that Druſus approached, the legions in token of reſpect marched out to meet him, not with their uſual gaiety and ſhouts of joy, but in ſullen ſilence, diſplaying in their countenances marks of ſadneſs mixed with fierceneſs and rage. As ſoon as Druſus entered the camp, he placed guards at all the gates and parties under arms in ſeveral quarters to be ready againſt any ſurprize. Druſus immediately aſcended the tribunal, and having made a ſign with his hand to the crowds that ſurrounded it to be ſilent, he read to them his father's letter; the ſubſtance of which was, that he would take a particular care of the brave legions with whom he had ſucceſsfully carried on ſo many wars; that as ſoon as his grief was allayed, he would treat with the ſenate about their demands; that, in the mean time, he had ſent them his ſon, and impowered him to make them forthwith ſuch conceſſions as could be made without further conſultation; but as to other demands, they were to be referred to the ſenate, whom he would not by any means deprive of the right of diſtributing rewards and puniſhments. When Druſus had read his father's letter, the aſſembly appointed the centurion Julius Clemens to be their ſpeaker; who accordingly began with propoſing to Druſus their demands, which were, that they ſhould be diſcharged after ſixteen years ſervice; that they ſhould upon that diſcharge receive the rewards which they claimed; that their pay ſhould be

How received.

Tiberius's letter to them.

Their demands.

the word prætor being in the firſt ages of the republic common to all magiſtrates, whether civil or military. In the times of the emperors, by prætorium was meant the emperor's quarters in the camp, and his houſe in the city: hence in prætorium accipi, is to be liſted among the prætorium ſoldiers, or the emperor's guards (9). Auguſtus was the firſt, as Dion informs us (10), who gave the title of præfectus prætorii to the chief officer of his guards. The præfecti prætorii under Conſtantine the Great, and his ſucceſſors, were the firſt officers of the empire, and had quite different functions from thoſe of the præfecti prætorii appointed by Auguſtus.

(9) Vide Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 48. (10) Dio, l. lv. p. 555.

be encreaſed to a Roman denarius, and that the veterans ſhould be no longer detained under their enſigns. To theſe demands Druſus anſwered, that they exceeded his power, and therefore ought to be laid before the ſenate and his father. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the multitude cried out with one voice, "To what end then are you come, ſince "you can neither encreaſe our pay, nor redreſs our griev-"ances? Every officer is allowed to puniſh us with blows, "and even death; and the ſon of the emperor has not pow-"er to relieve us by one beneficent action! Druſus, we find, "has already attained to a great perfection in the arts and "policy of his father, who to fruſtrate the requeſts of the "ſoldiers, uſed to refer all to Auguſtus. It is ſurpriſing, "that the emperor ſhould take upon himſelf the command "and whole direction of the army, and at the ſame time "refer the ſoldiery to the ſenate for their rewards! Why "ſhould he not in like manner conſult the ſenate, when a "battle is to be fought, or a ſoldier to be puniſhed? Are "puniſhments to be inflicted without any controul or reſtraint, "and rewards not beſtowed without the conſent and appro-"bation of many?" Having thus ſpoke, they left the tribunal, threatening and inſulting all thoſe they met belonging to Druſus, either as friends or guards, in order to pick a quarrel with them and have ſome pretence to fall upon them ſword in hand. They were chiefly enraged againſt Cneius Lentulus, who, they ſuſpected, had hardened the young prince againſt their complaints, and encouraged him to deſpiſe the menaces of the ſoldiery. Of this Lentulus was well appriſed, and therefore reſolved, before their fury broke out, to quit the camp, and return to his winter quarters. But as he was departing, the mutineers ſurrounding him, aſked, whither he went? to the emperor or ſenate, to oppoſe their advantages with them as he had done in the camp with Druſus? Theſe words were followed with a ſhower of ſtones, and he had been ſoon diſpatched, had not the troops that attended Druſus, who was with him, reſcued him already covered with wounds and blood. As the enraged multitude ſeemed now determined to keep no meaſures, Druſus was under dreadful apprehenſions of the following night, which every one believed would prove fatal to many, perhaps to Druſus himſelf. But it happened quite otherwiſe. Ignorance and ſuperſtition that very night put an end to the revolt, reſtored calm to the alarmed camp, and quieted the minds of the ſoldiery,

Druſus's anſwer inflames them.

They inſult Cn. Lentulus.

[b] Idem ibid.

diery, after they had ſo long continued deaf to reaſon, and trampled upon all the laws of military diſcipline. The moon all on a ſudden began to darken in the midſt of a clear ſky, till ſhe was by degrees totally eclipſed (C). The ſoldiery, ignorant of the natural cauſes of this phænomenon, and imagining that the gods were angry with them on account of their revolt, and the crimes attending it, began to ſhew ſome ſigns of repentance. Druſus did not fail to improve this their diſpoſition; he immediately ſent the centurion Julius Clemens, and other officers and ſoldiers, in whom he could confide, to mix with the mutineers, and try whether they could, while they were thus alarmed, inſpire them with a love of their duty. Theſe, purſuant to the prince's orders, going round from tent to tent, and inſinuating themſelves everywhere, firſt prevailed upon the legionaries to abandon the veterans, and the three legions to ſeparate. After this the love of duty and obedience returning by degrees, thoſe who guarded the gates to keep Druſus, as it were, beſieged, retired from their poſts: the eagles and other enſigns, which, in the beginning of the tumult, had been thrown together, were carried back each to it's proper place; and, after ſo dreadful a ſtorm, calm and tranquillity reſtored to every quarter of the camp.

They are frightened by an eclipſe of the moon, and return to their duty.

EARLY next morning, Druſus, having ſummoned an aſſembly, aſcended the tribunal, and though unſkilled in ſpeaking, yet with an haughtineſs natural to the Claudian family, inveighed againſt their paſt, and commended their preſent, behaviour. After this great debates aroſe in his council, ſome adviſing him to ſuſpend all proceedings till the return of the deputies, whom he had allowed them to ſend with their petitions to Tiberius, while others were for immediately condemning and executing the ring-leaders of the ſedition. Druſus, as he was naturally inclined to ſeverity, followed the advice of the latter; and having ſummoned Vibulenus and Percennius before his tribunal, he condemned them, and cauſed them immediately to be executed. Some writers ſay, that they were privately executed, and buried in Druſus's tent; others, that their bodies were ignominiouſly thrown over the entrenchments to ſtrike terror into the reſt. The other ring-leaders of the ſedition were diſcovered ſculking about the camp, and either ſlain by the centurions and prætorian

The authors of the revolt condemned and executed.

(C) This total eclipſe happened, according to the learned biſhop Uſher, on the twenty-ſeventh of September at five in the morning.

rian guards, or delivered up to Druſus by their comrades as a proof of their ſincere repentance. After this they were terrified anew with dreadful ſtorms, and ſuch violent rains, that they could not ſtir out of their tents; which they looking upon as ſent by the angry gods, reſolved to abandon a camp, which they had polluted with ſo many crimes, and return to their ſeveral garriſons. Accordingly the eighth legion departed firſt, and then the fifteenth, though earneſtly preſſed by the ninth to wait till the return of their deputies; at length the ninth likewiſe, their courage failing them after they were deſerted by the other two, abandoned the camp, and quietly followed them. Druſus, ſeeing tranquillity thus reſtored, returned to Rome to acquaint Tiberius with the ſucceſs of his negotiations, which indeed was more owing to chance than his addreſs [c].

The legions in Germany revolt.

ALMOST at the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſes, the legions in Germany revolted with far greater fury, as they were far more numerous. On the Rhine were quartered two armies, the one called the "Upper," commanded by Caius Silius, the other the "Lower," by Aulus Cæcina; but the chief command of both was veſted in Germanicus, who was then buſy in collecting the tribute in Gaul. The legions under Silius, however diſcontented, waited for the ſucceſs of the revolt, which the "Lower" army had begun. The latter, conſiſting of four legions, viz. the firſt, the fifth, the twentieth, and the one and twentieth, were encamped on the borders of the Ubii (D); where they no ſooner received

[c] Idem ibid.

(D) The Ubii in Cæſar's time dwelt on the other ſide of the Rhine, as is manifeſt from his commentaries, where he ſpeaks of them thus: "The country of the Suevi is bounded on the other "ſide by that of the Ubii, who poſſeſs a large and flouriſhing "city, and are a people far more polite than the other Germans, "becauſe lying nearer the Rhine, they have more commerce "with merchants, and converſation with the Gauls; with theſe "the Suevi had many diputes; and tho' the Ubii were ſo experi-"enced ſoldiers, ſo powerful and ſo numerous a people, that they "could not expel them the country, yet they made them their "tributaries, and reduced them to a very low condition (11)." And elſewhere, "The Ubii", ſays he, "the only people on the "other ſide of the Rhine, who had ſent embaſſadors to Cæſar, "had

(11) Cæſar comment. l. iv. c. 3.

ceived the news of Auguſtus's death, than the recruits lately raiſed in Rome, men accuſtomed to the ſoftneſs and gaieties of the city, and impatient of military labour and diſcipline, began to ſtir up the reſt with ſeditious harangues, inſinuating, that a favourable opportunity offered at length for the veterans to demand an abſolute diſcharge, for the ſoldiers who had not ſerved out their time, to inſiſt upon larger pay, and for all to obtain by ſome means or other a mitigation of their miſeries. We could not have wiſhed for a more favourable conjuncture, ſaid they, to be revenged on centurions for their cruelties: the fate of Rome depends upon us: Their demands.

" had entered into an alliance with him, and delivered hoſtages, " earneſtly deſired him to aſſiſt them againſt the oppreſſions of the " Suevi; if the ſtate of affairs did not permit him to go in per- " ſon, they begged, that he would only ſend his army into Ger- " many; for ſo great was the reputation which the Romans had " acquired by defeating Arioviſtus, that if they appeared in de- " fence of the Ubii, if they owned them for their allies, their " name alone would be ſufficient to defend them from the inſults " of the remoteſt Germans (12)." For their ſake chiefly, Cæſar reſolved to croſs the Rhine, and not thinking it either ſafe to tranſport his army in boats, or ſuitable to his character, and the dignity of the Roman name, he built the famous bridge, which he minutely deſcribes in his commentaries. As the Ubii continued faithful to Rome, and were on that account greatly haraſſed by their German neighbours, they were allowed by the Romans to ſettle on the oppoſite bank of the Rhine. This migration happened, according to Strabo, in the reign of Auguſtus; for that writer, ſpeaking of the Treviri, adds, " next to them dwell the " Ubii, whom Agrippa, agreeably to their inclination, placed " on this ſide of the Rhine (13)." Dion Caſſius mentions two expeditions of Agrippa into Gaul, the firſt in his firſt conſulſhip, the ſecond eighteen years after in the conſulſhip of C. Sentius and Q. Lucretius (14). It is moſt likely, that the migration of the Ubii happened in the firſt expedition; for then he built, as Dion informs us, a bridge croſs the Rhine. Tacitus, ſpeaking of the Ubii, ſays, that they came from beyond the Rine, and that for the many proofs of their fidelity, they were ſettled upon the bank of that river, not to be there guarded, but to guard and defend that boundary againſt the reſt of the Germans. The country allotted to them comprehended the greater part of the preſent duchy of Juliers, and almoſt the whole archbiſhoprick of Cologne.

(12) Idem ibid. c. 16. (13) Strab. l. iv. p. 134. (14) Dio, l. xlviii. & liv.

us: we have enlarged the empire with our victories: to us the Cæſars are indebted for the glorious ſurname of Germanicus. As Cæcina, inſtead of exerting his authority, betrayed fear, and gave way to their fury, they fell at once upon the centurions, the chief objects of their reſentment, and, dragging them to the ground, diſcharged upon each of them ſixty blows, that is, as many as there were centurions in a legion (E). Then, thus bruiſed and near expiring, they drove them ignominiouſly out of the camp, nay, ſome they threw into the Rhine. One Septimius fled for refuge to the tribunal of Cæcina; but the general was forced to deliver him up to the incenſed multitude. Caſſius Chærea, another centurion, afterwards famous for the murder of the emperor Caligula, boldly opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, through the crowd. After this the mutineers, deſpiſing the authority of their tribunes and their præfecti caſtorum, ſet and relieved the centries themſelves, appointed the guard, and gave ſuch orders as they judged proper in the preſent conjuncture.

They fall upon their centurions.

Germanicus endeavours to appeaſe them.

In the mean time, Germanicus, who, as we have hinted above, was collecting the tribute in Gaul, no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he flew to the camp. The legions, as he drew near, marched out to meet their general, expreſſing their diſſatisfaction with hideous clamours; nay ſome, taking him by the hand, as if they deſigned to kiſs it, thruſt his fingers into their mouths, to ſhew him they had with age loſt all their teeth; others deſired him to behold their hoary heads, the wounds they had received, &c. Germanicus, inſtead of returning any anſwer to particulars, as ſoon as he had entered the entrenchments, ordered them to range themſelves into manipuli, and place before them their ſeveral enſigns, as was cuſtomary when the general aſſembled and harangued his troops. They obeyed ſlowly and with reluctance; then Germanicus beginning his ſpeech with an encomium

(E) There were in a complete legion thirty manipuli or companies: each company conſiſted of an hundred and twenty men, and was divided into two bands, or as the antients ſtyle them "orders;" each order conſiſted of ſixty men, and had it's peculiar centurion; ſo that there were in a complete legion ſixty centurions, and each centurion had ſixty men under his command (15).

(15) Vide Lipſ. de militia Rom. l. ii. dial. 5. & 8. & Dion. Hal. l. ix.

encomium upon Auguſtus, proceeded to the many victories of Tiberius, enlarging on the glorious exploits he had atchieved in Germany with thoſe very legions; he then acquainted them, that all Italy, both the Gauls, and every province of the empire had received and acknowledged Tiberius for emperor, without betraying the leaſt diſaffection. Thus far they liſtened to him with attention; but when he began to expoſtulate with them about their ſeditious behaviour, the ſcene changed; Germanicus was interrupted with loud clamours and a general uproar: ſome ſtripping themſelves ſhewed him the ſcars of the many wounds they had received; others the marks of the ſtripes inflicted on them by the mercileſs centurions; they urged their ſcanty pay, their great labours, the hardſhips attending a military life, &c. Above all, from the veterans aroſe a dreadful cry; they enumerated thirty years of ſervice and upwards, and begged, that to men quite ſpent and worn out he would at length grant ſome reſpite, that he would not ſuffer them to be indebted to death for their relief, but diſcharge them forthwith, and allow them a comfortable maintenance. Some demanded the money which had been bequeathed to them by Auguſtus, mixing with their demands zealous vows and omens of happineſs for Germanicus; nay, ſome went ſo far as openly to declare, that they would ſtand by him to the laſt, if he would himſelf aſſume the empire. At theſe words Germanicus, ſtruck with horror, leaped from the tribunal, and attempted to make his eſcape, leaſt he ſhould be ſtained with their treaſon: but the ſeditious legionaries, drawing their ſwords, ſtopt him, and even threatened to kill him, if he offered to withdraw. Then the generous Germanicus, proteſting, that he would rather die than betray the truſt repoſed in him, drew his ſword, and would have ſacrificed his life to his fidelity, had not thoſe who ſtood next to him ſeized his hand, and reſtrained him by force. There were not, however, ſome wanting in the aſſembly, who cried out to him "to ſtrike" and not ſpare himſelf; nay, one Caluſidius, a common ſoldier, offered him his naked ſword, ſaying, "Take this, Germanicus, it is perhaps ſharper than your "own;" a behaviour which was highly condemned by the reſt as ſavage and barbarous. In the mean time, the friends of Germanicus had time to convey him out of the crowd to his tent, and there to conſult about the moſt proper meaſures in ſo critical a juncture. For Germanicus was informed, that the ring-leaders of the ſedition were preparing to diſpatch meſſengers to the Upper army, in order to draw them too

They lay their complaints before him.

And offer him the empire.

Which he generouſly refuſes.

in the revolt; that they designed to plunder the city of the Ubii (F); and that the Germans, already acquainted with the sedition in the Roman army, were ready to invade Gaul, as soon as the banks of the Rhine were left unguarded. In the council, which Germanicus held in his own tent, various measures were proposed, and at last the following resolution unanimously agreed to, viz. that letters should be feigned from Tiberius, with directions, that those who had served twenty years should be finally discharged; that such as had served sixteen should be deemed veterans; and that the legacy, which they demanded, should not only be paid, but doubled. But the mutineers, suspecting these concessions to be forged purely to gain time, insisted on their being forthwith executed. The tribunes therefore were obliged to discharge immediately the veterans; but as to the payment of the legacy, Germanicus would have fain put it off, till they were retired to their winter-quarters; and indeed the first legion and the twentieth trusted him upon his word, but the fifth and the one-and-twentieth refused to stir from the camp, till they were satisfied; so that he was obliged to raise the sum out of the money which he and his friends had brought with them, to defray the expences of their journey, which they no sooner received, than they retired quietly to their winter-quarters. Germanicus then hastened to the upper army under the command of Silius, and easily prevailed upon the second, the thirteenth, and the sixteenth, to swear allegiance to Tiberius; the fourteenth shewed some hesitation, but Germanicus discharging forthwith the veterans, and paying

He feigns letters from Tiberius, granting their demands.

And satisfies some with his own money.

(F) By "the city of the Ubii" Tacitus means Colonia Agrippinensis, which he calls "the city of the Ubii," either because it was their metropolis, or because they had not yet built any other. They probably laid the foundations of this city upon their first settling on this side of the Rhine. It was afterwards made a Roman colony, and peopled by veterans in the consulship of C. Antistius and M. Suilius, at the request of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus and wife of the emperor Claudius, who was born there. From her it was called Colonia Agrippinensis, and in after-ages Agrippina; which has made some writers doubt, whether it borrowed its name from Agrippina, or from her grandfather Agrippa, who brought the Ubii over the Rhine. But to Lipsius this doubt seems quite groundless, since the colony, had he been the founder of it, would have been called Colonia Agrippensis, and not Agrippinensis. What name it bore before it was made a Roman colony we find no where mentioned; for Tacitus calls it constantly "the "city of the Ubii."

paying the reſt the money bequeathed them by Auguſtus, cut off all occaſion of complaints.

BUT a party of veterans (G) belonging to the mutinous legions, and then in garriſon in the country of the Chauci (H), began a ſedition there, which was at firſt quelled by Memmius, præfect of the camp, who, though not veſted with any ſuch power, (I), put inſtantly two of the ring-leaders of the ſedition to death. But the tumult breaking out afterwards with freſh fury, Memmius was obliged to withdraw himſelf from their rage and lie concealed: the mutineers diſcovered him,

Some veterans in the country of the Chauci revolt, but are quelled by Memmius.

(G) The veterans formed a corps apart, and had their peculiar ſtandard called "Vexillum", whence they are commonly ſtyled by the antients "Vexillarii" and alſo "Emeriti", from their being exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight the enemy. In this condition they continued till they received the rewards due for their ſervice; and their final diſcharge, which the emperors uſed, under various pretences, to put off for many years, in order to defraud them of the promiſed lands or money.

(H) The Chauci inhabited Eaſt-Frieſland, the counties of Hoy and Oldenburg, the duchy of Bremen, and part of Lavenburg. Tacitus deſcribes the ſituation of their country and the manners of the people, thus: Germany extends northward a great way; firſt of all occurs the nation of the Chauci, who, though they begin immediately at the confines of the Friſians, and poſſeſs part of the ſhore, extend ſo far as to border upon the ſeveral people, of whom I have already ſpoken, till they reach quite to the borders of the Catti; ſo vaſt a country the Chauci not only poſſeſs, but fill. They are the moſt noble people of Germany, and chuſe rather to maintain their grandeur by juſtice than violence: they live quietly, free from the ambition of poſſeſſing more, and of domineering over others. They give no occaſion to wars, they ravage no countries: without wronging or oppreſſing others, they are come to be ſuperior to all (16). However, they drove out the Anſibarii, and ſeized on their country, and made incurſions into Lower Germany, as Tacitus himſelf informs us elſewhere (17).

(I) The power of life and death was at firſt lodged only in the commander in chief of the whole army, but afterwards extended by Auguſtus to his lieutenants, and by the other emperors to the proconſuls, proprætors, and all the governors of provinces: but no ſuch power was ever granted to the prefects of the camp, to the tribunes, or other inferior officers.

(16) Tacit. de mor. German. c. 35. (17) Idem annal. l. xiii. c. 55. & hiſt. l. v. c. 19.

him, and then Memmius declaring that theſe outrages were not offered to him, but to Germanicus and Tiberius, who would not fail to reſent them, he ſnatched the colours, faced about towards the Rhine, and boldly threatening thoſe, who ſhould daſe to abandon their ranks, with the puniſhments due to deſerters, he led them back to their winter-quarters. In the mean time deputies ſent either by Tiberius or the ſenate, probably to quell the ſedition, meeting Germanicus near the altar of the Ubii (K), gave occaſion to new diſturbances.

The diſturbances revived.

The firſt and the twentieth legions, who were encamped there with thoſe legionaries, who had been lately placed under the ſtandard of the veterans, apprehending that theſe deputies were come to revoke the conceſſions, which they had extorted by their ſedition, and imputing the imaginary decree to Munatius Plancus, who had been conſul the year before and was at the head of this deputation, they reſolved to vent their rage chiefly upon him; which he being aware of, fled for refuge to the quarters of the firſt legion, and there embracing the eagle and other enſigns, hoped the veneration, which the ſoldiers paid them, would reſtrain their fury. But had not Calpurnius the eagle-bearer, with great bravery and reſolution, repulſed the audacious multitude, the Roman camp had been ſtained with the blood of an embaſſador of the Roman people. This diſorder happened in the night, and early next morning Germanicus entering the camp, aſcended the tribunal, and placing Plancus by himſelf on the tribunal, inveighed againſt the horrible diſorders of the preceding night, acquainted the ſoldiery with the true purpoſes of that embaſſy, complained in an affecting manner of the unheard-of outrages offered to Plancus without any provocation, aggravated the diſgrace which the violating of the ſacred perſon of an embaſſador brought upon the legions, &c. But as the aſſembly ſhewed no great tokens of repentance, he firſt diſmiſſed the deputies under a ſtrong guard of auxiliary horſe, and then, at the motion of his friends, ſolicited his wife Agrippina, who had attended him with her ſon Caius, at that time an infant, into Germany, and was big with child, to withdraw out of the camp, and

(K) This altar was probably raiſed in honour of Auguſtus, and ſeems to have been at a ſmall diſtance from Cologne: Cluverius is of opinion, that the city of Bon, called by the antients Bonna, was built in the place where this altar ſtood; but he is therein contradicted by Lipſius and others, who from ſeveral paſſages out of Tacitus ſhew pretty plainly, that the altar of the Ubii ſtood in the neighbourhood of their city, that is, of Cologne, whereas Bonna was twelve miles diſtant from it.

and not expoſe herſelf to the fury of an outrageous multitude. Agrippina was unwilling to leave him, urging, that it was below her, who was the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, to betray any fear, or abandon her huſband in time of danger. But Germanicus, tenderly embracing her and their little ſon, prevailed upon her at length by his tears and entreaties to depart. As ſhe was attended by many women of diſtinction, wives of the chief officers in the camp, who it ſeems in thoſe days accompanied their huſbands in all their military expeditions, their tears, cries, and lamentations, in parting with their huſbands, occaſioned a great uproar in the camp, and drew together the ſoldiers from all quarters. This was ſo melting a ſcene, that the moſt obſtinate among the rebellious legionaries were touched with it. They could not behold, without being at the ſame time ſeized with ſhame and compaſſion, ſo many women of rank travelling thus forlorn without a centurion to attend them, or a ſoldier to guard them, and their general's wife among them, carrying in her arms her little child, and repairing, like an exile, for ſhelter againſt the fury of the Roman legions to Treves, as if ſhe repoſed greater confidence in foreigners, than in her own countrymen. This made ſo deep an impreſſion on their minds, that ſome ran to ſtop her, while the reſt recurring to Germanicus, earneſtly conjured him to recall her, that it might not be ſaid, to their eternal ſhame and diſgrace, that the daughter of Agrippa, the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, the daughter-in-law of Druſus whoſe memory they adored, had been frightened from the Roman camp, and obliged to ſeek ſanctuary among foreigners. Germanicus, obſerving both their ſentiments and countenances changed, reſolved to improve their preſent diſpoſition; and accordingly in a long and affecting harangue, which in the height of his grief he uttered with great vehemence, he painted to them the blackneſs of their guilt in ſuch lively colours, that they not only confeſſed, that all his reproaches were true, but, their minds being quite changed, they earneſtly beſought him to puniſh the authors of the late ſedition, by whom they had been miſled, and offered to march forthwith againſt the enemy, provided he would recall his wife and his ſon. Germanicus, finding them entirely reclaimed, anſwered, that his ſon ſhould return, but againſt the recalling of Agrippina he alledged the ſeaſon already far advanced, and her approaching delivery; and as to the puniſhing the authors of the ſedition, he told them, that he left that to them. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the legionaries ran to ſeize the chief authors of the ſedition, and dragged them in chains to Caius Cetronius, commander of the

Germanicus ſends away his wife Agrippina, and his ſon Caius.

Their departure affects the ſoldiery.

Germanicus improves this opportunity.

They ſeize and puniſh the ring-leaders of the revolt.

the firſt legion, who judged and puniſhed them in the following manner: The legions with their drawn ſwords ſurrounded the tribunal, from whence the priſoner was expoſed to their view; if they pronounced him guilty, he was immediately thrown down headlong, and cut in pieces by his comrades. As Germanicus did not order, but only permitted, this new method of condemning and executing, he did not forfeit by it the reputation he had acquired of an humane and good-natured commander. The veterans followed the example of the legionaries, puniſhing the moſt ſeditious of their corps in the ſame manner. But, notwithſtanding theſe ſigns of remorſe and pledges of fidelity, Germanicus, glad to get rid of them, ordered them into Rhœtia to defend that province againſt the Suevi, who were ſaid to be in motion. After this he made a ſtrict enquiry into the conduct and characters of the centurions, who were all cited before him to give each an account of his country, rank, the years of his ſervice, his exploits in war, military preſents, &c. If the tribunes or his legion were ſatisfied with his conduct he kept his poſt, if they charged him with cruelty or avarice, he was immediately diſcharged. Thus were the firſt and the twentieth legion entirely reclaimed, and brought back to a ſenſe of their duty. But the fifth and twenty-firſt, who were in winter-quarters ſixty miles off in a place called Vetera, that is, "the old camp (L)", continued obſtinate in their revolt, nor was there any wickedneſs which they did not commit. Againſt them therefore Germanicus reſolved to lead the legions that had returned to their duty, and give them battle, if he could not reclaim them by fair means. With this view he prepared veſſels and arms, and drew together his troops; but before he put them on board the veſſels which were to convey them down the Rhine, judging it proper

Two legions continue obſtinate in their revolt.

Germanicus propoſes to march againſt them.

(L) This place began, no doubt, to be ſtyled "the old camp," after the Romans had formed a new camp in the country of the Ubii, or their neighbours the Vangiones. Tacitus often mentions this camp in his hiſtory (18); whence Cluverius concludes, that it was not a naked camp, but a conſiderable town, built on occaſion of the ſtay the Romans made there. As it was diſtant ſixty miles from the camp between Cologn and Bon, the abovementioned writer thinks that the preſent city of Santen ſtands on the ſame ſpot of ground; in which opinion he is confirmed by the deſcription Tacitus gives us of "the old camp" (19), which, he ſays, perfectly agrees with the ſituation of Santen.

(18) Vide Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 18. c. 21. & alibi. (19) Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 21.

per to allow the mutineers time to return to themſelves, he wrote a letter to Cæcina who commanded them, acquainting him, that he approached with a powerful army, reſolved to put them all to the ſword without diſtinction, if they did not prevent him by taking vengeance themſelves on the guilty. This letter Cæcina communicated only to the chief officers, and ſuch of the ſoldiers as had all along diſapproved of the revolt, exhorting them at the ſame time to enter into an aſſociation againſt the ſeditious, and redeem themſelves from death and ignominy, by putting thoſe to the ſword who had brought them into the preſent danger. The officers approved of the propoſal, and having, by ſounding the legionaries and veterans, found, that the majority diſapproved of the conduct of their comrades, they privately acquainted them with the contents of Germanicus's letter, and eaſily prevailed upon them to concur with their commanders, in ſacrificing to their own ſafety the chief authors of the ſedition. The time therefore was ſettled for falling ſword in hand upon the moſt notoriouſly guilty and turbulent; and when it came, upon a ſignal agreed on before-hand, the faithful legionaries, ruſhing into the tents of the moſt ſeditious, maſſacred them without mercy, before they were aware of their danger: nothing was to be heard but dreadful outcries and groans in all the quarters of the camp; nothing to be ſeen but ſtreams of blood and heaps of dead bodies. Neither Cæcina, nor any of the tribunes, offered to ſtop the fury of the enraged ſoldiery; ſo that the ſlaughter was general, and the camp in an inſtant turned into a ſhambles: comrades were butchered by comrades, and friends by friends, in the ſame tents where they uſed to eat and ſleep together. The maſſacre was ſcarce ended, when Germanicus arrived, who, as he was naturally inclined to pity and mercy, could not behold the camp ſtreaming with blood and filled with carcaſſes, without burſting into tears, and crying out, "This is "not a remedy; but ſlaughter and deſolation." After he had with a flood of tears given vent to his grief, he cauſed the bodies of the ſlain to be burnt, and celebrated their obſequies with the uſual pomp[d]. Thus was this dangerous ſedition entirely quelled, diſcipline re-eſtabliſhed, the rebellious legions thoroughly reclaimed, and the ſupreme power ſecured to Tiberius, by the addreſs and intrepidity of the brave Germanicus; who, had his unbounded greatneſs of mind and unſhaken loyalty ſuffered him to ſecond the ardent wiſhes of the ſoldiery, might have eaſily ſeized it for himſelf; for he was the darling of the ſoldiers,

But they prevent him by puniſhing the ſeditious themſelves.

The ſedition entirely quelled.

[d] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 40---51. Dio, l. lvii. p. 604, &c.

The genero-ſity of Germanicus.

ſoldiers, and adored by the people, both on account of his own merit, and that of his father Druſus, whoſe memory was dear to every true Roman, no-body doubting, but he would have reſtored the republic to her former ſtate, had he ſucceeded to the empire; nay, the letter he wrote to his brother Tiberius about compelling Auguſtus to reſtore the public liberty, was commonly believed to have been the occaſion of his death as we have obſerved above. Of Germanicus they entertained the ſame hopes, and thence their zeal for his ſafety and advancement: but the noble youth himſelf was the only perſon who defeated all their meaſures, and reſolutely oppoſed his own promotion. We ſhall ſoon ſee what return Tiberius made him for his unalterable attachment to his perſon and intereſt (M).

In

(M) Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius was highly blamed at Rome for not going in perſon to quell the ſedition of the mutinous legions. "The rebellion, ſaid they, ſpeaking both of the Pannonian "and German legions, has gathered too much ſtrength to be ſup-"preſſed by two young princes, whoſe authority the ſoldiery de-"ſpiſes. Why does he not go himſelf to awe the mutineers with "his uncontrouled power? They would, no doubt, return to their "duty at the bare ſight of their emperor, a man of great experi-"ence in war, and in whoſe power alone it is to puniſh with ſeve-"rity, and liberally to reward, every one according to his deſerts. "How many journeys did Auguſtus take into Germany, even in "his old age? And ſhall Tiberius, in the vigor of his, continue "unactive and idle in the city, without any other employment, "but to cavil at the ſpeeches of the ſenators?" Tiberius, tho' not ignorant of theſe complaints, was determined not to leave Rome, judging his preſence more neceſſary in the capital, where all affairs were tranſacted, than in the camp. Beſides, he was at a loſs to which army he ſhould repair firſt, and at the ſame time afraid, leſt the laſt he viſited ſhould think themſelves affronted, and thence become outrageous. To treat them therefore both equally, and maintain the majeſty of an emperor, which is ever moſt reverenced at a diſtance, he thought it ſafeſt to viſit neither, but to ſend to the one his natural, to the other his adopted, ſon. Moreover he conſidered, that the two young princes might well refer many things to him, which would be gaining time; and that if the mutineers deſpiſed them, his own authority ſtill remained to awe them into obedience; whereas if they contemned, in the firſt tranſports of their rage, the emperor himſelf, no authority was left to controul them. However, to obviate the complaints and clamours of the people, he gave out, that he deſigned to viſit the rebellious armies; and even choſe his attendants, provided

his

Septentrio

ANTIENT GERMANY

MARE HYPERBOREVM
OR
NORTHERN OCEAN

EAST BALTIC

SCANDIA alias SCANDINAVIA

Teutoni

SINUS CODANUS OR BALTIC SEA

Clilipenus Sinus

SARMATIA

CHERSONESVS CIMBRICA nov DENMARC

Cimbrorum Reliquiæ

Copenhagen

Teu

MARE SVEVICVM

Sinus Venedicus

Electrides Insulæ

Aestii

Mouth of the Elbis

R Weser

Mouth of the Ems

Fosi qui & Saxones

Chalusus Flu

Anogri

Treua

Marionis

Marionis altera

Eudoses

Suardones

Varmi

Lemouii qui & Heruli

Gothones

Venedi

Venedici Montes

Sciri

Chauci sive Cauchi maiores

Albis Flu

Laciburgum

Auiones

Rugii

Rugium

Sidini

Carini

Amisia

Fleum Statio

Castellum

Fletia Insula

Frisii maiores

Vecturia Flu

Chauci minores

Amisia Flu

Chamaui

Tecelia

Vsgorgi Flu

Fabiranum

Cheruſci

Tropæum Drusi

Langobardi

Burgundiones

Vistula flu

terminus Germaniæ

GERMANI

Frisii

Marsaci

Bructeri

Vahalis

Marsi

Tenctoburgium

Sicambri

Luppia

Luppia Flu

Meliboeus Mons

Sprea alias Suevus Flu

Suevus

Semnones

Lugii

TRANS

Mosa flu

Alisonis Flu

Alisonis Castellum

Castellum Catto

Vsipii seu Vsipetes

Tencteri

Monapii

Albis Flu

Callipa

Saltus

Burii

Logiones

Toxandri

Saltus

Luppia Flu

Vsipii seu Vsipetes

Tencteri

GALLIAE

Vbii

Colonia Agrippina

Segedunum

Aduana Flu

Segus Flu

Ingrones

CATTI

Mattium

Retico Mons

Mattiaci Castellum

Germanici Monimentum

Fontes Mattiaci

Taunus Mons

Grabrinta Silva

Sala Flu

Sudeti Montes

Marsingi

Carrodunum

VISTVLANI

Sabis flu

Mosa Flu

Abrincatus Flu

Arduenna

Augusta Nauarorum

Treuerorum

Vangiones

Nemetes

Medionatrici

Decem Pagi

Argentoratum

Borbetomagus Nemetum

Nicer

Neomagus

Sedusii

HERCYNIVS SALTVS

Marcomannorum

Marabuduum

Luna Silua

Osi

Vistula Flu

Carrodunum alterum

Vibantauarium

BELGICAE

Silua

Mosa Flu

Rhenus Flu

Nariſci

noua ſedes

Boiohemum

Flumen Gothini

Clepidana hodie Niester

Iazyges

Harudes

antiqua ſedes

Marcomannorum

Danubius Flu

Cusus flu

Carpetes Montes

Alpes Basternicæ

Hierasus flu

Tibiscus Flu

Augusta Vindelicorum

Isarus Flu

Batavia caſtra

Limes Germaniæ magnæ

Carnuntum

Vindobona

Granua flu

Danubius flu

PARS

Tiberius Flu

Mons Brisiacus

Abnoba Mons

Fons Danubius

VINDELICIA

Campodunum

Iuuauia

Atlas Mons

PANNONIAE PARS

Aenus flu

NORICI PABS

Murius Flu

Adpontem

Meridies

Occidens

Orientis


EAST
BAL-
TIC
Copenhagen
ZONI
Tell
Chalusus Flu
Angrii
Treua
Marionis
Varmi
Laciburgum
Albis Flu
Lang
Cher
Usci
Tropæum
Drusi
Melibocus Mons
Sprea
Albis Flu
Silua

In the mean time, ſuch of the veterans and legionaries as had been no-ways concerned in the late ſedition, in order to give Germanicus new proofs of their fidelity, begged him to lead them againſt the enemy, who had enjoyed ſome reſpite, firſt by the death of Auguſtus, and afterwards by the inteſtine tumult in the camp. Germanicus complied with their requeſt, and laying a bridge croſs the Rhine, marched over twelve thouſand legionaries, twenty ſix cohorts of the allies, and eight alæ (N) of horſe. With theſe he traverſed the Cæſian foreſt (O), and other woods lying between him and the enemy; and being informed on his march, that the Germans were celebrating that night a feſtival with great mirth and revelling, he advanced with ſuch expedition, having ſent Cæcina before with ſome light-armed cohorts, to clear a paſſage through the foreſt, that he reached the villages of the Marſi, before the inhabitants had recovered themſelves from their debauch. Here he divided his army into four bodies, and giving them full liberty to make what havock they pleaſed, ſent them into different quarters of the unhappy canton, that no part of it might be exempt from ravage and devaſtation. We may well imagine what ſlaughter they made of thoſe unfortunate wretches, whom they found ſcattered here and there and aſleep, ſome in their beds, others lying by their tables; no ſex or age was ſpared; places ſacred and prophane were equally plundered and laid in aſhes, and among them the temple of Tanfana (P), the tutelar

He invades Germany.

Commits a dreadful havock in the country of the Marſi.

his equipage, and prepared a fleet; but ſometimes pretending buſineſs, ſometimes alledging the approach of winter, he deceived not only the common people, but even the wiſeſt ſenators.

(N) An ala, which we may call a ſquadron, conſiſted of three hundred horſemen, and was divided into turmæ and decuriæ, each turma conſiſting of thirty men, and each decuria of ten; ſo that there were in every ala ten turmæ, and in every turma three decuriæ.

(O) The Cæſian foreſt was part of the Hercynian, and is placed by Cluverius partly in the duchy of Cleves, partly in Weſtphalia between Weſel and Koefeld. Some modern critics think, that it was called by the antient Germans, not the Cæſian, (for this, ſay they, is a Roman name) but the Heſian foreſt, from Heſius, the god of war amongſt the antient Germans and Gauls.

(P) Gronovius derives the name of this German deity from the words "tan" or "than," ſignifying in the German language "a fir tree," and "fachna" or "fan," which in the antient

tutelar god of the German nation. In ſhort, the country was waſted with fire and ſword fifty miles round, without the loſs, nay, without the wound, of a ſingle man on the ſide of the Romans[e]. This general maſſacre rouſed the Bructeri (Q), the

Several German nations, falling upon the Romans in their retreat, are defeated.

[e] Idem ibid. c. 49--51.

tient Gotho-Teutonic tougue ſignifies "Lord" or "God"; ſo that the import of Tanfana is "the lord" or "the god, of fir-trees". That author concludes, that the Tanfana of the Germans was the ſame as the Sylvanus of the Romans, and called the god "Tanfana," or "the god of firs," becauſe his chief temple was in a foreſt of fir-trees (20), as Jupiter was ſtiled by the Romans, Fagutalis, from a grove of beeches conſecrated to him, the word "fagus" ſignifying in Latin "a beech" (21). Lipſius derives the name of Tanfana from the Flemiſh word "taenfanct", ſignifying "the principal" or "firſt cauſe of things;" ſo that the Germans, under the name of Tanfana, adored, according to him, the ſupreme being.

(Q) The Bructeri are placed by moſt geographers next to the Friſii, between the Amiſia, now the Ems, and the lake Flevus, now the Suyderſee. Tacitus ſpeaks of them thus. "Next to the "Tencteri dwelt the Bructeri, in whoſe room the Chamavi and "Angrivarii are ſaid to have ſettled, after having driven out and "utterly extirpated the Bructeri, with the concurrence of the "neighbouring nations, either in deteſtation of their pride, or en-"ticed by the love of booty, or through the ſpecial favour of "the gods towards the Romans. They were even pleaſed to in-"dulge us the pleaſure of ſeeing the battle, in which there fell "above ſixty thouſand men, without a blow ſtruck by the Ro-"mans, &c. May the gods continue and perpetuate among theſe "nations, if not any love for us, yet by all means their animoſi-"ty and hatred to each other, ſince fortune cannot more ſignally "befriend us, than in ſowing diviſions amongſt our enemies." As to the time of this general ſlaughter of the Bructeri mentioned here by Tacitus, we are quite in the dark; for this nation was ſtill in being in Tiberius's reign, nay, and many years after Tacitus's time, but probably at a greater diſtance from the Rhine; for they are mentioned by Eumenius and Nazarius in their panegyrics upon Conſtantine, and alſo by the poet Claudian (22), The ſlaughter therefore was not ſo general as is by Tacitus ſuppoſed (23).

(20) Vide Gron. in Tacit. (21) Vide Plin. l. xvi. c. 10, & ult. (22) Vide Claud. 4. conſul Honor. ver. 450. (23) Vide Tacit. de mor. Ger. c. 33.

(R) The

he Tubantes (R), and the Uſipetes (S), who beſetting the paſſes of the foreſt through which the Roman army was to return, fell upon their rear, and put the light-armed cohorts into diſorder; but Germanicus, riding up to the twentieth legion, and crying out, That the time was come for them to redeem their reputation, and cancel the memory of their late ſedition, by falling upon the enemy, they attacked them ſo briſkly, that the Germans were broke at the firſt onſet, and driven out of the wood into the neighbouring plain, where great numbers of them were cut in pieces. In the mean time, the van-guard, paſſing the foreſt, had time to form a camp, whither the reſt of the army retired to reſt themſelves after ſo fatiguing a march. The next day they purſued their rout uninterrupted, and arrived, loaded with booty, at the place appointed for their winter-quarters[f]. The fame of theſe exploits ſoon reached Rome, and filled the city with joy. As for Tiberius, he was highly pleaſed to hear, that the ſedition was ſuppreſſed, and the beginning of his reign ſignalized by ſo remarkable a victory. But his joy was not without allay: Germanicus, by finally diſcharging the veterans, by ſhortening the term of ſervice for the reſt, and by liberally diſtributing money among them, had gained the affections of the army, and beſides, great glory by his late expedition. This gave the jealous and ſuſpicious emperor great uneaſineſs, which, however, he artfully diſguiſed, giving the ſenate a pompous account of the exploits of his nephew, and beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums. He commended at the ſame time the addreſs of his ſon Druſus in quelling the ſedition of the Pannonian legions in few words, but which ſeemed

Tiberius jealous of Germanicus's glory.

[f] Idem ibid. c. 52, 53.

(R) The Tubantes poſſeſſed great part of Weſtphalia. Cluverius places the antient city of Teclia mentioned by Ptolemy, now Teklenburg, on the borders of the Tubantes and Chamavi.

(S) The Uſipites, Uſipii, or Uſipetæ, are placed by Rhenanus between the Rhine and the mountains of Heſſe. In Cæſar's time they bordered upon the countries of the Sicambri and Tencteri, of whom we have ſpoken above. Dion Caſſius ſeems to place them between the Rhine and the Lupias, now the Lippe, and the Sicambri beyond the latter of theſe rivers; for, in deſcribing Druſus's expedition into Germany, he tells us, that he paſſed the Rhine, and having ſubdued the Uſipetes, laid a bridge over the Lupias, and entered the country of the Sicambri (24).

(24) Dio, l. liv. p. 544.

ſeemed dictated by his heart and more ſincere.[g] In ſhort, he ſpoke of Germanicus like an orator, but of Druſus like a father. However, he approved whatever Germanicus had done, and, to gain the affections of the Pannonian legions, extended to them all the privileges which Germanicus had granted to his own.

Tiberius's excellent behaviour in the beginning of his reign.

THESE diſorders in Germany and Pannonia, and the great veneration which the ſoldiery, as well as the people, had for Germanicus, were a great reſtraint upon Tiberius, who now with wonderful art diſguiſed thoſe vices, which afterwards diſplayed themſelves ſo openly. He acted in moſt things like a truly generous, good-natured, and clement prince. Of the many and extraordinary honours that were offered him, he accepted

His modeſty.

but few, and thoſe of the meaneſt ſort. He forbad any prieſts or temples to be decreed for him, or ſtatues erected but by his own permiſſion, which he granted ſometimes, upon condition that they ſhould be placed, not among the images of the gods, but the ornaments of their houſes. He refuſed the title of "father of his country," and never took upon him the name of Auguſtus, though it was hereditary, but in his letters to foreign potentates. For flattery he had an utter averſion. If, in private converſation or public ſpeeches, any thing was ſaid to his praiſe, he immediately not only interrupted, but rebuked, the ſpeaker. One calling him Dominus, or Lord, he deſired him not to mention him any more in deriſion. Another calling his employments ſacred, he entreated him to change his epithet, and to ſtile them troubleſome. He would not permit the ſenate to ſwear to the obſervation of his acts, urging againſt it the inſtability of all mortal things, and that the higher he was raiſed, the more he was expoſed to danger.

His extraordinary patience.

All ſlanderous reports, libels, and lampoons upon him and his adminiſtration he bore with extraordinary patience, ſaying, "That in a free city, the thoughts and tongues of every man "ought to be free;" and when the ſenate would have proceeded againſt ſome, who had publiſhed libels againſt him, he would not conſent to it, ſaying, "We have not time enough "to attend ſuch trifles: if you once open a door to ſuch in-"formations, you will be able to do nothing elſe; for, under "that pretence, every man will revenge himſelf upon his e-"nemies by accuſing them to you." Being informed that one had ſpoke very detractingly of him; "If he ſpeaks ill "of me," ſaid he, "I will give him as good an account "of

[g] Idem ibid. c. 54.

" of my words and actions as I can; and, if that is not suf-
" ficient, I will satisfy myself with having as bad an opinion
" of him as he has of me." His carriage toward the senate was very respectful; nothing of moment was transacted without their advice and approbation. To them were referred the collecting of the taxes and tributes, the building and repairing of all public edifices, the raising or disbanding of forces, the mustering of the legions and auxiliaries, the prolonging or granting of commissions upon any extraordinary war, the returning of answers to the letters of kings, &c. He never entered into the senate with any attendants but once, when he was brought in, on account of an indisposition, in a litter; and then he immediately ordered his company to withdraw. In the senate he allowed every one to speak his mind with great freedom. Having one day dissented in his opinion from Q. Haterius; " Pardon me, I beseech you" said he, " if as a senator
" I speak against you with more freedom than ordinary." Then turning to the whole assembly, he addressed them thus; " Most venerable fathers, what I say now I have often
" said before; a good and prudent prince, to whom you
" have given so great and absolute a power, ought to be
" serviceable, not only to the senate and the body of the ci-
" ty, but to every particular citizen: nor do I repent of any
" thing I have said of this nature, having always account-
" ed you, as I still do, my good, just, and most gracious
" lords." If in the senate any thing was decreed against his judgment, he did not complain, nor seem the least displeased. He allowed the consuls so much power, that certain embassadors from Africa had recourse to them, desiring they would return them a speedy answer, since Cæsar, to whom they had been sent, put them off from day to day. When the consuls came into the senate, the theatre, or any other place where he was, he always rose up to them, and turned out of the way, if he met them in the streets. He often assisted at the trials in the courts of justice, especially if any criminal was reported to be like to escape by favour or connivance; he then appeared unexpectedly, and with a grave air put the judges in mind of the laws and the crimes before them. He applied himself with great care to the reformation of manners, and made many excellent regulations, by which he restrained the immoderate expences of plays and public shews, retrenched the salaries of the players, and reduced the gladiators to a fixt number. The prices of Corinthian vessels growing extravagant, and the luxury of entertainments to

His respect for the senate.

And the consuls.

Applied himself to the reformation of manners.

ſuch an exceſs, that thirty thouſand ſeſterces were paid for three mullets, he complained of theſe diſorders to the ſenate, and got a law paſſed, ſetting bounds to the expences in furniture, and ordaining, that the prices of proviſions in the markets ſhould be annually regulated by the ſenate. As to the eating-houſes and taverns, which at this time were very numerous in Rome, they were all, by Tiberius's orders, utterly ſuppreſſed; and that he might, by his own example, countenance frugality and parſimony in others, he had, at his public and moſt ſolemn entertainments, meat ſerved up, which had been dreſſed and cut up the day before, contrary to the cuſtom which then obtained, ſaying, that "every part had the ſame taſte as the whole." To check the progreſs of vice, he drove out of Rome a great number of young noblemen, and alſo ſome women of diſtinction, who were noted for their debaucheries; and at the ſame time revived an antient law, impowering all parents to puniſh their daughters, even after they were married, if, by their debauched lives, they brought diſgrace upon their families. In this particular he was ſo ſtrict, that by proclamation he prohibited the kiſſes that were, according to cuſtom, given by way of ſalutation. He ſeemed entirely averſe from loading his people with any new taxes; and when ſome governors of provinces adviſed him to raiſe their taxes, he anſwered, that "it was the "duty of a good ſhepherd to ſhear, not to flay, his flock," and was ſo far from hearkening to the remonſtrances of his preſidents and governors, that, inſtead of raiſing, he leſſened the tributes that were annually remitted to Rome from the provinces [h]. Such was the deportment of Tiberius, while his authority was yet wavering; but we ſhall ſoon ſee him pull off the maſk, and abandon himſelf without controul to thoſe vices, which he now ſo artfully diſguiſes with the oppoſite virtues. But to return to the brave Germanicus:

His frugality.

Leſſens the taxes.

THE following year, Druſus Cæſar and Caius Norbanus being conſuls, Germanicus made vaſt preparations, with a deſign to purſue the war againſt the Germans, and revenge the death of Varus and the ſlaughter of his legions. He had indeed no thoughts of attempting any thing till the ſummer; but being informed, that violent diſſenſions reigned among the enemy, he reſolved early in the ſpring to

[h] Suet. in Tiber. c. 26—36. Tacit. ibid.

to make an irruption into the country of the Catti (T). These

(T) The Catti or Chatti poſſeſſed, as we have hinted above, part of the duchy of Brunſwick, of the biſhopric of Hildeſheim, of Thuringen, Heſſe, and the territories of Fulda, with the counties of Schauvemberg, Waldeck, and Mansfeld; Tacitus ſpeaks of them thus: "The territories of the Catti begin at "the Hercynian foreſt, and conſiſt not of ſuch wide aud marſhy plains as thoſe of the other communities contained within "the vaſt compaſs of Germany; but of hills, which, for a "long tract, run high and contiguous, then by degrees ſink. "Moreover, the Hercynian foreſt attends for a while its native "Catti, and then forſakes them. They are diſtinguiſhed with "more hard and robuſt bodies, compact limbs, ſtern countenances, and a more ſprightly vigor of mind. For Germans, "they are men of much ſenſe and addreſs. They commit the "government to choſen men, and liſten to them when ſet over "them. They know how to maintain their ranks, to diſcern "occaſions, to reſtrain their own ardour, how to employ the "day, how to entrench themſelves by night. They reckon "fortune among uncertain things, and valour among ſuch as are "ſecure; and, what is very rare, and never learnt but by men "inured to diſcipline, they repoſe more confidence in the conduct of the general, than in the ſtrength of the army. Their "whole ſtrength conſiſts in foot, who, beſides their arms, carry "iron tools and their proviſions. Other Germans take the field "equipped for a battle; but the Catti equipped for a war. "They ſeldom make excurſions, or expoſe themſelves to the "dangers of caſual encounters. It is peculiar to cavalry ſuddenly to conquer, or ſuddenly to fly. Such haſte and expedition borders upon fear: warineſs and deliberation are more "a-kin to intrepidity." Tacitus adds, that a cuſtom, practiſed only by ſome particular perſons of other German nations, univerſally obtained among the Catti; which is, to let their hair and beards grow till they have ſlain an enemy, being perſuaded, that only by the death of a foe they can acquit themſelves of the debt and duty contracted by their birth, and render themſelves worthy of their country and parents; ſo that the cowardly and unwarlike among them were eaſily diſtinguiſhed by their long hair and beards. The moſt brave likewiſe wear an iron ring, which is a mark of great diſhonour in that nation, as a chain or badge of ſlavery, till they ſet themſelves, as it were, at liberty, by killing an enemy (25). However, as Germanicus came

(25) Tacit. de mor. Ger. 30, 31.

Theſe inteſtine broils, of which Germanicus reſolved to take advantage, were occaſioned by the oppoſite parties of Arminius and Segeſtes, the former the incendiary of Germany, and chief author of the inſurrection in which Varus periſhed with his legions; the latter a ſincere and faithful friend to the Romans; nay, he had even given Varus notice of the intended revolt, and adviſed him to ſecure himſelf, Arminius and the other chiefs, aſſuring him, that, without their leaders, the multitude would not dare to attempt any thing. But the Roman general deſpiſed his advice, which coſt him dear, as we have related above. Segeſtes, tho' forced to join his countrymen in that general revolt, yet remained at conſtant variance with Arminius; and at this time their animoſities were heightened by a domeſtic quarrel, Arminius having carried away by force the daughter of Segeſtes, named Thuſneldes, and married her, though already betrothed to another. This attempt gave riſe to an open rupture between the two chiefs, of which Germanicus no ſooner had intelligence, than he put four legions, five thouſand auxiliaries, and ſome German troops drawn ſuddenly together, under the command of Cæcina, ordering him to ſcour the country, while he himſelf, at the head of as many legions and double the number of allies, advanced with incredible expedition into the country of the Catti; and falling upon the enemy before they were appriſed of his march, put vaſt numbers of them to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Moſt of their youth eſcaped by ſwimming over the Adrana (U), and attempted to prevent the Romans from laying a bridge over that river; but their efforts proving unſucceſsful, ſome of them ſubmitted to Germanicus; but the greater part, abandoning their villages, took refuge in the woods; ſo that the Romans, without oppoſition, laid waſte all the open country, ſet fire to their dwellings, laid Mattium

Germanicus invades and ravages the country of the Catti.

came upon them unawares, they were forced either to ſubmit, or ſhelter themſelves in the woods, that is, in the Hercynian foreſt, which, as Tacitus has told us, began in their country.

(U) The Adrana, now the Eder, riſes in Upper Heſſe, waters the county of Waldeck and Lower Heſſe, and falls into the Fulda or Fulden about two miles above Caſſel.

tium (W) their capital in aſhes, and then began their march back to the Rhine. The Cheruſci alone made ſome motions, as if they deſigned to aſſiſt the Catti and fall upon the Romans in their retreat, but were reſtrained by Cæcina, who, with his army of obſervation, moved about from place to place, and had even defeated the Marſi (X), who had dared to engage him [i].

GERMANICUS had ſcarce reached his camp, when deputies arrived from Segeſtes, praying relief for that faithful friend to the Romans againſt his and their declared enemy Arminius, who had beſieged him in his camp. At the head of this embaſſy was Segimundus, the ſon of Segeſtes, whom, though he had formerly revolted from the Romans, Germanicus received with great kindneſs; but ſent him, as he

[i] Idem ibid. c. 56.

(W) Tacitus in this place ſtyles Mattium the capital of the Catti; but elſewhere (26) diſtinguiſhes the Mattiaci from the Catti: "The army," ſays he, "was compoſed of Catti, Uſipii, "and Mattiaci." Their country, according to the accounts of the antient geographers, was incloſed on all ſides by the territories of the Catti; whence they are often confounded with them. Cluverius and Cellarius think, that the ſituation of Mattium, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Mattiacum, agrees with that of the preſent city of Marpurg; for it ſtands on the road leading from mount Taunus, now known to the natives by the names of Der Heyrick aud Die Hohe, over-againſt Mentz, to the Adrana or the Eder, which was the rout Germanicus took in this irruption, as Tacitus informs us. Pliny mentions the hot baths of Mattium (27), which all modern geographers take for the hot waters of Wiſbaden over-againſt Mentz or Moguntiacum, as it was called by the antients; ſo that the territories of the Mattiaci extended at leaſt from the Rhine to the Eder. Whether they reached beyond that river, and how far, we know not. Tacitus tells us, that the Mattiaci in his time were friends to the Romans. The Roman people, ſays he, have carried the awe and eſteem of their empire beyond the Rhine and the antient boundaries. Thus the Mattiaci, living on the oppoſite bank, enjoy a ſettlement of their own; but by inclination are Romans (28).

(X) Part of Weſtphalia and of the biſhoprick of Paderborn were, according to moſt of our modern geographers, the antient habitation of the Marſi.

(26) Tacit. hiſtor.. l. iv. c. 37. (27) Plin. l. xxxi. c. 2. (28) Tacit. de mor. Ger. c. 29.

could no longer depend upon his fidelity, under a ſtrong guard to the frontiers of Gaul (Y). As to his requeſt, he readily complied with it, led back his army without loſs of time to the relief of Segeſtes, engaged the beſiegers, put them to flight, and reſcued that faithful friend of the Romans out of the hands of his moſt inveterate enemy. On this occaſion the Romans took a great many priſoners, among whom was Thuſneldis, the wife of Arminius and daughter of Segeſtes, who had been the chief occaſion of the preſent rupture between the two illuſtrious families (Z). She was then big with child, and ſeemed to be concerned only

Marches againſt Arminius.

Whom he defeats and takes his wife priſoner.

(Y) Segimundus had been greatly favoured by the Romans, and by them appointed prieſt of the altar of the Ubii, of which we have ſpoken above; but when his countrymen revolted, he rent the ſacerdotal tiara and fled to the revolters. Hence, when his father declared to him his intention of putting him at the head of the embaſſy which he was ſending to Germanicus, he deſired at firſt to be excuſed; but afterwards truſting to the clemency of the Roman general he undertook the execution of his father's orders, and was favourably received by Germanicus, but not ſuffered to return among his countrymen. What became of him afterwards, Tacitus does not tell us; but Strabo names him among the illuſtrious captives, who marched before the chariot of Germanicus, when he entered Rome in triumph (29). If he did not join the rebels a ſecond time, Germanicus acted contrary to the law of nations in thus ſeizing the perſon of an embaſſador, and treating him as if he had been taken in war.

(Z) Tacitus tells us, that the Germans carried about with them in all their wars their wives and children, whom they placed near the field of battle, that, by the tears of their wives and the cries of their tender infants, they might be the more encouraged to exert themſelves in the defence of thoſe intereſting pledges of nature. Their armies, when yielding and ready to fly, have been often prevailed upon to maintain their ground and ſtand the ſhock of the enemy, by the importunity and entreaties of their women, preſenting their breaſts, and putting them in mind of their impending captivity; an evil which they far more dreaded in their women than in themſelves. When any of them happened to be ſo wounded in battle, that they could not continue the fight, they retired to their mothers or wives, who, without being ſhocked, ſucked their bleeding wounds. The wife among

(29) Strabo, l. vii.

only for the fate of her unhappy babe deſtined to be born in ſlavery. As for her own captivity, ſhe bore it with the intrepidity of a true heroine, without ſhedding a tear, or uttering a word in the ſtyle of a ſuppliant. Among the booty were found Roman ſpoils taken from Varus and his ſlaughtered legions, and divided among thoſe who were now priſoners. Arminius being now put to flight, Segeſtes thought it his duty to wait upon his deliverer; and accordingly, from a confidence in his ſincere attachment to the Roman intereſt, he appeared before Germanicus, without betraying the leaſt fear, and, addreſſing him with a majeſtic air, enumerated, with great modeſty, the ſervices he had rendered the republic, which had drawn upon him the hatred of Arminius; offered his mediation for the German nation, if they perhaps would rather chuſe to repent than be deſtroyed; and earneſtly recommended to his known clemency his ſon and daughter, entreating him to forgive the former the error he had been guilty of in his youth, more out of imprudence than malice, and to conſider the latter rather as the daughter of Segeſtes than the wife of Arminius. Germanicus anſwered with his uſual good-nature and humanity, promiſing to take his ſon, daughter, and all his relations under his protection, aſſigned to him a ſafe retreat in one of the neighbouring provinces long ſince ſubject to Rome, and then returned with the army to his former camp, where the wife of Arminius was delivered of a male child [k] (A).

Segeſtes's ſpeech to Germanicus.

In

[k] Idem, c. 57, 58.

among them brought no dowry to the huſband, but the huſband to the wife, viz. a couple of oxen yoked together, an horſe accoutred, a ſhield, a javelin, and a ſword. The woman on her part too made her huſband a preſent of ſome arms. By the mutual approbation and acceptance of theſe gifts, in the preſence of their parents and relations, they were married. The oxen joined in the ſame yoke, the horſe ready equipped, and the preſent of arms, ſerved to put the woman in mind, that ſhe came to her huſband as a partner of his hazards and dangers in war as well as in peace, and that ſhe was not exempt from fighting and exerting her courage in battle for the defence of her huſband or country (30).

(A) Tacitus tells us, that this child was brought up at Ravenna, and promiſes to relate in a more proper place the misfortune

(30) Tacit. ibid. c. 7. & 18.

Arminius ſtirs up the neighbouring nations againſt the Romans.

In the mean time, Arminius, more enraged than ever for the loſs of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and the fate of his child doomed to be born in captivity, flew about the country of the Cheruſci, inflaming that warlike nation againſt Segeſtes and Germanicus, and encouraging them to let Arminius rather lead them to liberty and glory, than the wicked and treacherous Segeſtes to infamy and bondage. His credit, and the bitter invectives he was conſtantly uttering againſt the Romans, rouſed not only the Cheruſci, but all the neighbouring nations; nay, Inguiomerus, one of the chief lords of the country, and hitherto a friend to the Romans and in high credit with them, though uncle to Arminius by the father's ſide, was drawn into the confederacy, and prevailed upon to declare for his nephew, and join him with all his friends and dependents. Germanicus, upon intelligence of ſo powerful a confederacy, that he might not be obliged to engage ſuch numerous forces united, reſolved to make a diverſion; and with this view detached Cæcina at the head of forty Roman cohorts to the river Amiſia, now the Ems, through the territories of the Bructeri. The cavalry took another rout, under the conduct of Pedo (B), who

fortunes which befel him. The fathers Catrou and Rouille, in their Roman hiſtory, make the ſame promiſe. If Tacitus performed his, it was in his books which have not reached our times. We ſhall therefore be the more obliged to thoſe learned writers for the performance of theirs; for we know nothing of this unhappy captive or his misfortunes.

(B) It is uncertain whether Pedo, mentioned here by Tacitus, was Pedo Albinovanus, or Pedo Pompeius. Seneca ſpeaks of the latter as a perſon of great merit (32), and Ovid commends the former as an excellent poet. Some fragments of his book entitled, "De navigatione Germanici," have reached our times (33). The elegy he wrote on the death of Druſus and inſcribed to Livia is a maſter-piece of the kind, and worthy of a heavenly poet, as Ovid ſtyles him (34). Joſeph Scaliger aſcribes to him the elegy on the death of Mecænas, wherein he diſagrees with moſt other critics. Voſſius ſuppoſes him to have written alſo epigrams, which he gathers from one of Martial's (35).

(32) Senec. in lud. de morte Claud. (33) Senec. ſuaſor. 1. (34) Ovid. in Pont. eleg. ult. (35) Mart. l. ii. epig. 77.

who led them by the confines of the Friſians (C). As for Germanicus himſelf, he embarqued the four remaining legions on a neighbouring lake, and tranſported them on rivers and canals to the place appointed for the general rendezvous on the banks of the Amiſia, where the three ſeparate bodies met. The Chauci, as the legions paſſed through their country, joined them: the Bructeri, upon the approach of Germanicus, attempted to ſet fire to their houſes and retire; but were reſtrained by Stertinius, who was detached againſt them. That commander had the good look to find in the country of the Bructeri the eagle of the ninteenth legion loſt in the overthrow of Varus. The army, now united, purſued their march to the fartheſt borders of the Bructeri, and laid waſte the whole country between the rivers Luppias and Amiſia, that is, the Lyppe aud the Ems. As the foreſt of Teutoburgium (D) was not far off, where the bodies of Varus and the three legions ſlaughtered with him were ſaid to lie ſtill unburied, Germanicus, touched with a tender compaſſion on their unhappy fate, reſolved to march thither and pay them the laſt offices. Accordingly Cæcina was ſent before to clear the way, to examine the avenues leading to the foreſt, and lay bridges over the marſhy places. The reſt of the army followed, and, marching in good order and with great caution, entered the gloomy foreſt, where they ſoon diſcovered, the ruins of two Roman camps, the one very ſpacious and capable of containing three legions, the other much leſs in circumference, which, they concluded, had ſerved for a place of retreat for the ſmall number of legionaries, who had eſcaped the firſt day's ſlaugher. The ramparts of both were half ruined, and the ditches near filled up. The open fields were covered with bleached bones, ſome ſeparate, ſome in heaps, as thoſe unhappy men had happened to fall flying

Germanicus marches againſt him.

Germanicus and his army bury the remains of Varus and his legions.

(C) The country of the Friſii was divided into two, called the Greater and the Leſſer. The former lay between the mouths of the Rhine and the Weſer. The latter extended along the coaſt of the ocean on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine; but how far we cannot determine.

(D) The foreſt of Teutoburgium, now Teuteberg, lay in Weſtphalia, between the Ems and the Lyppe. The preſent inhabitants pretend to ſhew the very ſpot where Varus with his legions were cut off. It is a plain in the neighbourhood of a ſmall town called Horn, and is known by the name of Winfeldt, which it took, they ſuppoſe, from the Germans winning the field.

flying ſingly, or reſiſting in bodies. In the adjacent groves were ſeen ſtill ſtanding the altars, where the barbarians had ſacrificed to their gods the tribunes and chief centurions, whom they had made priſoners. On the trees ſurrounding the altars were ſtuck the ſkulls of thoſe unhappy victims. In Germanicus's army there were ſome who had ſerved under Varus, and had the good luck to eſcape the general ſlaughter; and theſe related the particulars of that tragical event to the reſt. Here, ſaid they, the commanders of our legions were ſlain; there our eagles were taken: here Varus received his firſt wound; there he fell by his own hand: in that place ſtood the tribunal, whence Arminius harangued his men; in this he cauſed gibbets to be erected for the execution of his captives, &c. So many doleful objects awakened in the hearts of the Romans and their commander a tender compaſſion for the fate of their countymen, friends, and comrades, and at the ſame time an eager deſire of appeaſing their manes, with the ſlaughter of an enemy ſo cruel and inhuman. With theſe ſentiments they firſt carefully gathered the bones ſcattered up and down the fields; and, having dug a deep trench, buried them there ſix years after the ſlaughter, Germanicus laying the firſt turf on the common tomb (E). Having thus paid the laſt offices to their friends,

(E) Tiberius did not approve of this pious office performed by Germanicus and his army. Whether it was, ſays Tacitus, that he put a bad conſtruction upon every action of Germanicus, or believed, that the ſight of ſo many Romans ſlain by the enemy, and left thus unburied, might ſink the courage of his men, and heighten their terror of ſo dreadful a foe. Beſides, Germanicus was a member of the college of the augurs, and of the prieſts ſacred to the deity of Auguſtus, and, as ſuch, ought not, according to the antient rites, to have been any ways concerned in the ceremonies and ſolemnities of the dead, ſince by them pontiffs, augurs, and prieſts of all denominations, were thought to be defiled. Hence Auguſtus, who was pontifex maximus, pronounced the funeral oration of Marcellus with a veil between him and the corſe, as Suetonius informs us, that he might not be polluted with the ſight of it. Plutarch tells us, that Sylla divorced his wife Metella a little before ſhe died, and cauſed her to be conveyed into another houſe, that his own, as he was then pontifex and augur, might not be defiled with funeral ceremonies (36). But we are apt to believe, that Tiberius did not, out

(36) Plut. in Sylla.

friends, they abandoned that ſolitude diſmal to their ſight and memory, and, full of reſentment, advanced againſt the author of ſo many evils, who, underſtanding that he was purſued by Germanicus, retired, and encamped in an advantageous poſt cloſe to the woods. The Roman general followed him, and coming up with him, ordered his cavalry to advance and diſlodge him. Arminius, at the approach of the Roman horſe, pretended to fly; but wheeling ſuddenly about, and at the ſame time giving the ſignal to a body of troops, which he had concealed in the foreſt, to ruſh out, he fell upon the enemy with ſuch vigor, that the Roman cavalry, not able to ſtand the ſhock, began to give way. Germanicus immediately detached ſome cohorts to their relief; but they too were ſoon put in diſorder and broken, more by their own men who fled, than by the enemy. Arminius, taking advantage of the confuſion the Romans were in, doubled his efforts, and would have puſhed them into a moraſs, had not Germanicus advanced at the head of his legions in order of battle. Arminius, finding his men already tired, did not think it adviſeable to engage the freſh legions, and therefore retired in good order, leaving the Romans maſters of the field. Germanicus, not judging it ſafe to purſue the enemy through pathleſs woods and foreſts, contented himſelf with this ſmall advantage, and returned with the army to the river Amiſia. There he embarqued with four legions, ordered Cæcina to reconduct the other four by land, and ſent the cavalry to the ſea-ſide, with orders to march along the ſhore to the Rhine. Tho' Cæcina was to return through roads well known, yet Germanicus warned him to paſs with all poſſible ſpeed the cauſway called "the "long bridges (F). Cæcina made what haſte he could; but

They advance againſt Arminius.

Who at firſt gains ſome advantages; but in the end is defeated.

out of any principle of religion, find fault with Germanicus's conduct; for he little mattered the gods or their rites, being himſelf a fataliſt, and poſſeſſed with notions of aſtrology. What diſpleaſed him was, that Germanicus, by ſo popular an action, had gained the hearts of the ſoldiery and Roman people.

(F) Tacitus tells us, that this cauſway was made by Lucius Domitius, who, according to that writer, led an army over the Elbe, and advanced farther into Germany than any Roman before him, which procured him the enſigns of triumph. Whence we conclude him to be have been the grandfather of Nero; for Suetonius, in his life of that emperor, tells us, that Lucius Domitius his grandfather was no leſs famous for his dexterity in driving

but nevertheless Arminius arrived there before him. This cauſway led croſs vaſt marſhes, ſurrounded on all ſides with woods and hills, which gently roſe from the plain. The woods Arminius had already filled with his men, who, as ſoon as Cæcina approached, ruſhing out fell upon him with ſuch fury, that the legions, not able to manage their arms in the deep waters and ſlippery ground, were already yielding, and would in all likelihood have been entirely defeated, had not night coming on ſoon put an end to the combat. The Germans, encouraged with their ſucceſs, inſtead of refreſhing themſelves with ſleep, employed the whole night in diverting the courſes of the ſprings riſing in the neighbouring mountains, and turning them into the plains; ſo that the camp, which the Romans had begun, was all on a ſudden laid under water, and their works overturned. We may well imagine what a melancholy night they paſſed under theſe circumſtances. We are told, that Cæcina himſelf was terrified with a frightful dream: he thought he ſaw Quintilius Varus riſing out of the marſh beſmeared with blood, ſtretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the invitation, and puſhed him away. Cæcina had ſerved either as a common ſoldier, or as an officer, forty years, was well experienced in all the viciſſitudes of war, and thence undaunted even in the greateſt dangers. Having therefore calmly weighed with himſelf all proper expedients for the preſent conjuncture, he at length reſolved to attack the barbarians the next day, to drive them to their woods, and there keep them in a manner beſieged, till the baggage and the wounded men had paſſed the cauſway, and were out of the enemy's reach. With this view at break of day he drew up his legions, placing the fifth in the right wing, the one-and-twentieth in the left, the firſt in the van, and the twentieth in the rear. But the legions poſted on the wings, ſeized with a ſudden fear, as ſoon as day began to appear,

Cæcina is attacked by Arminius.

And reduced to great ſtreights.

driving chariots, than for the triumphal ornaments which he acquired by his conduct in the German war (37). This cauſway, according to Lipſius, led croſs the marſhes between Lingen, Wedden and Coeverden, where ſome remains of it are ſtill lying under water. Theſe marſhes are now known to the Dutch by the name of Bretanſcheheyde, that is, the marſhes of Bretan (38).

(37) Suet. in Ner. c. 4. Tacit.

(38) Vide Lipſ. in hunc loc.

appear, deſerted their ſtations, and took poſſeſſion of a field beyond the marſhes. Cæcina thought it adviſeable to follow them; but the baggage ſticking in the mire, as he croſſed the marſhes, and the ſoldiers about it being embarraſſed and in great diſorder, Arminius laid hold of this opportunity to begin the attack; and crying out, "This is a ſecond "Varus; the ſame fate attends him and his legions," he ruſhes upon them at the head of a choſen body with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. As he had ordered his men to aim chiefly at the enemy's horſes, great numbers of them were killed, and the ground becoming ſlippery with their blood and the ſlime of the marſh, the reſt either fell, or caſting their riders and galloping among the ranks, put them into diſorder. Cæcina on this occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; but his horſe being killed under him, he would have been taken priſoner, had not the firſt legion reſcued him. The greedineſs of the enemy was what ſaved Cæcina and his legions from utter deſtruction; for while they were already yielding and quite ſpent, the barbarians all on a ſudden abandoned them to ſeize the baggage. The Romans, during this reſpite, ſtruggled out of the marſh, and gaining the dry fields, tired as they were, formed with all poſſible ſpeed a camp there, and fortified it in the beſt manner they could.

The Romans ſaved by the greedineſs of the enemy.

And now the legionaries, quite ſpent and exhauſted, retired to repoſe themſelves a while after ſo fatiguing a combat. But their repoſe was ſoon interrupted by an accident, which, as it cauſed a general alarm in the camp, ſhews what fear and terror had ſeized them. An horſe having broken looſe and being frightened with the noiſe, as he ſtrayed about, ran over ſome who were in his way. As this happened when it was dark, it raiſed ſuch a conſternation among the legionaries, imagining that the Germans had broke into the camp, that they all ran to the gate Decumana, which was fartheſt from the enemy, in order to make their eſcape. Cæcina, having learned the true cauſe of this general uproar, endeavoured to ſtop the fugitives, aſſuring them, that their fear was quite groundleſs; but none of them hearkening to him, he flung himſelf at length croſs the gate. The awe and reſpect they had for their general reſtrained them from running over his body, and put a ſtop to their flight; and, in the mean time, the tribunes and centurions ſatisfied them, that it was a falſe alarm. Then Cæcina, calling them together, told them, that they muſt be indebted for their lives to their valour; but that their valour ought to be

The Romans ſeized with a panic.

tempered

tempered with art; that they muſt keep cloſe within their camp till the Germans attempted to ſtorm it, and then make a ſudden ſally, break through the enemy, and purſue their march to the Rhine. This, he told them, was the only means of retrieving their glory, or ſaving their lives. In the mean time, it was reſolved in the German camp, purſuant to the advice of Inguiomerus, to attack the Roman entrenchments the next morning, no-body doubting, except Arminius, but they might be eaſily forced. That commander, no leſs prudent than brave, was for ſuffering the Romans quietly to depart, and falling upon them on their march, when embarraſſed again amongſt foreſts and marſhes. But the advice of Inguiomerus prevailing, as ſoon as it was light, the Germans beſet the camp, and, having filled the ditches, were already climbing up the ramparts, when Cæcina ordered the ſignal to be given to the cohorts, who, ſallying out with loud ſhouts, fell upon the aggreſſors, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, while they were buſy in ſcaling the entrenchments. The Germans, who imagined that few Romans were remaining, and had therefore promiſed themſelves an eaſy victory, were ſo ſurpriſed and frightened at this ſudden and altogether unexpected attack, that they immediately betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The Romans purſued them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives. Arminius had the good luck to eſcape unhurt; but Inguiomerus was dangerouſly wounded. After this the Germans, as deſtitute of conduct in diſtreſs, as void of moderation in proſperity, appeared no more; ſo that Cæcina purſued his march unmoleſted to the Rhine [1].

The Germans put to flight.

In the mean time, a report being ſpread, that the Roman forces were cut in pieces, and a German army in full march to invade Gaul, ſome timorous partizans of Rome were for breaking down the bridge which the Romans had built over the Rhine near Treves; but Agrippina who ſtill continued in that city, not giving credit to the public report, oppoſed with a manly courage the execution of this deſign, and preſerved the bridge. She had ſoon after the ſatisfaction to ſee the legions under Cæcina, which were ſuppoſed to have met with the ſame fate as thoſe of Varus, arrive, ill-treated indeed and extremely fatigued, but victorious. As they drew near, this undaunted heroine went out with her ſon Caligula to receive them; and, ſtanding at the head of the

The courageous behaviour of Agrippina.

[1] Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 60—69. Dio, l. lvii. p. 615, & ſeq.

the bridge, commended, as they paſſed, their gallant behaviour, and returned them thanks for it in a moſt obliging manner; nay, in the abſence of her huſband, ſhe diſcharged all the duties of a general, relieved the neceſſities of the ſoldiers, beſtowed medicines on the wounded, ſupplied ſome with cloaths, and to all extended the effects of her unbounded generoſity. This behaviour, however commendable, rouſed the jealouſy of Tiberius: It is not, ſaid he, againſt foreigners only that ſhe thus ſtudies to win the affections of the ſoldiery; ſhe has already given manifeſt proofs of her aſpiring views, in carrying her child, the general's ſon, about the camp in the habit of a common ſoldier, with the title of Cæſar Caligula. Sejanus, who was well acquainted with the diſtruſtful temper of Tiberius, and already entertained ambitious deſigns, which he could not compaſs without the deſtruction of Germanicus's family, with his groundleſs and ill-natured ſuggeſtions heightened the emperor's jealouſies, and ſowed in his mind the ſeeds of an irreconcileable hatred againſt Agrippina.

The jealouſy of Tiberius.

In the mean time, Germanicus, having conveyed the four legions he had with him down the Amiſia into the ocean, in order to return by ſea to the Rhine, and finding that his veſſels were overloaded, delivered the ſecond and fourteenth legions to Publius Vitellius, one of his lieutenants, with orders to reconduct them by land. But this march proved fatal to great numbers of them, either buried in the quick-ſands, or ſwallowed up by the billows and overflowing tide, to which they were utter ſtrangers. Thoſe who eſcaped loſt their arms, utenſils, and proviſions, and paſſed a melancholy night on an eminence, which they had gained wading up to the chin. The next morning, the land returning with the tide of ebb, Vitellius with an haſty march reached the river Uſingis, which ſome judicious critics take for the Hoerenſter, on which ſtands the preſent city of Groeningen. There Germanicus, who had reached that river with his fleet, took the two legions again on board, and conveyed them to the mouth of the Rhine, whence they all returned to the city of the Ubii, or Cologne, when fame had given them for loſt. Germanicus on his arrival found in that city Sigimerus, the brother of Segeſtes, with his ſon Seſithacus, who, having renounced the confederacy of their countrymen, were come to implore the clemency of the Romans, and enter into an alliance with them. The father, though one of the chief

The misfortune of the legions that returned by the ſea-ſide.

Sigimerus a German prince ſubmits to the Romans.

authors of the revolt, was kindly received by Germanicus; but it was with much ado that he prevailed upon himſelf to pardon the ſon, who was ſaid to have inſulted the dead body of the unfortunate Varus. In this expedition Germanicus gained no great advantages, and loſt a vaſt number of men. The greater part of thoſe, who had eſcaped ſo many dangers, returned without arms, horſes, utenſils, &c. half-naked, lamed, and unfit for the ſervice; but the fame of his name and amiable qualities having already filled both the Gauls, Spain, and Italy, the inhabitants of theſe countries ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in ſupplying him with arms, horſes, money, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for the proſecution of the war. Germanicus thanked them for their zeal; but accepted only the horſes and arms, defraying the other charges of the war with his own money. We ſhall ſoon ſee what ſucceſs attended him in this war: but let us return, in the mean time, to Tiberius.

THOUGH the jealous emperor repined at the glory of the brave Germanicus, yet, glad of his ſucceſs, he confirmed to him the title of imperator, which the legions had beſtowed on him, and decreed the triumphal ornaments to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, three of his lieutenants, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt. To gain to himſelf the affections of the people, which ſeemed to centre wholly in Germanicus, he affected popularity, rejecting the pompous titles offered him by the ſenate, relieving the diſtreſſed with great generoſity, and eaſing the inhabitants both of Rome and the provinces of ſeveral taxes, with which Auguſtus had burdened them. A ſenator, by name Pius Aurelius, his houſe falling, had recourſe to the ſenate for relief. The prætors of the treaſury oppoſed his ſuit; but nevertheleſs Tiberius, who, as Tacitus obſerves, was generous upon honeſt occaſions, even after he had renounced all other virtues, ordered him the price of his houſe. Propertius Celer, once prætor, deſiring to reſign the ſenatorial dignity, as too burdenſome to his ſmall eſtate, Tiberius, upon information that his misfortunes were owing to his father, and not to himſelf, preſented him with a thouſand great ſeſterces. The Tiber having overflowed the lower parts of the city, he cauſed the bed of that river to be cleanſed, and appointed according to Dion five, according to Tacitus only two, magiſtrates of the ſenatorial order, whoſe whole buſineſs was to watch the overflowing of the Tiber, and reſtrain it within its banks. Theſe magiſtrates were for diverting the chanels

Tiberius affects popularity by various methods.

of

of the ſeveral rivers and lakes by which it was ſwelled; but this project met with great oppoſition in the ſenate, where it was reſolved, that nothing ſhould be altered, the direction of nature, which appointed to rivers their courſes and diſcharges, being, as it was ſuggeſted, beſt in all natural things. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, begging to be eaſed of their public burdens, were this year taken from the ſenate and given to the emperor (G). Hence it is manifeſt, that the government of the proprætors, who commanded in the provinces immediately ſubject to the emperor, was leſs burdenſome than that of the proconſuls, who were ſent into the ſenatorial provinces; but in what the one was more chargeable than the other, we are no-where told. Thus Tiberius affected popularity; but nevertheleſs did not acquire the reputation of being truly popular, having this very year revived the law of "treaſon" or "majeſty" with relation to libels or words; a law above all others execrable to the people, ſince by it thoſe, who wrote or ſpoke any thing reflecting on the emperor, were deemed guilty of high treaſon. In the times of the republic, ſays Tacitus, actions were puniſhed, but words were free. Auguſtus was the firſt, as we have related above, who brought words under the penalties of this law; and Tiberius, exaſperated by ſatyrical verſes diſperſed about the city, expoſing his cruelty, his pride, and the miſunderſtanding which already began between him and his mother (H), thought it neceſſary to revive this dreadful law; a law

He revives the law of majeſty.

(G) Achaia and Macedon were afterwards reſtored by the emperor Caius to the ſenate (39). Hence we read in the Acts, that Gallio was proconſul of Achaia at the end of that prince's reign (40).

(H) The verſes were as follows:

"Aſper & immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
"Diſperear ſi te mater amare poteſt.
"Non es eques. Quare? non ſunt tibi millia centum:
"Omnia ſi quæras, & Rhodus exilium eſt.
"Aurea mutaſti Saturni ſæcula, Cæſar:
"Incolumi nam te ferrea ſemper erunt.
"Faſtidit vinum, quia jam ſitit ipſe cruorem.
"Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.
"Adſpice felicem ſibi, non tibi, Romule, Syllam:
"Et Marium, ſi vis, adſpice, ſed reducem.

(39) Dio, ibid. p. 258. (40) Act. viii. ver. 12.

which occaſioned under him and his ſucceſſors ſo much blood-ſhed in Rome and all the parts of the empire. He did it, however, with great addreſs, and freely forgave the firſt criminals; for, being aſked by Pompeius Macer the prætor, whether, in the execution of his office, he ſhould proceed againſt the authors of libels as guilty of treaſon, he anſwered, "The "laws muſt be executed." Tiberius's anſwer was no ſooner known, than ſeveral perſons were proſecuted upon this law, the emperor having as he was naturally ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful, his ſpies and emiſſaries diſperſed all over the city. Some of theſe accuſed Falanius, a Roman knight, of having admitted into his houſe, where he had erected an altar in honour of Auguſtus, among the other adorers of the deified emperor, one Caſſius a pantomime, infamous for his debaucheries. To this charge they added another, viz. that having ſold his gardens, he had ſold with them the ſtatue of Auguſtus. Rubrius, another Roman knight, was charged with ſwearing falſly by the divinity of Auguſtus. Tiberius, well ſatisfied with having reſtored this law to its former vigor, and by that means checked the freedom of ſpeech and the licentiouſneſs of libellers, would not allow any puniſhment to be inflicted on the pretended criminals; but wrote to the conſuls, that the ſenate, in beſtowing divine honours on his father, did not intend thereby to lay a ſnare for the people; that his mother Livia had never excluded Caſſius, nor others of his profeſſion, from the ſcenic ſports, which ſhe conſecrated to the memory of Auguſtus; that it did not affect religion to comprehend his ſtatue, as well as the images of other gods, in the ſale of houſes and gardens; that as to the ſwearing falſly by his name, it was a crime of the ſame nature, as if Rubrius had profaned the name of Jupiter: but that it belonged to the gods to puniſh affronts offered to the gods. By theſe anſwers, judicious in themſelves and in appearance full of clemency and moderation, Tiberius hoped to decline the odium, which the revival of ſuch a dangerous and enſnaring law carried along with it. But notwithſtanding all his art, it was not long ere he betrayed his real intention, and plainly ſhewed, that he deſigned to make more account of ſuch informations

Several perſons accuſed and acquitted.

"Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis,
"Nec ſemel infectas adſpice cæde manus.
"Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit ſanguine multo
"Ad regnum quiſquis venit ab exilio (40)."

(40) Suet. in Tiber. c. 59.

informations than he would then have believed; for ſoon after Granius Marcellus, prætor, or rather proprætor, of Bithynia, being charged with high treaſon of this nature by his own queſtor Cæpio Criſpinus, Tiberius, in a manner forgetting himſelf, flew into a violent paſſion, and in that ſudden tranſport was for condemning without further enquiry the pretended criminal. Marcellus was accuſed of having ſpoke with diſreſpect of the emperor; and the accuſer, to render his accuſation more credible, collecting whatever was moſt deteſtable in the prince's character, alledged it as the expreſſions of the accuſed. To this he added, that Marcellus had placed his own ſtatue higher than thoſe of the Cæſars; and that having taken the head from off the ſtatue of Auguſtus, he had placed the head of Tiberius in its room. This enraged him to ſuch a degree, that, no longer able to diſſemble his reſentment, he cried out, That he would himſelf in this cauſe give his vote openly and upon his oath. Hereupon Cneius Piſo aſked him, "In what place, Cæſar, will you "chuſe to give your opinion? If firſt, I ſhall have your "example to follow; if laſt, I am afraid I may diſagree "with you." Theſe words touched Tiberius to the quick; nevertheleſs he bore them patiently, being aſhamed of his tranſport, and ſuffered Marcellus to be acquitted of high treaſon [m] (H). It was not out of any principle of religion, nor from any regard to Auguſtus, that Tiberius was for puniſhing the ſuppoſed crimes againſt his godhead, but becauſe he apprehended the ſame affronts might be one day offered to himſelf. We ſhall ſee in the couſe of this hiſtory with what

An unwary tranſport of Tiberius.

[m] Tacit. ibid. c. 73, 74.

(H) Suetonius tells us, that he was condemned. His words are: "About the ſame time the prætor having aſked him, Whether he would have the judges to hear and determine matters "of high treaſon, he replied, The laws muſt take their courſe; "and he was as good as his word, for from that time they "were executed with the utmoſt ſeverity. A certain perſon "having taken the head from off the ſtatue of Auguſtus, with "a deſign to put upon it the head of another, the matter was "brought before the ſenate; and becauſe the fact was not clear, "recourſe was had to the rack. The guilty perſon being con"demned, this kind of calumny became by degrees ſo dange"rous, &c." The perſon arraigned, and, according to Suetonius, condemned, could be no other than Granius Marcellus.

an extravagant and inviolable ſanctity the ſtatues and images of Auguſtus and the other emperors were inveſted, and what a ſource for informations, puniſhments, confiſcations, &c. was openened by the worſhip paid to them.

Diſſentions of the theatre.

THE diſſenſions of the theatre, which had begun the year before, broke out now with great violence, and rent almoſt the whole city into factions and parties, ſome protecting one player, and ſome another; nay, the oppoſite parties often came to blows, and turned the play-houſe into a field of battle. In one of theſe frays, ſeveral, not of the people only, were killed, but of the ſoldiers who attended in the play-houſe and at the gate to prevent diſturbances, and among them a centurion; even the tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded, while he was endeavouring to ſecure the magiſtrates from inſults, and to quell the licentious rabble. The ſenate took this affair into conſideration, and ſeveral expedients were propoſed for the preventing of ſuch riots. The majority were for impowering the prætors to whip the players, who, as was ſuppoſed, were the chief authors of theſe tumults. But Haterius Agrippa, tribune of the people, oppoſed this motion, alledging, that Auguſtus, upon a certain occaſion had declared, that players ſhould not be whipt; and indeed that emperor, who took great delight in ſuch diverſions, had, as Suetonius informs us [n], and we have hinted above, reſtrained the power of puniſhing the players, which, by an antient law, the magiſtrates had till that time exerciſed over them in all places and ages. Aſinius Gallus with great ſharpneſs reprimanded the tribune for his oppoſition; which, however, prevailed out of reſpect to Auguſtus, whoſe laws were to be inviolably obſerved.

Laws for the curbing of the inſolence of players.

In order therefore to curb the inſolence of the players, their wages were, by a decree of the ſenate, curtailed; and it was moreover enacted, that no ſenator ſhould viſit a player, that no Roman knight ſhould attend them abroad, and that they ſhould act no-where but in the theatre or public play-houſe. What gave occaſion to this decree was, the great court which the nobility paid them; for not only the people, but knights and ſenators, as Pliny informs us [o], attended their levees, and waited upon them when they went abroad. Hence Seneca called the nobility of his time "the ſlaves of the pantomimes [p]." They acted not only in the public theatre, but in private houſes, gardens &c. drawing after them vaſt crowds, and by that means heaping up immenſe wealth. The above-mentioned decrees of

[n] Suet. in Aug. c. 45. [o] Plin. l. xxix. [p] Senec. epiſt. 47.

of the ſenate were therefore well calculated to humble their pride, and check that inſolence which naturally ariſes, eſpecially in perſons of a mean condition, from wealth and honours. As to the ſpectators, the prætors were impowered to puniſh with baniſhment ſuch of them as ſhould raiſe the leaſt diſturbance in the theatre [q]. Thus was an end put for a while to theſe riots and tumults. This year Tiberius diſcharged the legacies which Auguſtus had left to the people; but ſullied the glory naturally accruing from ſo plauſible and popular an action, by another equally baſe and cruel, for as he ſeemed not to be in haſte to ſatisfy the people, a merry jeſter ſeeing a dead body carried by to the grave, accoſting the bier, and pretending to whiſper in the ear of the deceaſed, ſaid aloud, "Remember to let Auguſtus know, that "the legacies which he left to the people, are not yet paid." This pleaſantry being related to Tiberius, he commanded the jeſter to be brought to him; and, having paid him his full due, cauſed him to be put to death immediately, telling him, That he ſhould go himſelf to Auguſtus, ſince he could give him freſher accounts than the deceaſed. However, a few days after, he paid the legacy [r]. This ſame year, the people entreating him to eaſe them of the tax of one per cent, eſtabliſhed at the end of the civil wars upon all vendible commodities, he declared by an edict, that the fund for maintaining the army (I) depended entirely upon this tax; and that even thus the republic would not be able to defray the vaſt charges attending the final diſmiſſion of veterans before the twentieth year of their ſervice. By this decree, the

Tiberius puniſhes a joke with death.

[q] Tacit. ibid. c. 77. [r] Suet. in Tiber. c. 57.

(I) This fund is called by Suetonius, "ærarium militare," the "military treaſury:" "That the ſoldiers, ſays that writer, "ſpeaking of Auguſtus, when diſcharged, might not be tempted "to raiſe diſturbances by their age and poverty, he aſſigned to "each of them an allowance according to the time and quality "of their ſervice; and that the province allotted them might be "eaſy and perpetual, he eſtabliſhed a military treaſury, and im-"poſed new tributes for their maintenance (41)." The ſuperintendency of this fund was committed to three perſons, as Dio informs us (42), who had been prætors, choſen by lot, and continued in the office three years. They were ſtyled "prefects," or "ſuperintendants of the military treaſury," as we gather from the following inſcription on an antient marble found in Samnium: "L. Neratio C. F. Vol. Proculo, Præ. Ærari. Militaris.

(41) Suet. in Aug. c. 49. (42) Dio, l. lv. p. 565.

conceſſions made to the ſoldiery, during the late ſedition, were implicitly revoked, and they obliged to ſerve twenty years as before, inſtead of ſixteen [s]. Thus Tiberius, even while he was ſtudying to win the hearts of the people and ſoldiery, gave them juſt motives to complain of his preſent, and to dread his future, behaviour. Let us now leave Tiberius for a while, and return to Germanicus.

Revokes the conceſſions granted to the ſoldiery.

THAT brave prince ſpent the winter, when Siſenna Statilius and Lucius Scribonius Libo were conſuls, in vaſt preparations for another expedition into Germany, having his heart and mind wholly bent on the entire reduction of that vaſt continent. He weighed with himſelf the methods he had hitherto purſued in that war, the misfortunes and ſucceſſes which had attended him ſince he firſt undertook it; and finding that the Germans were chiefly indebted for their ſafety to their woods and marſhes, to their ſhort ſummers and early winters, and that his own men ſuffered more from their long and tedious marches than from the enemy, he reſolved to enter the country by ſea, hoping by that means to begin the campaign earlier and ſurpriſe the enemy. Having therefore built, with great diſpatch during the winter, a thouſand veſſels of different ſorts (K), early in the ſpring Germanicus ordered them to fall down the Rhine, appointing the iſland of the Batavians (L) for the

Germanicus undertakes another expedition into Germany.

[s] Tacit. ibid. c. 78.

(K) Some of theſe veſſels, ſays Tacitus, were ſhort, ſharp at both ends, and wide in the middle. Veſſels of this kind are ſtill in uſe among the Dutch. Some had flat bottoms, that they might run aground without danger. Several had rudders at each end, that the rowers might, only by turning their oars, work them either way. This kind of veſſels, now no longer in uſe, Tacitus deſcribes in his book of the "manners of the "Germans," and likewiſe in his hiſtory, where he ſtyles them "cameræ" (42).

(L) Tacitus deſcribes the iſland of the Batavians thus: The Rhine, ſays he, flowing in one chanel, or only broken by ſmall iſlands, is divided at its entering Batavia, as it were, into two rivers. One continues its courſe through Germany, retaining the ſame name and violent current, till it falls into the ocean. The other, waſhing the coaſt of Gaul with a broader and more gentle ſtream, is called by the inhabitants Vahales; which name it ſoon changes for that of the Moſa, by the immenſe mouth of which river it diſcharges itſelf into the ſame ocean; ſo that, as

(42) Tacit. hiſt. l. iii.


BRITANNIA
53
52
51
50
49
Occidens
Tamesis Flu.
Londinium
Magnus Portus
Portus Novus
Portus Dubris
Antona fl.
Venta
Villa Faustini
Camulodunum
Tamesis
THE BRITISH OCEAN
THE BRITISH
Caletes
Juliobona
Velocasses
Rotomagus
Lexobii
GALLIA

Septentrio

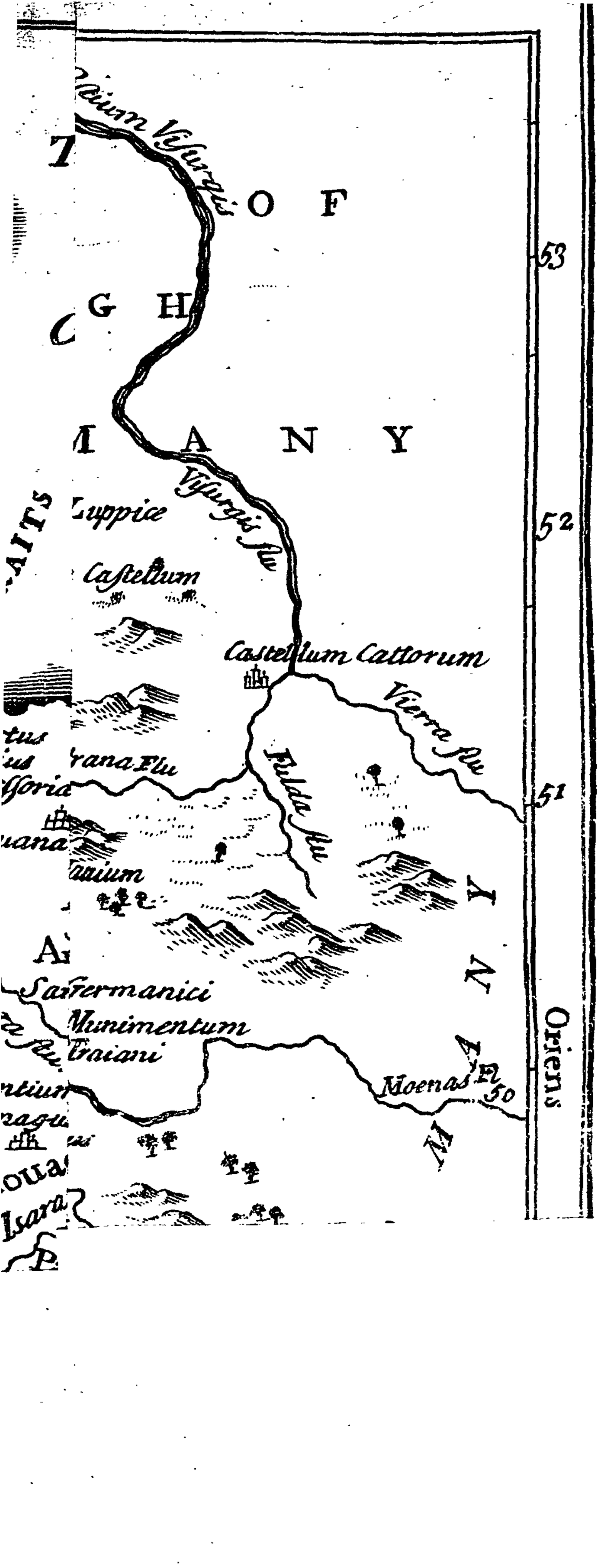
BRITANNIA PART OF

THE GERMAN OCEAN

THE BRITISH OCEAN

THE BRITISH STRAITS

Venta
Villa Faustini
Antona fl.
Camulodunum
Londinium
Ganesis Flu.
Dubris
Magnus Portus
Novus Portus
Medway Ostium
Helium Ostium
Flavum Ostium
Flavum Castellum
Corbulonis munimentum
Amisinorum
Amisiae Aestuarium
Amisius Flu.
Visurgis Flu.
Albis Flu.
PART OF HIGH GERMANY
Castellum Britannicum
Canine fates
Ammensium
Traiectus Rheni
Batavorum
Lugdunum
Rhenus Flu.
Vahalis
Insula
Vada
Arenacum
Fossa Drusi
Sala sive Isala Flu.
Colonia Traiana Vetera
Silva Caesia
Luppia
Fons Luppiae
Luppia Fl.
Aliso Castellum
Asciburgum
Getduba
Noviomagus
Durnomagum
Burungum
Colonia Agrippina
Segedunum
Adrana Flu.
Castellum Cattorum
Visurgis flu.
Fulda flu.
Menapii
Menapiorum
Caruo
Castellum
Toxandri aliorum
Toxandri
Toxandria
Morini
Portus Itius
Gesforiacum
Teruana
Suecsoni
Aduatici
Perviciacum
Betasii
Tornacum
Scaldis Fl.
Nervii
Pons Scaldis
Geminiacum
Atrebates
Nemetacum seu Nemetocenna
Ambiani
Samarobriua
Samara flu.
Caletes
Juliobona
Velocasses
Bratuspantium
Caesaromagus
Rotomagus
Lexobii
Sequana Flu.
Eburones
Bellovaci
Isara Flu.
Silvanectes
Augustomagus sive Silvanectum
Parisii
Iatinum
Bibrax
Meldi
Lutetia
Metiosedum
Melodunum
Camutes
GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS OR CELTIC GAULS
Treviri
Mediomatrici
Divodurum
Virodunum
Rhemi
Durocortorum
Vidula Flu.
Matrona Fl.
Catalaunum
Tullum
Leuci
Tricasses
Augustomana sive Tricassium
Senones
Agendicum seu Senones
Antissiodorum
Vennetes Flu.
Lingones
Andomadunum seu Lingones
Arar Flu
Vesontio
Dubis seu Alduadubis flu.
Dola
Sequani
Vibigena
Colonia Equestris
Geneva
Lacus Lemanus
Matisco
Cabillonum
Axona Flu.
Augusta Suessonum
Noviomagus sive Oesia
Vibrunum
Augusta Veromanduorum
Veromandui
Situs
Sabis Flu
Namon
Fons Trungronum
Ebura
Aduatuca
Geminiacum
Bagacum
Valenciana
Tornacum
Ebur. Mosa Flu
Iuliacum
Aquae Granni
Tiberiacum
Ranch
Thesaurus
Traiectus Mosae
Mosa Flu.
Mosa flu.
Naviomagus
Carvo
Menapii
Toxandri
Toxandria
Thesaurus
Ebur. Conious lum
Lodian
Tungri
Arduenna
Augusta Treuirorum
Marcodurum
Rigodulum
Mosella Fl.
Treuiri
Ambatinus Vicus
Castellum Germanici
Taunus M.
Bingium
Magnitudinum
Mosaus Flu
Muninentum Traiani
Moenas Fl.
Vangiones
Borbetomagus
Alta Ripa
Nemetes
Tres Tabernae
Noviomagus
Nicer Flu
Decem Pagi
Tullum
Tribocci
Concordia
Brocomagus
Argentoratum
Lucus Augusti
Rhenus Flu.
Argentuaria
Rusiana
Mons Brisiacus
Vogesus Mons
Rauraci
Augusta Rauracorum
Rhenus Flu
Fons mi Tiberii
Tigurum
Vindonissa
Aquae Helvetiae
Tugium
Tugeni
Ambronenses
Salodurum
Aventicum
Virba
Arola Flu
Rhenus Flu.
Lacus Mort
Alsa Flu
Luna Mons
Luna Flu
Jaunia Flu.
Axona Flu.
Sarauus Flu.
Sallia Flu.
Mosella Fl.
Mogilla Flu.
Mosae Flu.
Rhenus Flu.
Isala Flu.
Amisiae Aestuarium
Amisius Flu.
Visurgis flu.
Albis Fl.
Vistula flu.
Vistula Flu.
Oderus Flu.
Viadua Flu.
Matrona Fl.
Sequana Flu.
Sequanae Flu.
Arar Flu
Anar Flu
Dubis Flu
Alduadubis flu.
Rhenus Flu.
Rhenus Flu.
Rhenus


Vistula Fl
T
O F
C G H
M A N Y
Vistula flu
Luppia
Castellum
Castellum Cattorum
Viera flu
Fulda flu
rana Flu
oria
uana
anium
I
A
Saxermanici
Munimentum
Traiani
Moenas
M
Orien
53
52
51
50

the place of the general rendezvous, as the moſt convenient for receiving the forces, and conveying them from thence to thoſe parts of Germany which he deſigned to invade. While the fleet ſailed, Germanicus detached Silius, one of his lieutenants, with orders to make a ſudden irruption into the country of the Catti, and in the mean time he himſelf, upon intelligence that a Roman fort upon the Luppia was beſieged by the enemy, haſtened with ſix legions to its relief. Silius was prevented by ſudden rains from doing more than taking ſome ſmall booty, with the wife and daughter of Arpus prince of the Catti; neither did thoſe who had inveſted the fort ſtay till Germanicus arrived, but, upon the news of his approach, breaking up the ſiege, fled and diſperſed. However, in their retreat, they threw down the monument lately raiſed in honour of Varus and his legions, and alſo an altar formerly erected to Druſus (M). The altar Germanicus reſtored, and performed with the legions the funeral ceremony of running round it to the honour of his father, according to the antient cuſtom (O); but not thinking fit to ſet up the momument again, he fortified with new works the whole ſpace between the fort, which the enemy had beſieged,

according to Tacitus, the iſland of the Batavians was bounded by the ocean, the Rhine, and the Vahales, now the Wale. Cæſar extends it to the Moſa or Meuſe (43); but Pliny agrees with Tacitus (44). However, the iſland of the Batavians was of greater extent in Tacitus's time than in Cæſar's, Druſus, the father of Germanicus, having, by a new canal, conveyed the waters of the Rhine into the ocean a conſiderable way north of the former mouth of that river. By this means the antient chanel being dried and filled up, the iſland of the Batavians extended to the new canal (45).

(M) Dio and Suetonius tell us, that a monument was erected in honour of Druſus upon the banks of the Rhine. Some writers place the altar mentioned here cloſe to this monument, and both at Mentz; but it is manifeſt from this paſſage in Tacitus, that the altar ſtood not on the Rhine, but between that river and the Lyppe.

(O) The ceremony of celebrating the funerals of great men with races, was practiſed in Homer's time, and is deſcribed by moſt of the antient poets, among the reſt very minutely by Statius (46). Livy tells us, that this ceremony obtained even amongſt the Carthaginians (47).

(43) Cæſ. comment. l. iv. c. 10. (44) Plin. l. iv. c. 15. (45) Vide Cellar. geograph. antiq. l. ii. (46) Stat. l. vi. (47) Liv. l. xxxv.

He embarques his army.

ſieged, the Aliſo, now the Yſſel, and the Rhine (P). In the mean time, the fleet arriving at the iſland of the Batavians, the proviſions and warlike engines were put on board and ſent forward; ſhips were aſſigned to the legions and allies, and the whole army being embarqued, the fleet entered the canal formerly cut by Druſus, and from his name called "Foſſa Druſiana, or the canal of Druſus (Q)." Here

(P) Some commentators take Aliſo to be the name of the fort, and read Tacitus thus, "cuncta inter caſtellum Aliſonem, & "Rhenum, &c." but Vertranius, Freinſhemius, and Lipſius, "cuncta inter caſtellum, Aliſonem, & Rhenum," more agreeable perhaps to what we read in Dion Caſſius, who tells us, that Druſus built a fort at the conflux of the Lupias and the Aliſo (48). The latter river, now known by the name of Alme, runs at a ſmall diſtance from the city of Paderborne.

(Q) The Foſſa Druſiana was a canal cut by Druſus to convey the waters of the Rhine into the Sala, now the Sale, and from thence through the lake Flevus into the ocean. It extended eight miles, from the preſent village of Iſeloort to the town of Doeſburg, and was very convenient for the conveying of the Roman troops by water, to the countries of the Friſii and the Chauci. It was this convenience that put Druſus upon ſuch an undertaking. By means of this new canal the Rhine came to have three branches, and to diſcharge itſelf into the ocean by three ſeparate and diſtinct mouths, of which the northern was called Oſtium Flevum, the weſtern Oſtium Helium, and the middle Oſtium Medium or Oſtium Rheni. Cæſar, in deſcribing the courſe of the Rhine, ſays, that it diſcharges itſelf into the ocean by many months; but he was therein miſtaken, depending probably on the accounts of others, or taking the canals, which were cut for the draining of the neighbouring lands, for mouths of the Rhine. It was well known to the geographers of his time, that the Rhine emptied itſelf into the ocean by two mouths only; for Strabo, who maintains this opinion, confirms it with the authority of Aſinius Pollio, who was contemporary with Cæſar (49). Hence Virgil gives the Rhine the epithet of bicornis, or two-horned. By means of the canal cut by Druſus between the north branch of the Rhine and the Sala, theſe two rivers ran in one chanel to the lake Flevus, and from thence emptied themſelves into the ocean. This mouth was called Oſtium Flevum. Tacitus and Mela, who wrote after Druſus's time, mention only two months, viz. the Flevum and Helium, the middle one being very inconſiderable and almoſt quite choaked up, after the ſtream was by the Foſſa Druſiana conveyed into the Sala.

(48) Dio, l. liv. (49) Strabo, l. iv. p. 133.

Here the pious general did not forget to invoke the manes of his father, beſeeching him to encourage with his example, and inſpire with wholſome counſels, his ſon, who was following his footſteps. Hence he ſailed proſperouſly through lakes (R) and the ocean to the Amiſia or Ems, and having landed his troops at the mouth of that river (S), marched ſtrait to the Viſurgis or Weſer. While he was encamped on the banks of that river, news was brought him, that the Angrivarii (T) had revolted behind him. Hereupon he immediately diſpatched a body of horſe and light-armed foot againſt them, under the command of Stertinius, who with fire and ſword ſpread deſolation throughout their country. In the mean time, the famous Arminius, being informed of Germanicus's deſign, appeared on the oppoſite bank of the Viſurgis (U) at the head

Arrives at the Amiſia.

Finds Arminius at the Viſurgis.

(R) From this and ſeveral other paſſages in Tacitus, it is manifeſt, that, in former times, there were ſeveral lakes in this country, though, at preſent, there is but one, called in the language of the country, the South Sea.

(S) In this place Tacitus charges Germanicus with two overſights. The firſt is, that he landed his troops too near the mouth of the river, by which means they ſuffered much upon the return of the tide, which reached and overflowed the plain where they landed. The other is, that he landed them on the wrong ſide of the river, ſo that many days were ſpent in making bridges. That Germanicus, not yet well acquainted with the flux and reflux of the ocean, was guilty of the firſt miſtake, is not unlikely; but that he ſhould land his men on the ſide of the river moſt remote from the enemy, and then conſume many days in making bridges to convey them over, is a blunder ſo palpable and notorious, that we could hardly charge with it the moſt unthinking man of his army, much leſs a perſon of his penetration and forecaſt. We ſhall therefore conclude, without entering into the long and tedious diſputes of the critics, that this paſſage is not genuine, but has been ſome way or other maimed and corrupted.

(T) The Angrivarii had often changed their habitation, as Tacitus informs us (48); but at this time dwelt, as is manifeſt from the paſſage before us, between the Amiſia and Viſurgis. Some modern geographers think, they poſſeſſed part of the preſent province of Overyſſel, of the country of Benthem, and of the dioceſe of Paderborne.

(U) The Viſurgis, as Lipſius obſerves in this place, is chiefly indebted to Tacitus for its fame, and Tacitus for his to the Viſurgis

(48) Tacit. de mor. German. c. 33.

head of his Cheruſci, determined to diſpute with the Romans the paſſage of the river. However, before hoſtilities began on either ſide, he aſked, whether Germanicus was come; and being anſwered that he was, he begged leave to ſpeak with his brother, who, under the name of Flavius, had long ſerved in the Roman army, and had loſt an eye in fighting under Tiberius. His requeſt being granted, Flavius advanced; and Arminius, having firſt ſaluted him and ordered his own attendants to withdraw, deſired, that the Roman archers, who were drawn up cloſe to the bank of the river, might likewiſe retire. When they were removed, "How came you, brother, by this deformity in "your countenance?" ſaid Arminius. Flavius having told him in what place and battle he had loſt his eye; "And "what reward," aſked Arminius in the next place, "have "you received for ſo dangerous a warfare? Increaſe of pay," anſwered Flavius, "a crown, a chain, and other military "gifts;" which Arminius treating with deriſion and ſtyling the vile wages of ſlavery, a warm conteſt aroſe between the two brothers, the one extolling the greatneſs of the Romans, the power of the emperor, the unhappy condition of the conquered, the Roman clemency to ſuch as ſubmitted, the kind treatment of the wife and ſon of Arminius, not uſed like captives, &c. Arminius, on the other hand, alledged the rights of their common country, their antient liberty, the gods of their anceſtors, beſeeching him by their common mother not to prefer the name of a traitor, of a betrayer of his friends, relations, and country, to that of their general and commander. By degrees they came to reproaches, and, though parted by the river, would have come to blows, had not Stertinius laid hold of Flavius, and reſtrained him, calling for his horſe and armour. On the oppoſite bank, Arminius, ſwelled with rage, was heard to utter dreadful threats, and menace the Romans as he departed with an approaching battle; for with his native language he mingled many Latin words, which he had learnt while he ſerved as general of his countrymen in the Roman armies [t].

An interview between Arminius and his brother.

THE next day, the German army appeared on the oppoſite bank of the Viſurgis in order of battle. But Germanicus

[t] Tacit. ibid. c. 5.---10.

Viſurgis; for in a monaſtery on this river were found the five firſt books of his annals, after they had been long looked upon as loſt.

nicus, not thinking it adviseable to attack them, ordered the horse to ford over under the conduct of Stertinius and Æmilius, who, to divide the enemy's forces, crossed the river in distant places. At the same time Cariovalda, leader of the Batavians, passed it where it was most rapid; but being drawn into an ambuscade by the enemy and surrounded on all sides, he fell under a shower of darts, while he was with incredible bravery attempting to break through the enemy's numerous battalions. Many of the Batavian nobility fell round him; the rest were saved either by their own bravery, or by the cavalry of Stertinius and Æmilius, who, upon the first notice of their danger, flew to the relief of their distressed allies. Germanicus having, during this skirmish, passed the Visurgis without molestation, was informed by a deserter, that Arminius, being joined by several German nations, had resolved to attack his camp by night. Hereupon the Roman general sent out scouts to reconnoitre, who, upon their return, reported, that they had heard a great noise of men and horses, and discerned the enemy's fires in a neighbouring wood. Then Germanicus, no longer doubting, but they designed to venture a decisive battle, in order to be informed in this critical conjuncture of the real inclinations of his soldiers, and not to depend on the reports of the tribunes and centurions, who were often apt to conceal the truth and relate only what was pleasing, in the beginning of the night, went out of the prætorium in disguise, only with one attendant; and listening from tent to tent to the discourses of the soldiery, while over their meals they frankly disclosed their hopes and fears, he had the satisfaction to hear his own praises in every one's mouth, and the soldiers encouraging each other to exert themselves in the approaching battle, out of gratitude to so deserving a general. While Germanicus was thus agreeably employed, one of the Germans, who spoke Latin, riding up to the Roman entrenchments, offered in the name of Arminius to every deserter, a wife, land, and an hundred sesterces a day, as long as the war lasted. This offer the legions looked upon as an affront; and, full of rage and resentment, "Let day come," said they, "we will "seize their lands; we will take, not receive, German "wives." About the third watch the enemy approached; but finding the Romans ready to receive them, they retired without discharging a single dart. Early next morning, Germanicus, having assembled his troops, acquainted them

The Batavians drawn into an ambuscade by the Germans.

Germanicus passes the Visurgis.

How he discovered the sentiments of the soldiery.

Germanicus encourages his men.

them with his deſign, which was to put an end to ſo tedious and fatiguing a war with a deciſive battle; made them ſenſible of their advantage over the enemy both as to their arms and manner of fighting; repreſented the Germans as men of a frightful aſpect and violent in the beginning of the battle; but diſheartened with wounds, unaffected with their own diſgrace, unconcerned for their general, cowards in diſtreſs, in proſperity deſpiſers of all divine and human laws. In the end of his ſpeech he exhorted his men to put an end to ſo great fatigues by ſea, to their tedious marches by land, by making him conquer in thoſe very countries, where his father and uncle had conquered. His harangue inſpired the whole army with great ardour, which was expreſſed with a general ſhout and loud acclamations. Neither did Arminius and the other German chiefs neglect to animate their reſpective corps, and encourage them, either to maintain by their bravery the liberty they had received from their anceſtors, or to prevent ſlavery by a glorious death. Having thus animated their men, they led them calling for battle into a plain called Indiſtaviſus (W), which was bounded on one ſide by the Viſurgis, and on the other by a ridge of hills. Behind this plain was a foreſt of tall trees, thick of branches above, but clear of buſhes below. The Germans were all drawn up on the plain and at the entrance of the foreſt, except the Cheruſci, who were poſted on the hills, and ordered to fall upon the Romans from thence in the heat of the fight. Germanicus had ſcarce entered the plain with his troops in battle array, when he obſerved the Cheruſci, impatient of delays, pouring down the hills. Hereupon he commanded a choſen body of horſe to charge them in flank, and at the ſame time detached Stertinius with the reſt of the cavalry, ordering him to wheel about and fall upon their rear (X). In the mean while, the Roman infantry advancing

He engages the enemy.

(W) Lipſius, who ſurveyed with great care, and no leſs pleaſure, the places here deſcribed by Tacitus, takes the plain called by him Indiſtaviſus to be that plain, which begins at a village called Vegeſack, about two German miles from the city of Breme, and extends a great way towards the ſea, between a ridge of hills and the Weſer.

(X) Tacitus tells us, that as the troops were marching towards the enemy, eight eagles were ſeen to fly towards the wood and enter it; which Germanicus looking upon as a preſage of victory, "Advance," he cried, "follow the Roman birds; follow the tutelar gods of the legions.

advancing attacked the enemy in front with ſuch vigor, that the Germans, not able to ſtand the ſhock, immediately gave ground. Thoſe who were poſted at the entrance of the foreſt fled to the plain, and thoſe in the plain to the foreſt. The Cheruſci alone maintained the fight, being encouraged by the example of the valiant Arminius, who, though wounded, would have broke through the Roman archers, had not the auxiliary cohorts of the Rhætians, Vindelicians, and Gauls haſtened to their relief. However, by his own valour and the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, he eſcaped the preſent danger, having firſt dyed his face with his own blood, to avoid being known. Some writers have related, that the Chauci, who ſerved in the Roman army, having known him, ſuffered him to retire unmoleſted. The ſame bravery or connivance procured Inguiomerus's eſcape; the reſt were either cut in pieces, or drowned in attempting to ſwim croſs the Viſurgis. The ſlaughter laſted from morning till night, and the country was covered ten miles round with arms and dead bodies. Among the ſpoils chains were found, which they had brought, not doubting of ſucceſs, to bind the Roman captives. The Romans were no ſooner returned from the purſuit, than Germanicus, aicribing the whole glory of ſo remarkable a victory to Tiberius, under whoſe auſpices he had fought, cauſed him to be proclaimed emperor on the field of battle, and raiſing a mount, placed upon it as trophies the arms of the enemy, and inſcribed underneath the names of the conquered nations [u].

The Germans defeated with great ſlaughter.

THE Germans, though vanquiſhed, and already determined to abandon their country and ſeek for ſhelter beyond the Albis or Elbe, were ſo enraged at the raiſing of this mount, which they looked upon as an affront not to be borne, that, forgetting their wounds and misfortunes, they ran to arms again, people, nobility, young and old, all in a confuſed body, ruſhed ſuddenly upon the Romans, like men in deſpair, and put them, as they were on their march and under no apprehenſion of an enemy, into ſome diſorder. Being repulſed, they encamped in a plain ſhut in between a river and a foreſt; the foreſt was ſurrounded by a deep marſh, except on one ſide, which was encloſed by a broad rampart raiſed formerly by the Angrivarii, as a barrier between them and their neighbours the Cheruſci. In this plain the enemy poſted their infantry, concealing their cavalry among the neighbouring groves, that they might fall

[u] Idem ibid. c. 11--13.

fall upon the rear of the Roman army, as ſoon as they had entered the foreſt. Germanicus, being informed of their deſign and of every ſtep they took, ordered Seius Tubero, one of his lieutenants, to enter the plain at the head of the cavalry; his infantry he divided into two bodies, commanding the one to attack the enemy in the wood, and leading the other himſelf to force the rampart. The foot, that fought on even ground, broke eaſily in; but the attack of the rampart coſt Germanicus dear; the Germans defending it with great boldneſs and intrepidity. However, having at length, by ſhowers of darts poured upon the enemy from his engines, beat them off and taken the rampart, he entered the wood at the head of the prætorian cohorts, and there made a moſt dreadful havock of the enemy, who fought indeed with as much courage as the Romans, but could not, for want of room, manage their long ſpears. However, they made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and diſputed the ground inch by inch. Arminius did not on this occaſion exert his uſual activity, being diſabled and weakened by a wound he received; but Inguiomerus, with great intrepidity, flew about the ranks, animating his countrymen more by his example than by words. Germanicus, that he might be known, pulled off his helmet, and animated his men to purſue the ſlaughter: "No quarter," he cried; "we want "no captives, nothing but an utter deſtruction of theſe perfi- "dious nations will put an end to the war." However, as the day was already far ſpent, he detached a legion to form a camp for his weary troops; but the reſt continued the ſlaughter till night, when they retired glutted with the blood of the enemy. This ſecond victory was entirely owing to the foot, for the horſe fought with doubtful ſucceſs. Germanicus, having from his tribunal commended his victorious troops, of the arms taken from the enemy formed a monument with this inſcription: TO MARS, TO JUPITER, AND TO AUGUSTUS, THE ARMY OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR, HAVING ENTIRELY VANQUISHED THE NATIONS BETWEEN THE RHINE AND THE ALBIS, CONSECRATES THIS MONUMENT. He made no mention of himſelf, either to avoid giving umbrage to Tiberius, or becauſe he thought the recording of the fact a ſufficient teſtimony of his valour and conduct. After this he detached Stertinius againſt the Angrivarii, who by a ready ſubmiſſion prevented the calamities that threatened them. Germanicus, no leſs compaſſionate than brave, pardoned them without reſerve, and ſuffered them to live quietly according to their own laws under the protection of Rome [w].

A ſecond battle.

The Germans defeated anew.

The Angrivarii ſubmit.

As

[w] Idem ibid. c. 21, 22.

As the ſummer was already far ſpent, Germanicus with the reduction of the Angrivarii put an end to the campaign, ſending ſome of the legions back into winter-quarters by land, and embarquing himſelf with the others on the Amiſia in order to return by ſea. The ocean proved at firſt very calm and the wind favourable; but all on a ſudden a ſtorm ariſing, the fleet, conſiſting of a thouſand veſſels, was diſperſed; ſome of them were ſwallowed by the waves, others daſhed in pieces againſt the rocks, or driven upon remote and inhoſpitable iſlands, where the men either periſhed with famine, or lived upon the fleſh of the dead horſes, with which the ſhores appeared ſoon ſtrewed; for in order to lighten their veſſels and diſengage them from the ſhoals, they had been obliged to throw over-board their horſes and beaſts of burden, nay, even their arms and baggage. The galley of Germanicus alone landed on the coaſt of the Chauci, where the good-natured general, deeply affected with the misfortunes of his fellow-ſoldiers, wandered day and night about the rocks and promontories, keeping his eyes ſtedfaſt on the ſea, in hopes of deſcrying ſome of the diſperſed veſſels. As none of them appeared, he was heard accuſing himſelf as the author of this dreadful havock; nay, diſtracted with grief, he would have thrown himſelf head-long into the deep, had not his friends with much ado reſtrained him. At length to his infinite ſatisfaction he diſcovered part of the fleet returning, though in a very bad condition, ſome of the veſſels being without oars, others without ſails, uſing in their ſtead the ſoldiers cloaks; many were quite diſabled, and towed by ſuch as had ſuffered leſs. The latter he cauſed to be immediately repaired, and diſpatched them to the neighbouring iſlands in queſt of his diſperſed legionaries. By this means the greater part of them were at length brought back. The Angrivarii, who had lately ſubmitted, to give Germanicus on this occaſion an undoubted proof of their fidelity, redeemed many, who had been made captives by their neighbours, and reſtored them. Some, who had been driven into our iſland, were generouſly ſent back by the petty kings, who at that time reigned here[x] (Y).

Germanicus returning by ſea ſuffers a violent ſtorm.

His great concern.

Recovers many of his men.

[x] Idem, c. 23, 24.

(Y) Tacitus tells us, that thoſe who came from diſtant countries related wonders at their return, and entertained their comrades with ſtrange accounts of violent whirlwinds, of birds never before heard of, of ſea-monſters, which from their ambiguous forms appeared to be

UPON the news of this wreck, the Catti taking new courage, ran to arms; but Caius Silius, detached againſt them with thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, kept them in awe. As for Germanicus himſelf, at the head of a more numerous body, he made a ſudden irruption into the country of the Marſi (Z), where he was informed by one Malovendus, who had once commanded their troops but had lately taken party with the Romans, that the eagle of one of Varus's legions was concealed under-ground in a neighbouring grove, and guarded only by a ſmall body of troops. This intelligence filled Germanicus with joy: he immediately diſpatched two parties, the one to face the enemy and draw them from their poſt, the other to fall upon their rear and dig up the eagle. Succeſs attended both, and the Roman general, having ravaged and laid waſte the enemy's country, brought back the eagle in triumph; he then returned to the frontiers of Gaul, and there put his troops into winter-quarters, having by this glorious and ſucceſsful expedition, retrieved, in ſome degree, the glory of the Roman name, and balanced his late misfortune at ſea[y]. He hoped in one campaign more to complete the reduction of Germany, and, in order to keep up the ſpirit of the ſoldiery, and encourage them to purſue with alacrity that great work, he made good at his own expence all the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the late ſtorm, cauſing as much to be paid to each legionary as each declared he had loſt.

Invades the country of the Marſi, and recovers one of Varus's eagles.

BUT, in the mean time, Tiberius, jealous of the great fame and reputation which his nephew acquired, by his repeated victories over the Germans and his popularity, reſolved to ſeparate him from his old and faithful legions. In order to this, he preſſed him by frequent letters to return to Rome, and there enjoy the triumph decreed him: he urged, that he had already undergone dangers enow; that though ſucceſs had attended him, yet he had ſuſtained great loſſes, which indeed were owing to no fault of his, but to the winds and waves; that he himſelf, having

He is recalled by Tiberius.

[y] Idem, c. 25.

be a new ſpecies between men and beaſts. Travellers we find have been ever apt to magnify what they have ſeen, and relate what they have never ſeen.

(Z) Before the canal, of which we have ſpoken above, was cut by Druſus, the Marſi inhabited part of the territories of Velawe and Zutphen, where the preſent cities of Arnheim, Grolle, and Bredefort ſtand: but afterwards they ſettled between the Rhine and Iſala, and in proceſs of time changed the name of Marſi for that of Marſaci or Marſatti.

having been ſent ten times into Germany by Auguſtus, had more by policy than force of arms brought the Sicambri into ſubjection, and drawn the Suevi and Maroboduus king of the Marcomanni to conclude a peace with Rome: he added, that the Cheruſci and other barbarous nations, now the Romans had been fully revenged on them, might be left to purſue their domeſtic feuds and deſtroy one another. Germanicus, in anſwer to the emperor's letters, earneſtly entreated him to indulge him but one year more to complete his conqueſt, ſince the enemy were already concerting meaſures for obtaining peace. Tiberius was inflexible; in order therefore to entice him home, he offered him a ſecond conſulſhip, adding in his letter, that if the war was ſtill to be purſued, he ought to have ſome regard for his brother Druſus, and not ingroſs all the glory to himſelf; that Rome had at preſent no other enemies to wage war with but the Germans, and Druſus no other field of glory but Germany. Though Germanicus was well appriſed, that theſe were but ſpecious pretences, ſuggeſted by envy, to rob him of the glory he was likely to acquire by another campaign; however, finding it was in vain for him to perſiſt any longer, he complied at length, and, leaving Germany, ſet out for Rome with his wife and children. But, before we ſpeak of the reception he met with from Tiberius and the Roman people, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of what paſſed in the metropolis, while he was ſignalizing himſelf in Germany.

Sets out for Rome.

TIBERIUS had the foregoing year revived, as we have related above, the law of majeſty, and upon this law was now arraigned Libo Druſus, tried, and condemned, and his eſtate divided among his accuſers, which was encouraging that baneful ſet of men, and ſounding the trumpet, to uſe the expreſſion of Ammianus Marcellinus, to informations and arraignments. Lucius Scribonius Libo Druſus was deſcended of the Scribonian family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in Rome, was the great grandſon of Pompey the great, nephew of Scribonia, once the wife of Auguſtus, nearly related to the Cæſars, and no ways inferior in nobility to the reigning houſe. His high quality rendered him obnoxious to Tiberius, which a ſenator, by name Firmius Catus, being well appriſed of, reſolved to gain the emperor's favour, by giving him a plauſible pretence to deliver himſelf from his fears. With this view, having inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the unwary youth, by flattering his hopes and ambition and conſtantly magnifying the nobility of his family, he prevailed upon him to conſult the Chaldeans and magicians, whether he ſhould not be one day veſted with the ſovereign power, to which he had as good a claim, ſaid

Libo Druſus accuſed of high treaſon.

the treacherous Firmius, as the family of Tiberius who enjoyed it. This was ſufficient matter for a charge of high treaſon; and accordingly Firmius immediately acquainted the emperor, by means of Flaccus Veſcularius, a Roman knight, who had free acceſs to him, with the pretended crimes of the unhappy youth, whom he had baſely enſnared with ſpecious deluſions. Tiberius, though overjoyed at this information, refuſed the accuſer a private audience, ſending him word, that the communication might be ſtill carried on by the ſame Flaccus, and accordingly Firmius by his means informed the emperor of all Libo's ſteps and words; for the unwary youth, deluded by the predictions of the Chaldeans and aſtrologers, began now to entertain thoughts of ſoaring above the rank of a private citizen. In the mean time, Tiberius with the deepeſt diſſimulation preferred Libo to the prætorſhip, entertained him at his table, and familiarly converſed with him, without ever betraying the leaſt reſentment, either in his words or countenance. At length Libo, having recourſe to one Junius, who pretended, by charms and the ſuperſtitious rites of the magicians, to call up the infernal ſhades, and learn of them future events, the magician diſcovered this to one Fulcinius Trio, a famous informer, who immediately haſtening to the conſuls, imparted the whole to them, and demanded that the ſenate might meet forthwith to deliberate upon an affair of ſo much moment, and of ſuch dangerous conſequence to the ſtate. The fathers, not doubting but Tiberius was at the bottom of this proſecution, did not fail to aſſemble at the time appointed, when Libo appeared in the habit of a ſuppliant, and preſenting himſelf before Tiberius who was preſent, endeavoured by his tears and entreaties to ſoften him. The emperor heard him with a countenance quite unmoved, and, inſtead of returning him any anſwer, recited to the conſcript fathers the charge againſt him and the names of the accuſers, without betraying the leaſt emotion of anger or reſentment, or ſeeming either to leſſen or magnify the crimes laid to his charge. When the emperor had done, four accuſers appeared againſt the criminal, viz. Firmius Catus, Fulcinius Trio, Fonteius Agrippa, and Caius Vibius, and produced ſuch extravagant, fooliſh, and chimerical articles, as rather deſerved pity than puniſhment. One of theſe, from which we may judge of the others, was, that he had aſked the fortune-tellers, whether he ſhould not one day be poſſeſſed of riches ſufficient to cover with money the great Appian road from Rome to Brunduſium? Vibius produced a paper containing the names of the Cæſars, that is, of Tiberius, Druſus, and Germanicus,

Miſled and betrayed by Firmius Catus.

Is tried by the ſenate.

Articles produced againſt him.

nicus, and thoſe of ſome ſenators, with myſterious characters and magical notes joined to them. Theſe the accuſer pretended were written with Libo's own hand, which he denying, it was moved, that his ſlaves ſhould be examined upon the rack; but becauſe by an old Roman law ſlaves could not be put to the torture in a trial touching the life of their maſters, the crafty Tiberius found a trick to evade that law without ſeeming to violate it: he ordered the ſlaves to be ſold to the public, that they might then be evidence againſt their late maſter: this poor evaſion was firſt contrived and practiſed by Auguſtus, as we have ſhewn above. The unhappy Libo, concluding from this ſtep, that Tiberius was reſolved upon his deſtruction, begged the conſcript fathers that they would put off till the next day the final deciſion of his cauſe. His requeſt being granted, he returned to his own houſe; whence ſoon after he ſent Publius Quirinius to ſpeak to the emperor in his behalf. Quirinius was nearly related to Libo and in great favour with Tiberius, having been formerly, as we have related above, inſtrumental in reconciling Caius Cæſar to him while he lived in the iſland of Rhodes, and by that means the chief cauſe of his returning into favour with Auguſtus. But, unmindful of antient obligations, he received Quirinius with great coldneſs, and returned him no other anſwer, but that he muſt apply to the ſenate. This anſwer threw Libo into a deep melancholy, which, however, he diſſembled, and ordered a great entertainment to be got ready, in order to paſs the laſt night of his life in the company of his friends and relations. But the banquet was ſcarce begun, when a band of ſoldiers, ſurrounding the houſe, with a ſtudied noiſe and dreadful cries, ſo terrified the gueſts, that many of them, riſing from table, endeavoured to make their eſcape. Libo, not doubting but they were ſent to diſpatch him, drawing his ſword, offered it to his ſlaves, begging them to put an end with it to his unhappy life: but they, trembling and ſhunning the ſad taſk, fled with ſuch hurry and confuſion, that they overturned all the lights, and then Libo in the dark gave himſelf two mortal wounds. As he fell and groaned, his freedmen ran in; and the ſoldiers ſeeing him dead retired; for they had been ſent on purpoſe to frighten him, ſo as to make him lay violent hands on himſelf, Tiberius hoping by that means to avoid the odium, which, he was well apprized, the execution of one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Rome would reflect upon his perſon and government. The charge, however, was carried on in the ſenate, as if he had been ſtill alive; but the deceitful Tiberius at the ſame time declared upon oath, that he would have

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

interceded for his life, had he not prevented his clemency by laying violent hands on himſelf. The deceaſed was by the ſenate declared guilty of high treaſon, and his eſtate divided amongſt his accuſers: ſuch of the informers as were of the ſenatorial order (for the firſt lords of the ſenate were not aſhamed to debaſe themſelves to this vile office) were, without the regular method of election, named prætors for the enſuing year. This was the moſt effectual means imaginable of multiplying theſe peſts of the empire: they were raiſed to the higheſt offices in the ſtate, and the metropolis of the world often ſaw her public dignities beſtowed, as ſpoils, upon parricides, for ſpilling her beſt blood. We may well imagine, that the ſervile ſenate did not let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of gaining the emperor's favour, by branding the memory of the pretended criminal. Cotta Meſſalinus moved, that the image of Libo might not be carried at the funerals of his poſterity; Cneius Lentulus, that none of the Scribonian family ſhould thenceforth take the name of Druſus: at the motion of Pomponius Flaccus days of thankſgiving were appointed. Lucius Publius, Aſinius Gallus, Papius Mutilius and Lucius Apronius were of opinion, that gifts ſhould be preſented to Jupiter, to Mars, and to the goddeſs Concord; and that the Ides of September, the day on which Libo killed himſelf, ſhould be for ever obſerved as a feſtival[z]. So great was the debaſement of the once venerable Roman ſenate, even in the beginning of Tiberius's reign. It was not enough for the conſcript fathers to have condemned Libo; they iſſued a decree for driving aſtrologers, magicians, and the whole herd of fortune-tellers out of Italy, nay, Lucius Pituanus, one of them whom Libo had probably conſulted, was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and Publius Marcius, another of the ſame profeſſion, was by the conſuls ſentenced to death, and executed accordingly, without the Eſquiline gate.

Is found guilty of high treaſon after his death by the ſenate.

The debaſement of the ſenate.

Fortune-tellers driven out of Rome.

At the next meeting of the ſenate, Quintus Haterius, once conſul, and Octavius Fronto, formerly prætor, moved, that a ſtop might be put to the exceſſive luxury which prevailed in the city; and at their motion a law paſſed, forbidding all to uſe plate of maſſy gold, and men to debaſe themſelves with wearing ſilks, which were then thought peculiar to women. Fronto went farther, and propoſed, that the quantity of ſilver plate, the expence of furniture, and the number of ſlaves might be regulated. But he was oppoſed therein by Aſinius Gallus, who with plauſible arguments defended the

The uſe of plate and maſſy gold, &c. forbidden.

[z] Idem ibid. c. 27--32.

the prevailing luxury. Beſides, Tiberius himſelf did not approve of Fronto's motion; for after Gallus had done ſpeaking, he added, that it was not a ſeaſon for reformation, and that if there was any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to redreſs that evil, alluding thereby, no doubt, to himſelf and his office of perpetual cenſor. As it was common for the ſenators to depart from the preſent debate, and offer as their advice whatever they judged conducing to the public welfare, Lucius Piſo, who ſtill retained the antient Roman ſpirit and declared his ſentiments with great freedom, after having bitterly inveighed againſt the corruptions of the ſtate, particularly againſt the peſtilent purſuits of the informers, who were daily arraigning and circumventing all men, proteſted, that he was reſolved to leave Rome, and live in ſome quiet and diſtant corner of the country. With theſe words he went out of the ſenate; but Tiberius, though highly provoked, ſmothered his reſentment, and following Piſo, endeavoured to ſmooth him with kind entreaties, nay, he even condeſcended to ſolicit his relations to divert him with their prayers and authority from the reſolution he had taken; which they did accordingly. Piſo not long after gave another inſtance of a ſpirit truly Roman, in ſuing for a debt one Urgulania, a woman of diſtinction, and placed by the favour of Livia above the laws. Piſo ſummoned her to appear before the prætor; but ſhe, deſpiſing the ſummons, fled for refuge to the palace; whence Piſo would have carried her by force before the prætor, notwithſtanding the complaints of Livia, had not Tiberius, to prevent diſturbances, obliged her to comply with the ſummons, and at the ſame time propoſed, in civility to his mother, to attend the trial and aſſiſt her favourite. On the day appointed for the deciſion of the cauſe, the emperor left the palace, ordering his guards to follow him at a diſtance; but walked ſo ſlow, that before he reached the forum the trial was over, and Urgulania adjudged to pay the ſum claimed by Piſo. The money was immediately advanced by Livia, who, finding Piſo inflexible and the emperor no-ways inclined to oppoſe him, was glad to redeem her favourite from the trouble, which ſo bold and reſolute a creditor would not have failed to create her (A). The proceeding of Tiberius ont his occaſion

The free ſpirit of L. Piſo.

(A) Tacitus tells us that the power of Urgulania was ſo great, that ſhe diſdained to appear as a witneſs in a certain cauſe before the ſenate; ſo that a prætor was ſent to examine her at her own

was highly applauded by the Roman people, as was alſo his generoſity at this time towards ſome neceſſitous ſenators, whom with his gratuities he enabled to live ſuitable to their rank. However, he rejected with haughtineſs the petition of Marcus Hortalus, the grandſon of Hortenſius the famous orator, who, as we have related above, had been encouraged by Auguſtus with a bounty of a thouſand great ſeſterces, to marry, in order to prevent the extinction of his illuſtrious family. As he had now four children, he placed them before the door of the ſenate houſe, and ſhewing them to the conſcript fathers, in a moving ſpeech beſought both them and the emperor to defend from want the offspring of ſo many conſuls, the deſcendents of ſo many dictators, whom he had not brought into the world by his own choice, but in compliance with the deſire of the deified Auguſtus. The conſcript fathers, touched with compaſſion, were inclined to relieve him; but Tiberius oppoſed it, ſaying, that if they relieved all who were poor, and took upon them to maintain their children, the public would ſoon fail; that if the public treaſury came to be exhauſted by popular bounties, it muſt be ſupplied with rapine and oppreſſion; that by ſuch bounties induſtry would languiſh, and ſloth prevail, &c. The greater part of the fathers ſufficiently declared with their ſilence, that they did not like this ſpeech; which Tiberius perceiving, after having pauſed a little, to qualify what he had ſaid, added, that his anſwer was addreſſed in particular to Hortalus, but that if the ſenate thought fit, he was ready to give his ſons two hundred great ſeſterces each. The ſenators returned him thanks for his generous diſpoſition; but Hortalus himſelf was ſilent, affronted at the emperor's ſpeech, and even in poverty full of the antient grandeur of his family; which ſo eſtranged Tiberius from him, that he never after took any notice of him or his family, though reduced to extreme poverty [a].

Tiberius's generoſity to ſome ſenators.

He refuſes to relieve the ſenator M. Hortalus.

THIS ſame year, a ſlave of Poſthumus Agrippa, by name Clemens, would have raiſed great diſturbances in the ſtate, and kindled a civil war in the bowels of Italy, had he not been prevented in good time. As he was much about the ſame age with his late maſter, and not unlike him in his perſon, he took upon him his name, and cauſed it to be reported

The bold deſign of Clemens, bondman to Agrippa Poſthumus.

[a] Idem ibid. c. 37, 38

own houſe, though it had been alway uſual even for the veſtal virgins to attend the forum and courts of juſtice, whenever their evidence was required.

ed in all parts by his emiſſaries and aſſociates, that Agrippa was ſtill alive. This raiſed great tumults in many cities of Italy, and brought over to the pretended Agrippa vaſt numbers of people, ſuch as are ever fond of public diſturbances and changes. The report was even credited at Rome, and his ſuppoſed arrival at Oſtia privately celebrated in the city by multitudes of people. Tiberius, informed by his emiſſaries of all that paſſed, was long in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould order his troops to march againſt the audacious ſlave; or ſuffer the impoſture to vaniſh of itſelf, which he was well apprized muſt ſoon happen. On one hand, he was aſhamed to betray any fear of a vile ſlave; and on the other he apprehended the danger which might ariſe from the credulity of the people, if they were not ſoon undeceived. In this perplexity he committed the whole affair to Salluſtius Criſpus, the ſame whom he had employed to diſpatch Agrippa. Criſpus choſe two of his clients, or, as ſome write, two ſoldiers, in whom he could confide, and ſent them to the ſuppoſed Agrippa with a conſiderable ſum, directing them to feign that they believed him to be the true grandſon of Auguſtus, to preſent him with the money, and to pretend a great zeal for his cauſe. They executed his orders with great addreſs, and finding that Clemens repoſed in them an entire confidence, they underhand got ready a proper band of men, ſeized and gagged him while his guards were aſleep, and carried him without noiſe to the palace. When he was brought before Tiberius, the emperor aſked him, "How he was became "Agrippa? Juſt as you became Cæſar," anſwered Clemens. Though Tiberius had him wholly in his power, yet ſo great was his fear or policy, that he did not execute him publicly, but ordered him to be diſpatched in a ſecret part of the palace, and his body to be privately conveyed away; and tho' many of the emperor's houſhold, many knights and ſenators were ſaid to have aſſiſted and ſupported him with their counſels and fortunes, yet no farther enquiry was made after his accomplices [b]. Towards the end of this year a triumphal arch was raiſed near the temple of Saturn as a monument for the recovery of the eagles of the Varian legions: a temple was dedicated to Valiant Fortune in the gardens which Julius Cæſar had bequeathed to the Roman people, and a chapel to the Julian family; ſtatues were alſo conſecrated to Auguſtus at Bovillæ in the neighbourhood of Rome.

He is ſeized by advice of Salluſtius Criſpus, and diſpatched privately.

In

[b] Idem. c. 39--40. Dio, l. lvii. p. 613. Suet. in Tib. c. 25.

Germanicus how received by Tiberius.

In the mean time, Germanicus arriving with his wife and children in the capital, was there received by Tiberius with all poſſible marks of a ſeeming friendſhip and affection; he congratulated him on his paſt dangers, ſeemed highly pleaſed with his conduct, extolled his mighty feats, and with the deepeſt diſſimulation commended him to the ſenate, as well deſerving the greateſt honours it was in their power to confer upon him. The triumph, which had been decreed him, was put off till the following year, when Caius Cælius, or, as ſome ſtyle him, Cæcilius Rufus, and Lucius Pomponius Flaccus were conſuls. During their adminiſtration, Germanicus triumphed on the twenty-ſixth day of May over the Catti, the Angrivarii, the Cheruſci, and all the German nations between the Rhine and the Albis or the Elbe. Germanicus had not indeed extended his conqueſts to the latter of theſe rivers; but the emperor, to make him amends for ſtopping him in the full career of his victories, counted thoſe conqueſts as complete, which he had prevented him from completing. The triumph, an honour now very uncommon, was performed with extraordinary magnificence. Before the triumphal chariot were carried repreſentations of mountains, rivers, and battles, and an incredible number of captives loaded with chains, among whom were many of the German chiefs, and the wife of Arminius, carrying in her arms her infant ſon. But what above all heightened the ſhew and the ſatisfaction of the beholders, was the extraordinary gracefulneſs of Germanicus's perſon, and his chariot filled with his five children, viz. Nero, Druſus, and Caius; and his two daughters, Agrippina and Druſilla. Tiberius, to render the ſolemnity more complete and the joy of the people more univerſal, diſtributed among them in the name of Germanicus a large ſum, three hundred ſeſterces a man, and named himſelf his collegue in the conſulſhip for the enſuing year. But, notwithſtanding all theſe demonſtrations of kindneſs and affection, the people ſtill ſuſpected his ſincerity; and their joy was greatly allayed by the melancholy reflections, that popular favour had proved fatal to his father Druſus; that his uncle Marcellus was

His triumph.

ſnatched from the people, who adored him, in the flower of his youth, and that the favourites of the Roman people had ever been unfortunate and ſhort-lived. And truly, their fears were not ill grounded; for Tiberius, jealous of the glory of the young prince and the high favour he was in both with the people and ſoldiery, was already reſolved on his deſtruction, and meditating with himſelf how to

Tiberius reſolved on his deſtruction.

compaſs

compaſs his wicked deſign, and at the ſame time avoid the irreconcileable hatred, which, he well knew, would thence ariſe to him from all orders of men. While he was wholly taken up with theſe thoughts, a favourable opportunity offered, or rather, was craftily framed by Tiberius for removing from Rome the darling of the people. Archelaus (B) king of Cappadocia had many years before incurred his diſpleaſure, by neglecting to pay his court to him, during his retirement at Rhodes (C). This the revengeful emperor remembered, and therefore having enticed the king to Rome by means of letters from his mother Livia, promiſing him his pardon, provided he came in perſon to implore it, he not only received him with great haughtineſs, but cauſed him to be accuſed as a criminal in the ſenate. As the

Archelaus king of Cappadocia called to Rome, where he dies.

(B) Torrentius, Riccioli, and Salian confound Archelaus king of Cappadocia with Archelaus, the ſon of Herod, king of Judæa. They were led into this miſtake by a paſſage in Suetonius, who, in the life of Tiberius, tells us, that he pleaded the cauſe of Archelaus, which was his firſt eſſay in eloquence. This cauſe the abovementioned writers take to be that which Archelaus the ſon of Herod maintained at Rome againſt his brothers about his father's laſt will, as we have related in our hiſtory of the Jews (49). But it is evident both from Joſephus and Dion Caſſius, that Tiberius at the time of this trial was not at Rome, but lived in retirement at Rhodes; nay, the latter writer tells us in expreſs terms, that Tiberius undertook the defence of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, againſt his own ſubjects; and that the Cappadocian prince incurred his diſpleaſure by ſeeming to neglect him in his diſgrace, notwithſtanding the kindneſs he had ſhewn him on that occaſion (50). He was the great grandſon of the famous Archelaus, who commanded the troops of Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, againſt Sylla, and afterwards, abandoning his own prince, ſided with Lucullus. His daughter Glaphyra was firſt married to Alexander, and afterwards to his brother Archelaus, both ſons to Herod, as we have related elſewhere (51). It is ſurprizing the abovementioned writers ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs a miſtake.

(C) It was not out of ingratitude or contempt, as Tacitus informs us, that Archelaus declined attending upon Tiberius, while he reſided at Rhodes, but becauſe he had been warned by his friends at the court of Auguſtus to take no notice of him, leſt he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of the emperor.

(49) Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 197, 198. (50) Dio, l. lvii.
(51) Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 312, & p. 408.

the crimes laid to his charge evidently appeared to be mere fictions, he was by the conſcript fathers declared innocent; but the unhappy prince, not able to brook ſuch treatment, ſoon after either died of grief, or laid violent hands on himſelf, after having reigned fifty years [c]. Some time after Cappadocia was reduced to a Roman province, which enabled Tiberius to abate the tax of one in the hundred upon all vendible goods, and reduce it to one in the two hundred; which relief, however, the people did not long enjoy [d]. At the ſame time, died Antiochus king of Comagene and Philopator, king of Cilicia, which occaſioned great diſturbances in thoſe countries, ſome being for the Roman government, and others for a king of their own. The provinces too of Syria and Judæa being overloaded with taxes, applyed to the emperor and ſenate for relief [e]. Neither was Parthia without troubles; that warlike nation having driven out Vonones, whom they had demanded of Auguſtus for their king, placed in his room on the throne Artabanes, a prince of the family of the Arſacidæ, but at that time, according to Joſephus, king of the Medes [f]. Theſe diſturbances and commotions in the eaſt proved very favourable to the wicked deſigns of Tiberius, who repreſented to the ſenate, that they could not be well compoſed but by the wiſdom and abilities of Germanicus; as for himſelf, he was, he ſaid, in the decline of his age, and that of his ſon Druſus was not yet ripe. Hereupon all the provinces of the eaſt were readily decreed to Germanicus, and a greater power conferred on him, than had been given to any governor ſince the time of Pompey the Great. But to balance and reſtrain the extraordinary authority with which he was veſted, Tiberius had already removed from the government of Syria Creticus Silanus, whoſe daughter was betrothed to Nero, the eldeſt ſon of Germanicus, and placed in his room Cneius Piſo (D), a man

Diſturbances in the eaſt.

The provinces of the eaſt decreed to Germanicus.

[c] Tacit. ibid. c. 41. Dio, l. lvii. p. 613. Noris epoch. p. 142. Strab. l. vii. p. 291, 292. [d] Dio, l. lix. [e] Tacit. c. 42, 43. Joſeph. antiq. l. xvii. c. 3. [f] Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. i. Joſeph. ibid.

(D) Cneius Piſo was the ſon of Cneius Calpurnius Piſo, who as we have related above, maintained with great intrepidity the republican party againſt Julius Cæſar in Africa. Afterwards he joined Brutus and Caſſius, but, after the battle of Philippi was

man of a moſt violent and untractable temper, and to ſuch a degree elated with the nobility and wealth of his wife Plancina (E), that he ſcarce yielded to Tiberius, and deſpiſed his ſons, viz. Druſus and Germanicus, as perſons beneath his rank: in ſhort, he was in every reſpect the moſt proper perſon in Rome to execute thoſe fatal purpoſes for which he was chiefly choſen. His wife Plancina, who was ſtill of a more haughty temper than her huſband, had ſecret inſtructions from Livia to exert her ſpirit, and by all manner of indignities proſecute and inſult Agrippina (F). Before Germanicus left Rome, Druſus was ſent into Illyricum

Cn. Piſo preferred to the government of Syria, in deſpight to Germanicus.

was allowed to return to Rome, where he ſcorned to ſue for any public offices, chuſing to live in retirement, till Auguſtus prevailed upon him to accept the conſulſhip. Feſtus tells us, that the Calpurnian family pretended to derive their origin from one Calpus or Calphus, the ſon of Numa Pompilius (52). However that be, it is certain, that the Calpurnian family was one of the moſt antient and illuſtrious in Rome, and no ways inferior to the Claudian, of which Tiberius was deſcended.

(E) Plancina was either the daughter or the niece of the famous Munatius Plancus, of whom we have ſpoken in ſeveral parts of this work. Dion Caſſius calls her Munatia Plancina, and ſo ſhe is ſtyled in an inſcription, which is ſtill to be ſeen at Rome, in the palace which at preſent belongs to the family of the Chigi.

(F) Tacitus tells us, that the whole court was rent into parties, ſome favouring Druſus, and others Germanicus. Tiberius was partial to Druſus, as his ſon by nature, whereas Germanicus was his ſon only by adoption; but the greater part favoured Germanicus for two reaſons, ſays Tacitus; firſt, becauſe they knew he was hated by the emperor; and ſecondly, becauſe he was by his mother of a more illuſtrious deſcent. Germanicus and Druſus were the ſons of two brothers, and conſequently by their fathers of the ſame family. But on the mother's ſide Germanicus had the advantage, he being the ſon of Antonia Minor, the daughter of Marc Antony the triumvir by Octavia the ſiſter of Auguſtus; ſo that Marc Antony was his grandfather, and Auguſtus his great uncle. On the other ſide, a private Roman knight was the great grandfather of Druſus; for his mother Vipſania was the grand-daughter of the famous Pomponius Atticus. Beſides, Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, far excelled Livia the wife of Druſus in virtue, and all the accompliſhments peculiar to her ſex. However, the two brothers

(52) Feſt. in voce Calphurnius.

cum on occaſion of a bloody war, which broke out, ſoon after the departure of the Romans, between Maroboduus king of the Suevians, Marcomanians, and Langobards on one ſide, and the Cheruſcans on the other, headed by the brave Arminius. Maroboduus was overcome in a great battle, and obliged, moſt of his men abandoning him, to retire into the country of the Marcomanians, whence he ſent embaſſadors to Tiberius imploring his aſſiſtance. The emperor anſwered, that it was very ſurprizing he ſhould recur to the Romans, and beg their aſſiſtance againſt the Cheruſcans, ſince he had ſent none to them, while they were waging war with the ſame enemy. However, he laid hold of this opportunity to remove from Rome his ſon Druſus, who ſeemed over fond of the gaieties of the city, to inure him to the toils of the camp, and procure him the affections of the ſoldiery. What ſucceſs attended him in this expedition, we ſhall relate anon.

Druſus ſent into Illyricum.

A dreadful earthquake in Aſia.

THIS year was remarkable for one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes recorded in hiſtory: twelve famous cities of Aſia were overturned by it, viz. Sardis, Magneſia, at the foot of mount Sipylus, Moſcene, Ægæ, Hierocæſarea, Philadelphia, Tmolus, Temnus, Cyme or Cumæ, Myrina, Apollonia, Hyrcania. To theſe mentioned by Tacitus, Euſebius adds Epheſus [g]. Pliny [h] and Strabo [i] make particular mention of this event, calling it the moſt dreadful concuſſion that had ever been felt (G). It happened in the night,

[g] Euſeb. chron. p. 201. [h] Plin. l. ii. c. 84. [i] Strab. l. xii. p. 579.

brothers lived in perfect concord and friendſhip, no ways diſturbed or interrupted by the contention and emulation that reigned among their relations and adherents (53).

(G) Oroſius takes this to be the earthquake mentioned by the evangeliſts as happening at the death of our Saviour; a notorious miſtake! which, if admitted, would overſet every ſyſtem of chronology, it being paſt all doubt, that the earthquake, which overturned the twelve cities of Aſia, happened in the fourth year of Tiberius's reign, and conſequently was at leaſt fourteen years prior to the other. According to Euſebius our Saviour was crucified the fourth year of the two hundred and ſecond olympiad; and the earthquake, which proved ſo fatal to Aſia, happened, according to the ſame writer, the ſecond year of the hundred and ninety-ninth olympiad. Oroſius would fain corroborate

(53) Tacit. ibid.

night, and proved the more dreadful, as it was leſs expected. Moſt of the inhabitants were cruſhed under the ruins of their houſes, and thoſe who fled to the fields, ſwallowed up by the opening of the earth. It is reported, ſays Tacitus, that huge mountains ſunk into the earth, that plains were raiſed up into high hills, and that dreadful flaſhes and eruptions of fire were ſeen among the ruins. Phlegon of Tralles, who has wrote a very particular account of this terrible event and the evils which it occaſioned, ſays, that many cities of Pontus, of Sicily, and of Calabria in Italy were greatly damaged by it; and adds, that the earth opening in many places, bodies were diſcovered of a monſtrous ſize, from one of which a tooth was taken above a foot in length, and preſented to Tiberius, who would not ſuffer the whole body to be brought to him, ſaying, that he deemed it a great crime to diſturb the dead. However, to ſatisfy his curioſity, he cauſed a head to be engraved proportionable to the tooth which had been brought him, and which he immediately after ordered to be reſtored to the place, whence it had been taken [k]. Tiberius, to do him juſtice, ſhewed, on occaſion of this great calamity, a ſpirit truly generous and worthy of a perſon in his ſtation: for he not only remitted the inhabitants of the ruined cities their taxes for five years, but preſented them with large ſums to rebuild their habitations. To the Sardians, who had ſuffered moſt, he ſent an hundred thouſand great ſeſterces, and to the reſt relief proportionable to their loſſes; nay, he immediately diſpatched into Aſia Marcius Aletus, a ſenator, who had been prætor, to view the deſolations on the ſpot, and make good the loſſes of every particular; for he was fond of being liberal, as Tacitus obſerves, on honeſt occaſions, a virtue which he long retained, after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. The inhabitants of the cities thus rebuilt, and by the liberalities of Tiberius reſtored to their former ſplendor, erected to their common benefactor a coloſſus in the Roman forum, ſurrounded with the ſtatues of their twelve cities, as a laſting monument of the prince's generoſity, and their gratitude [l].

Tiberius's generoſity on this occaſion.

[k] Phlegon. Tralliani, de reb. mirabilibus, c. 13, 14. [l] Tacit. c. 47. Dio, l. lvii. p. 614. Phleg. mir. c. 13.

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borate the accounts of the ſacred penmen with the teſtimonies of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians, and this is what led him into the abovementioned miſtake.

His private liberalities.

THE reputation which Tiberius gained by this noble bounty to the public, was greatly heightened by his private liberalities. For the eſtate of a wealthy freedwoman, by name Æmilia Muſa, who died this year inteſtate, being claimed by the treaſury, the emperor generouſly yielded it to one Æmilius Lepidus, to whoſe family ſhe ſeemed to belong (H). With the ſame diſintereſtedneſs he ſurrendered to Marcus Servilius the whole inheritance of Patuleius, a rich Roman knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himſelf. Neither could he ever be prevailed upon to accept legacies, but from his intimate friends, utterly rejecting the inheritances of ſuch as were ſtrangers to him, or out of hatred to their relations appointed him their heir. His bounties were, generally ſpeaking, well placed; for as he readily relieved ſuch ſenators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, ſo he excluded without pity from the ſenate thoſe who had wantonly ſquandered away their eſtates in luxury and debauchery. Of this number were Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, Quintus Vitellius, and Attilius Buta. The latter was a man of

(H) Tacitus does not tell us, that Æmilia Muſa was a freedwoman; but from her Greek cognomen it is manifeſt, that ſuch was her condition; for we have not one inſtance in hiſtory of a Roman aſſuming a Greek name. The prænomen of Æmilia ſhe probably borrowed from ſome of the Æmilian family, to whom ſhe had formerly belonged. Perhaps ſhe was related to the famous Antonius Muſa, the freedman and phyſician of Auguſtus. As ſhe died inteſtate, her eſtate, ſuppoſing her to have been a liberta, or freedwoman, and to have no relations of her own then living, fell, according to the Roman law, to her former maſter and his heirs of blood. "Si libertus inteſtato de-" ceſſerit, patronum, aut filium, nepotemve ejus ad ſucceſſionem " vocari indubitatum eſt," ſays Julian (54); and Ulpian, " Liberto inteſtato mortuo, primum ſuis deferri hereditatem " verum eſt: ſi hi non fuerint, tunc patrono (55)." But what title had the exchequer to her eſtate? It appears from this paſſage of Tacitus and the laws we have quoted, that if a freedman or woman had no ſurviving relations, and their former maſter's family was extinct, their eſtate fell to the prince. In the preſent caſe one Æmilius Lepidus, as heir of blood to Muſa's former maſter, claimed her eſtate, and Tiberius generouſly ſurrendered it to him, though he could not plainly make good his claim.

(54) Leg. 13. de bonis libert. (55) Leg. 2. de ſuis heredib.

of pleaſure, and uſed conſtantly to paſs the night in revels and debaucheries, and ſleep the greateſt part of the day; by which courſe of life, being ſoon reduced to great indigence, he had recourſe to the emperor for relief; but Tiberius rejected his petition, without returning him any other anſwer, than that "he had awaked too late" [k]. But the applauſe Tiberius gained by his public and private bounties were counterbalanced, by the countenance he gave to informations and arraignments upon the law of violated majeſty. Informers multiplied daily, the ſpirit of accuſing grew common, and the dread of it univerſal. Apuleia Varilia, grand niece to Auguſtus by his ſiſter (I), was accuſed by one of that infamous profeſſion of having reviled the deified Auguſtus, Tiberius, and his mother Livia, and of having diſhonoured with adultery the blood of the Cæſars, which, according to the conſtruction Auguſtus had put upon the law of majeſty, was high treaſon (K). Tiberius admitted the

Apuleia Varilia accuſed of treaſon.

Tiberius's conduct on this occaſion.

[k] Tacit. c. 48. Dio, ibid.

(I) Auguſtus had two ſiſters, viz. Octavia Major and Octavia Minor; but by which of theſe Apuleia Varilia was grand niece to Auguſtus, hiſtory does not inform us. Neither do we know of any writer who mentions the marriage or offspring of Octavia Minor. The other ſiſter married Marcellus, and had by him two daughters, Marcella Major and Marcella Minor; one of theſe was, we conjecture, from what we read in Dion Caſſius, married into the Apuleian family; for that writer calls Sextus Apuleius, who was conſul the year Auguſtus died, συγγενῆ Αὐγούστου, that is, Auguſtus's kinſman (56). If we admit this conjecture, which is not ill grounded, Apuleia Varilia was daughter to an Apuleius by one of the Marcellæ, and conſequently grand-niece to Auguſtus by his ſiſter Octavia Major.

(K) Auguſtus, as Tacitus informs us (57), to a fault common between men and women gave the grievous name of ſacrilege and treaſon; and, as his daughter and grand-daughter were proſtitutes, he puniſhed, according to the law of treaſon, which he had thus wreſted, all their adulterers and gallants either with death or exile. This ſort of treaſon was, as Tacitus ſeems to inſinuate, limited to the reigning houſe and the blood of the Cæſars; for that writer tells us, that Varilia, being nearly related to the emperor and guilty of adultery, was arraigned

(56) Dio, l. lxv, lxvi.

(57) Tacit. annal. l. v.

the accuſation, but ſhewed great moderation in the proſecution of the accuſed: for as to the adultery he ſaid, that ſufficient puniſhments had been already appointed for that crime by the Julian law, which was implicitly declaring, that it did not fall under the law of treaſon. As to the other crimes, he deſired they might be diſtinguiſhed: "If "Apuleia," ſaid he, "has uttered impious ſpeeches againſt "the deified Auguſtus, ſhe muſt be condemned; but for "her invectives againſt me I will not ſuffer her to be called "to any account. But ſhe has had the impudence to at-"tack the reputation of your mother," replied one of the conſuls. To this Tiberius returned no anſwer then, but the next time the ſenate met, he begged in his mother's name, that the words ſpoken againſt her might not be conſtrued into treaſon. Hereupon ſhe was tried only upon the words ſpoken againſt Auguſtus, and found guilty, but pardoned by Tiberius, who likewiſe begged a mitigation of her puniſhment for adultery; ſo that, inſtead of undergoing the ſevere puniſhments inflicted on that crime by the Julian law, of which hereafter, ſhe was only removed two hundred miles from Rome; but Manlius, who had debauched her, was baniſhed Italy and Africa [l]. This ſame year, Tacfarinas, a native of Numidia, who had ſerved among the Roman auxiliaries, having drawn his countrymen and the neighbouring nations into a revolt, was overthrown in a pitched battle by Furius Camillus, proconſul of Africa, who till that time had paſſed for a man quite unacquainted with the art of war. For this victory, which Camillus gained with one legion and a ſmall body of auxiliaries, an handful of men, when compared with the numberleſs troops of the enemy, the enſigns of triumph were by the ſenate decreed to the conqueror; which honour, ſays the hiſtorian, did not prove fatal to him, becauſe he was a man of extraordinary modeſty, and choſe to live in retirement [m]. This year died, according to Euſebius [n], Ovid at Tomos in Pontus, and, according

Tacfarinas defeated in Africa by Furius Camillus.

[l] Idem, c. 49, 50. [m] Idem, c. 52, 53. [n] Euſeb. in chron.

raigned of high treaſon. Auguſtus found his account in declaring the gallants of the two Julias traitors; for as thoſe traitors were very numerous, and conſiderable for their quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many eminent citizens, who gave him uneaſineſs and jealouſy.

according to S. Jerom [o], the famous historian Livy at Padua, his native city. We are told, that Livia had designed the latter for præceptor to Claudius, the younger brother of Germanicus; but he was prevented by death from enjoying that honour. He was the last of those illustrious writers who once adorned the court of Augustus, and will render his age ever memorable. He has been our chief guide in the compiling of this history; for which we can make him no better return, than to repeat here what Seneca said of him many centuries since, that "the genius of "Livy was equal to the grandeur and majesty of the Roman "empire [p]."

The death of Ovid, and Livy the historian.

TOWARDS the end of the year, Germanicus, leaving Rome, set out for the Levant with his wife Agrippina and his son Caius, surnamed Caligula. After a long and dangerous passage both in the Adriatic and Ionian seas, he arrived in Dalmatia, whither he had first steered his course to visit his brother Drusus, who, as we have related above, had been sent into that country. From Dalmatia by the coast of Illyrium he reached Nicopolis, which city Augustus had built on the Ambracian bay, in memory of his victory at Actium. There he entered upon his second consulship, having Tiberius, now the third time consul, for his collegue. The emperor held this dignity to the ides of May, and then resigned it to L. Seius Tubero, who had served under Germanicus in quality of lieutenant [q]. Germanicus spent a few days at Nicopolis to refit his fleet, and in the mean time viewed the bay of Actium, the spoils which Augustus his grandfather had consecrated after his famous victory, and the camp of Antony his great uncle. From thence he proceeded to Athens, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour (L). Next he

Germanicus sets out for the Levant.

His voyage, reception, &c.

[o] Hier. in chron. Suet. in Tib. c. 26. [p] Senec. rhetor. Onuph. in fast. p. 189. [q] Tacit. c. 53.

(L) The Athenians received Germanicus with extraordinary marks of esteem, which lest he should undervalue, as that nation made then but a very indifferent figure, they put him in mind of the glory of their ancestors, by carrying before him on tablets succinct accounts of their most famous exploits. By this means they inhanced the honours they had conferred on him, and, to use Tacitus's expression, dignified their flattery. On the other hand, Germanicus, out of respect to them, divesting himself in a manner of his power, appeared among them almost

ſailed to Eubæa, and thence to Leſbos, where his wife Agrippina was delivered of Julia her laſt child: then he ſteered his courſe to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium in Thrace, entered the ſtreights of Propontis, and the mouth of the Pontic or Euxine ſea, being deſirous of ſeeing thoſe places ſo much celebrated by fame. In his return he endeavoured to touch at the iſland of Samothrace, being fond of beholding the religious ceremonies practiced there, of which we have ſpoken in our deſcription of that iſland [r]; but he was prevented from ſatisfying his laudable curioſity by contrary winds. Having therefore viſited antient Ilium, which gave birth to Rome, he regained the coaſt of Aſia, and put in at Colophon, to conſult there the oracle of the Clarian Apollo, of which we have given an account elſewhere [s]. The prieſt, by whoſe mouth the god was believed to utter his oracles, is ſaid to have foretold, but in dark and doubtful terms, the approaching death of Germanicus [t].

Piſo and his wife ſet out for Syria.

IN the mean time, Piſo and his wife Plancina, haſtening to the execution of their wicked deſigns, left Rome, and arriving at Athens, gave there the firſt proof of their hatred to Germanicus. For Piſo, in a ſpeech to the inhabitants, abuſed them in a moſt outrageous manner, not without an indirect cenſure upon Germanicus, for having debaſed the dignity of the Roman name in paying an exceſſive regard not to the Athenians, whoſe race was long ſince extinct, but to the mixt ſcum of different nations (M). Piſo did not ſtay long at moſt like a private citizen, being attended only by one lictor. By thus removing the enſigns of power, the Romans declared, that they treated thoſe with whom they converſed, not as ſubjects, but as friends. Antony, as we have obſerved above, uſed the ſame condeſcenſion towards the Athenians, during his reſidence in their city, as did alſo Tiberius towards the Rhodians, walking up and down without a lictor or viator, and converſing familiarly with the Greeks, as if they had been his equals (58).

[r] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. VII. p. 622, & Note E. [s] Hiſt. Univerſ Vol. .VII. p. 110. [t] Tacit. c. 53, 54.

(M) Piſo ſeems to us to have been not a little inconſiſtent with himſelf in his reproaches; for on one hand, he would not allow the preſent inhabitants of Athens to be deſcended from the antient Athenians; and on the other, he charged them with all the crimes, of which the antient Athenians had ever been guilty. He was alſo an enemy to their city, as Tacitus informs us, upon a private account, becauſe they would not pardon at his requeſt one Theophilus, condemned by the Areopagus for forgery.

(58) Suet. in Tib. c. 11.

at Athens, but being in haſte to reach Syria before Germanicus, left the metropolis of Attica, and taking the ſhorteſt courſe, though the leaſt ſafe, ſailed through the Cyclades, and appeared off of Rhodes, ſoon after Germanicus had put in there; but being overtaken by a violent ſtorm before he could enter the port, he was driven upon certain rocks, and muſt have inevitably periſhed, had not the good-natured Germanicus, though already informed of the invectives Piſo had uttered againſt him at Athens, diſpatched gallies to reſcue him from the wreck. This generous kindneſs and humanity made no impreſſion upon the hard-hearted Piſo, who, having ſtaid but one day with his benefactor, put to ſea again in order to arrive in Syria before him. He no ſooner reached his province, than he began to court the common ſoldiers by bounties and careſſes, to form factions among the troops, to remove the antient centurions and tribunes, and place in their room his own creatures, or men recommended only by their crimes: he permitted the ſoldiery either to live quite idle in the camp, or to ramble about, and commit with impunity all manner of diſorders in the villages and cities. By this criminal indulgence Piſo won the hearts of the idle and diſorderly multitude to ſuch a degree, that he was by them honoured with the title of "Father of the legions." On the other hand, Plancina, forgetting the modeſty peculiar to her ſex, appeared often on horſeback, aſſiſted at the reviews, and was not aſhamed, which in thoſe days was thought very unbecoming in a woman, to be ſeen at the public exerciſes and military evolutions. She laid hold of theſe occaſions to drop reproachful and injurious reflections on the conduct of Germanicus and Agrippina, in order to prejudice the minds of the ſoldiery againſt them. As to the officers, they were privately told, that their paying court to Germanicus and his wife would not recommend them to the favour of Tiberius. Though theſe proceedings were well known to the young prince, yet overlooking the unaccountable behaviour of Piſo and Plancina, in purſuit of the glorious ends of his expedition, he haſtened into Armenia, where with the approbation of the nobility in a great aſſembly he placed the diadem upon the head of Zeno, the ſon of Polemon king of Pontus, a friend and ally of the Romans. From Armenia he proceeded firſt to Cappadocia, and thence to Comagene, both which kingdoms, then vacant by the death of their ſovereigns, he reduced to Roman provinces, appointing Quintus Veranius governor of the former, and Quintus Servœus of the latter. The pleaſure which Germanicus reaped from thus ſucceſsfully ſettling the

Is ſhipwrecked, but ſaved by Germanicus

He courts the favour of the ſoldiers.

Germanicus crowns Zeno king of Armenia, and reduces Cappadocia and Comagene to Roman provinces.

affairs of the allies was greatly allayed, by the proud and haughty behaviour of Piſo, who being commanded either to lead in perſon, or to ſend under the conduct of his ſon, part of the legions into Armenia, contemptuouſly neglected to do either. At laſt they met at Cyrrum, a city of Syria, and there had an interview, to which Germanicus admitted only a few of his intimate friends. He reproached the preſident of Syria with his ſtrange conduct and haughty behaviour, and charged him, his wife, and their ſons, with many imputations. On the other hand, Piſo pretended ſurpriſe, but at the ſame time betrayed, even in ſubmitting to Germanicus as his ſuperior, great ſcorn and contempt; ſo that they parted declared enemies. Thenceforth Piſo ſeldom appeared at the public aſſemblies, where Germanicus preſided, or, if he did, it was only to contradict him. Not long after he gave a public proof of his malice, ſpite, and ill-will to Germanicus. For at a grand entertainment made by the king of the Nabatheans (N), golden crowns of great weight being preſented to Germanicus and Agrippina, and ſuch as were much lighter, to Piſo and the reſt of the gueſts, the haughty preſident, offended at this diſtinction, with an air of contempt threw his away; and, uttering many invectives againſt luxury, withdrew with theſe words; "Rome abhors ſuch ſcandalous luxury; I thought I had been invited to a banquet made for the ſon of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian king." Germanicus was highly incenſed at this inſult; but the natural ſweetneſs of his temper getting the better of his reſentment, he took no notice of ſuch a provoking behaviour. Soon after embaſſadors arrived from Artabanus king of the Parthians to renew the antient alliance between the two empires, and entreat Germanicus in their maſter's name to remove Vonones, who had been lately driven from the throne, out of Syria, leaſt he ſhould find means, being ſo near to Parthia, to raiſe diſturbances in that kingdom. Germanicus renewed the antient alliance, and removed Vonones to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia, not ſo much in compliance

Piſo's inſolent behaviour.

Germanicus renews the antient alliance with the Parthians.

(N) The county of the Nabatheans extended, according to S. Jerom, from the Euphrates to the Red-ſea (59); ſo that it comprehended Arabia deſerta, and great part of Arabia Petræa. The metropolis of the Nabatheans was the city of Petra, which gave its name to Arabia Petræa (60). S. Jerom thinks they were called Nabatheans from Nabaioth Iſhmael's ſon.

(59) Hier. quæſt. in Geneſ. 25. (60) Strab. l. xvi. p. 534.

pliance with the requeſt of Artabanus, as to ſeparate him from Piſo, with whom he was in high favour, in regard to the many preſents he had made to his wife Plancina, and the exceſſive court he paid her [u]. Of this year, which was Germanicus's firſt in the levant, not the leaſt mention is made by Dion Caſſius.

He viſits the curioſities of Egypt.

THE following year, Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus being conſuls, Germanicus travelled into Egypt to view the rarities and antiquities of that famous country. His journey proved very beneficial to the inhabitants, whom he relieved from a great famine, cauſing the granaries to be everywhere opened, and the price of corn abated. He did not imagine, that the prohibition made by Auguſtus, extended to him; and nevertheleſs the jealous emperor in a letter to him cenſured him with great ſeverity for preſuming to enter that province, when Auguſtus among other ſecrets of ſtate had ſtrictly forbidden all ſenators and Roman knights of any figure to travel thither, without ſpecial licence [w]. While Germanicus was thus paſſing the ſummer very agreeably in Egypt, Druſus was buſy in ſowing feuds among the Germans, and was therein attended with great ſucceſs. For Maroboduus, king of the Suevians, whoſe power Rome dreaded, was this year driven out of his dominions, and obliged to paſs the laſt eighteen years of his life at Ravenna in Italy. Catualda, whom Druſus had underhand ſtirred up againſt him, had the ſame fate; and recurring to the Romans for protection, was conveyed by them to Forum Julium, now Frejus, a colony in Narbonne Gaul. As both theſe chiefs were followed by great numbers of their countrymen, Tiberius, fearing they might diſturb the quiet of the provinces, gave them ſettlements beyond the Danube, between the rivers Cuſus and Marus, now the Wag and the March, on the frontiers of Moravia, appointing them for their king one Vannius, by nation a Quadian (O), who reigned over them for the ſpace of thirty years, but was driven out in the reign of Claudius. With the ſame policy Tiberius circumvented and enticed to Rome

Maroboduus driven out of his dominions, and likewiſe Catualda.

[u] Tacit, c. 55——59. [w] Tacit. c. 59 Suet. in Tiber. c. 5.

(O) The country of the Quadi was at firſt bounded by Bohemia, the Danube, and the river March; but afterwards they extended their confines to the Sarmatian mountains in the neighbourhood of Erlaw in Hungary. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of them in the reigns of Marcus Antoninus and Gallienus.

Rhescuporis, a petty king of Thrace, who having murdered Cotys (P), his nephew, had seized on that part of the kingdom which Augustus had bestowed upon him. To deceive Rhescuporis, Tiberius employed Pomponius Flaccus (Q), whom he preferred to the government of Mœsia, as being one of the king's most intimate friends, and therefore better qualified to betray him; which he did accordingly, having enticed him into the Roman dominions, and then sent him under a strong guard to Rome, where he was accused before the senate by the widow of Cotys, and banished to Alexandria, where he was slain attempting to make his escape, or falsely charged with it. This part of Thrace was divided between Rhemetalces, the son of Rhescuporis, and the sons of Cotys; but the latter being minors, Trebellienus Rufus, once prætor, was appointed governor of their share. About this

Rhescuporis circumvented by Tiberius.

(P) Cotys was the son of Rhemetacles, upon whose death his kingdom was divided by Augustus between his son Cotys and his brother Rhescuporis, as we have related at length in our history of Thrace (61), to which we refer our readers for a full account of the transactions, we have only hinted at in this place. Cotys, though a Thracian, was not unacquainted with the muses; for to him Ovid inscribed the ninth elegy of his third book "de Ponto," the unhappy poet being confined by Augustus to his kingdom.

(Q) Ovid mentions Pomponius Flaccus in one of his epistles inscribed to Græcinus:

"Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo Flaccus, & illo
"Ripa ferox Istri sub duce tuta fuit.
"Hic tenuit Mysas gentes in pace fideli;
"Hic arcu fisos terruit ense Getas (62)."

He was indeed a good soldier, but a man of a vile character. We have related above his flattering motion against the memory of Libo Drusus. He was preferred to the government of Mœsia on purpose to betray Rhescuporis, with whom he lived in close friendship, which he did not in the least scruple to do: and indeed Rhescuporis, who treacherously betrayed and murdered his own nephew, deserved to have no other friends but men of his own stamp, traytors and assassins. Pomponius was rewarded by Tiberius for his treachery with the government of Syria, in which employment he died (63).

(61) Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. IX. p. 521. (62) Ovid de Pont. l. iv. Eleg. 9. (63) Tacit. l iv.

this time Vonones, who had been removed to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, attempting to make his escape, was overtaken and killed by one Remmius, a veteran, to whose custody he had been committed (R).

Germanicus returns from Egypt.

In the mean time, Germanicus, having satisfied his curiosity with viewing all the rarities and antiquities of Egypt, left that kingdom, and returned to Syria, where to his great surprise he found all the regulations he had made utterly abolished, and the orders he had left with the legions wholly neglected. Hereupon, no longer able to bear with such insults, he reproached Piso in very sharp and severe terms, which, notwithstanding his natural boldness, heightened by the confidence he placed in the protection of Tiberius, so frightened him, that he resolved to leave Syria and abandon his government. But while he was making the necessary preparations for his departure, Germanicus being taken ill, he thought it advisable

(R) The circumstances of this unhappy prince's death are differently related by the antients. Tacitus tells us, that having corrupted his keepers, he obtained leave of them to hunt in the neighbouring forests, and under that pretence attempted his escape to Armenia, with a design to pass from thence thro' the countries of the Albanians and Heniochians into Scythia, and there take sanctuary with one of the kings of that country, who was his kinsman. But the country people, being soon apprised of his flight, broke down the bridges of the Pyramus, a river of Cilicia; so that the prince, as the stream was not fordable, was overtaken and seized on the banks of that river by Vibius Fronto, who had pursued close with a body of horse. Soon after Remmius, his late keeper, came up, and, pretending to be transported with rage, ran him through with his sword. It was commonly believed, that Remmius, gained by the prince's presents, had connived at his escape, and therefore in an affected rage slew him through fear of being discovered (64). According to this account Tiberius had no hand in his death. But Suetonius throws the whole blame of this cruel action upon the emperor. Vonones, says that writer, being driven out of his kingdom, retired to Antioch with great wealth, and there continued some time, thinking himself safe under the protection of the Roman people; but was in the end, contrary to all justice and faith, not only pillaged by the emperor's order, but most treacherously slain (65). We take the account of Tacitus to be the most genuine, that writer being no ways inclined to lessen or suppress the faults of any of the Cæsar's, but where truth, to which he ever pays the utmost regard, obliges him.

(64) Tacit. c. 68. (65) Suet. in Tib. c. 49.

Falls ſick and recovers.

adviſeable to wait the iſſue of the diſtemper. The young prince ſoon recovered, and, as he was univerſally adored, his recovery was celebrated at Antioch, where he then was, with public vows, ſacrifices, and all poſſible demonſtrations of the moſt ſincere and unaffected joy. This proved new matter of rage to Piſo, who, no longer maſter of himſelf, ordered his lictors to drive away the victims, to overturn the altars, and diſperſe the people aſſembled to celebrate the feſtival: a bold attempt this! and therefore Piſo immediately after it leaving Antioch, withdrew to Seleucia. Soon after his departure

He relapſes.

Germanicus relapſed, and his perſuaſion that Piſo had cauſed him to be poiſoned heightened the violence of the diſtemper. Some of his domeſtics too had the imprudence to tell him, that on the floors and walls of his houſe had been found bones of human bodies taken out of the grave, aſhes mixed with blood, charms, incantations, and the name of Germanicus engraved on ſheets of lead. Theſe reports and the frequent viſits of perſons, who were ſuppoſed to be Piſo's creatures, and to have been ſent by him to watch the progreſs of the malady, doubled the young prince's anxiety and apprehenſions. "If my houſe," ſaid he, "is thus beſet by treacherous "friends in my life-time, what will become after my death "of my unhappy wife, of my little children? Piſo, impati-"ent to command alone the legions, to govern alone the "province, thought poiſon too ſlow in its operation, and "therefore had recourſe to charms and incantations." In the height of the reſentment, which theſe reflections raiſed in his

Suſpects Piſo.

mind, he wrote a letter to Piſo, utterly renouncing his friendſhip, according to the cuſtom which obtained among the Romans, and was a ſolemn declaration that they intended to have no farther intercourſe or communication with the perſon, whoſe friendſhip they thus renounced. Some authors add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Be that as it will, Piſo ſoon after put to ſea; but kept hovering upon the coaſt of his province, that he might return the ſooner, ſhould the government of Syria become vacant by the death of Germanicus. In the mean time, the violence of the malady ſomewhat abating, the young prince's friends began to entertain ſome hopes of his recovery. But ſhort-lived was their joy; a ſudden relapſe threw them into deſpair; and the unfortunate Germanicus, finding his end approached, ſent for his friends, and ſpoke to them in this manner: "Were I to "die a natural death, yet ſhould I have juſt cauſe to com-

His ſpeech to his friends,

"plain of the gods for thus ſnatching me from my relations, "my children, and my country, in the flower of my age.

But

" But being thus brought to an untimely end by the maligni-
" ty of Piſo and his wife, the laſt favour I beg of you, my
" faithful friends, is, that you acquaint my father and bro-
" ther, with what perſecutions afflicted, I end a moſt miſe-
" rable life by a moſt inglorious death. My relations, de-
" pendents, and even thoſe whom envy provoked againſt
" me while living, will bewail my misfortune and hard fate,
" in thus falling by the perfidious arts and treachery of a wo-
" man, after having eſcaped ſo many dangers in war, and
" ſurvived ſo many battles. But it is a duty incumbent
" upon you, my faithful friends, to do ſomething more, than
" to commemorate my death with uſeleſs tears. It is the
" principal office of a true friend to remember the wiſh-
" es of thoſe with whom they lived in friendſhip, and
" fulfil their laſt deſires. If therefore you loved me rather
" than my fortune, you will revenge my death, you will com-
" plain to the ſenate, and proſecute the authors of my misfor-
" tunes as our laws direct. Shew to the Roman people my
" wife, the grand-daughter of Auguſtus, ſhew them our ſix
" children (S). This ſight will move the conſcript fathers to
" compaſſion, which will prove favourable to you, who ac-
" cuſe; and the accuſed, if they pretend wicked commands,
" either will not be believed, or not pardoned." At theſe words his friends, drowned in tears, taking the dying prince by the hand, all ſwore, that they would ſooner loſe their lives, than their revenge. Then turning to his wife, he conjured her by his memory, by their common children, and all the bonds of nuptial love, that ſhe would lay aſide her haughty ſpirit, and yield to the cruel ſhocks of fortune, leſt on her return to the city ſhe ſhould, by an unſeaſonable competition, provoke thoſe who were more powerful than herſelf. Thus much he ſpoke openly, other things he ſaid in ſecret, whence it was conjectured, that they related to Tiberius, warning her perhaps to be upon her guard againſt his ſnares. However that be, the words he ſpoke to her in ſecret were his laſt; for he had ſcarce done when he

His advice to Agrippina.

His death.

(S) Germanicus had by Agrippina nine children; Nero, Druſus, Caius, ſurnamed Caligula, three other ſons who died infants, and three daughters, born ſucceſſively in the ſpace of three years, Agrippina, the mother of Nero, Druſilla, and Livilla, commonly called Julia. One of the ſons that died was ſo beautiful a child, that Livia had cauſed him to be painted in the habit of Cupid, and conſecrated the picture in the temple of Venus Capitolina, whence it was removed to Auguſtus's chamber, who uſed conſtantly to kiſs it when he came in (66).

(66) Suet. in Calig. c. 7.

he fainted away, and ſoon after expired, to the unexpreſſible grief of the province and all the neighbouring countries. His funeral was performed without any pomp, and his body, before it was burnt, expoſed naked in the forum of Antioch, where the funeral pile was erected. Tacitus tells us, that it remained uncertain whether any marks of poiſon appeared on the body, the people, who ſaw it, giving oppoſite accounts, as they pitied Germanicus, or favoured Piſo. But Suetonius ſays, that the body appeared covered with black and blue ſpots, that foam flowed from his mouth, and that his heart, the body being burnt, was found among the aſhes, untouched by the flames; for the naturaliſts in thoſe days believed, that the heart, if in the leaſt touched or infected with poiſon, could not be conſumed with fire. Vitellius, who afterwards charged Piſo before the ſenate with the death of Germanicus, made uſe of this argument, to prove that the prince had been poiſoned, and openly declared, that his heart was found entire among the aſhes[x]. But after all, this argument, even allowing the truth of the fact, was no way convincing, ſince, in the opinion of the antients, the hearts of ſuch as died of the malady called by the phyſicians Cardiaca paſſio, were equally proof againſt fire[y]. The aſhes of the deceaſed prince were carefully gathered by his wife Agrippina, and encloſed in an urn in order to be conveyed to Rome.

Whether poiſoned.

His character.

SUCH was the end of the renowned Germanicus Cæſar, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, a prince no leſs famous for his military proweſs, than his extraordinary accompliſhments and inimitable virtues. The Roman people had ſo great an opinion of his rare talents and eminent qualities, that they were not afraid openly to declare on ſeveral occaſions, that ſince the time of Scipio Africanus the gods had not bleſſed Rome with ſuch a citizen. He was, ſays Tacitus, alike venerable, whether you ſaw him or heard him; and, without ever betraying the leaſt arrogance or pride, yet ſupported the dignity of his high ſtation. His complaiſance to all, his humanity even to his enemies, his clemency, moderation, and engaging behaviour, won him the hearts not only of the Roman people, but of the barbarians themſelves, who, though enemies to Rome, yet could not refrain their tears upon the firſt news they received of the death of Germanicus. Some of them at war with one another, and even with Rome, forbore hoſtilities for ſome time to bewail ſo great, ſo general a loſs. Some of their princes cut off their beards, and ſhaved their wives heads,

He is univerſally lamented.

[x] Tacit. c. 73. Suet. in Calig. c. 1. Plin. l. xi. c 37.
[y] Vide Plin. ibid.

heads, a token among them of the deepeſt ſorrow. The proud monarch of the Parthians denied himſelf for ſome time the pleaſure of the chace, without appearing at the ordinary entertainments given by the prince and lords of his court; which was a token of grief, like the ſhutting of the courts of juſtice among the Romans, and never uſed but upon ſome very extraordinary diſaſter. As for the people of Antioch, they carried their grief to impiety; for hearing that Germanicus was dead, in the tranſport of their ſorrow they threw ſtones at their temples, overturned their altars, flung contemptuouſly their houſhold gods out of doors, &c. nay, ſome of them, in the height of their grief and indignation, expoſed and forſook their new-born children. Strange tokens of ſorrow theſe! It is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs the conſternation which the news of his death occaſioned in Rome, where he was adored by all ranks of men (T). The firſt account of his illneſs alarmed the whole city; but while they were impatiently waiting between hope and fear for farther intelligence, in the evening a report was ſpread, no body ever knew how, that he was recovered and in good health. Hereupon the people, not able to refrain their joy, flew immediately with victims and ſacrifices to the capitol, impatient to diſcharge the vows they had made for his recovery. Tiberius awaked out of his ſleep with the noiſe of their mutual congratulations and loud ſhouts of joy, had the mortification to hear the following words ecchoed in every ſtreet, "Salva Roma, ſalva patria, ſalvus Germanicus; Rome is ſafe, "our

The grief of the Roman people.

(T) He was to ſuch a degree beloved by the people, ſays Suetonius (67), not only of Rome, but in the provinces, that when he departed or arrived at any place, ſuch crowds attended him, that he was often in danger of being ſtifled in the throng. On his return from Germany, after having appeaſed the mutinous legions, all the prætorian cohorts went out to meet him, though two only had orders to pay him that compliment. As for the people, the road was thronged with perſons of all ages and ranks for twenty miles diſtance (68). The people, ſays Tacitus (69), adored him, not only on account of his own good qualities, but likewiſe for the ſake of his father Druſus, whoſe memory was dear to every true Roman, no one doubting, but he would have reſtored Rome to her antient liberty, had he ever ſucceeded to the empire. Of Germanicus they entertained the ſame hopes; and hence their partiality for him, before he was of an age to gain their affections by his perſonal qualities.

(67) Idem ibid. c. 4. (68) Idem ibid. c. 3. (69) Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 33.

" our country is ſafe, ſince Germanicus is ſafe." But their joy was ſoon changed into the deepeſt ſorrow; certain news of his death arriving the next day, nothing was heard in the ſtreets, nothing in the houſes, but ſighs, outcries, lamentations, and complaints. Without any orders from the prince or ſenate, all the courts of juſtice, the houſes of the citizens, and ſhops, were ſhut, and the moſt frequented ſtreets, no one appearing abroad, turned into a deſert. The emperor by ſeveral edicts endeavoured to reſtrain theſe public expreſſions of grief; but even the moſt cautious, not able to moderate their ſorrow, in ſpite of all his edicts, continued to mourn, though invited by the feſtivals of December to mirth and jollity [z]. His death was the more regretted, as he was commonly ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by Piſo, at the inſtigation of Tiberius and Livia, the only two perſons in the whole Roman empire, ſays Dion [a], who were not affected with ſo great, ſo general a loſs (U).

And

[z] Suet. in Calig. c. 6. [a] Dio, l. lvii. p. 615.

(U) Germanicus was not only an excellent commander, but an eloquent orator, and if Ovid did not flatter him, one of the beſt poets of his age (70). He expreſſed his thoughts with great eaſe and elegance both in Greek and Latin, and pleaded ſeveral cauſes with extraordinary applauſe (71). He gave a ſpecimen of his taſte for poetry in ſome Greek comedies, which, as he was thorough maſter of that language, he wrote and publiſhed. S. Jerom and Lactantius tell us, that he tranſlated into Latin a treatiſe of aſtronomy written originally in Greek by Aratus, under the title of Phænomena: but Voſſius and Rutgerſius aſcribe this tranſlation to the emperor Domitian, who aſſumed the title of Germanicus, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter. But what above all gained the affections both of the Romans and foreigners was, the extaordinary ſweetneſs of his temper, his affability, complaiſance, and obliging behaviour, even towards the meaneſt of the populace, a behaviour no ways affected, but to him quite natural, as ariſing from a ſincere deſire of doing every one the beſt offices he could. Auguſtus was ſo taken with theſe good qualities, that he was long in ſuſpenſe, if Suetonius is to be credited (72), whether he ſhould declare him his ſucceſſor himſelf, or leave him to be adopted by Tiberius. Soon after his death Tiberius abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelties, which added new luſtre to the memory of the deceaſed

(70) Ovid. Faſt. l. i. v. 23. (71) Suet. ibid. c. 3.
(72) Suet. ibid. c. 4.

AND now the government of Syria being vacant by the death of Germanicus and flight of Piſo, the lieutenants of the legions and ſenators, who were at Antioch, committed the adminiſtration of the province to Cneius Sentius, who, at the ſuit of Vitellius and Veranius, two illluſtrious ſenators and friends to Germanicus, immediately ſeized and ſent to Rome one Martina, a woman infamous in that province for poiſoning, and greatly cheriſhed by Plancina. In the mean time, Piſo being overtaken at the iſland of Cous by a meſſenger, acquainting him with the death of Germanicus, did not ſo much as pretend to diſguiſe his joy, but cauſed victims to be publicly ſlain, and repaired with thankſgiving to the temples for ſo ſignal a favour. His wife Plancina declared her joy in a manner ſtill more arrogant and inſulting; for ſhe no ſooner heard that Germanicus was dead, than, throwing off her mourning, which ſhe wore for the death of her ſiſter, ſhe appeared in a dreſs adapted to gaiety and mirth. The centurions of the army, which Piſo had commanded in Syria, flocked to him, aſſuring him, that the legions were ready to receive him, and reinſtate him in the goverment, which had been injuriouſly taken from him. Hereupon Piſo ſummoned a council of his friends to conſult what meaſures he had beſt purſue; whether he ſhould go with all ſpeed to Rome, or return to Syria. His ſon Marcus Piſo was for the former, but Domitius Celer, an intimate friend of Piſo, declared for the latter and prevailed. But as Piſo was well appriſed, that Sentius would oppoſe him, which would give riſe to a civil war in Syria, in order to bias Tiberius in his favour, he tranſmitted

Piſo's joy for the death of Germanicus.

ed prince, and made him the more regretted, every one concluding from thence, that, had he lived, the emperor would never have dared to commit ſuch exceſſes (73). His military exploits we have related above; and therefore ſhall only obſerve here, that after his death the inhabitants of Antioch compared him to Alexander the Great, as to the gracefulneſs of his perſon, the nobility of his deſcent, his age, the circumſtances of his death, &c. and concluded, that if his authority had been uncontrolled he would have equalled that great warrior in the glory of his conqueſts, as he far ſurpaſſed him in prudence, clemency, moderation, and other virtues (74). And indeed, if he had not been ſtopt in the midſt of his carreer and ſnatched away from his victorious legions, he would, in all likelihood, have completed the final reduction of Germany, already broken by ſo many overthrows.

(73) Idem, c. 5. (74) Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 73.

mitted a letter to him, filled with invectives againſt the conduct, luxury, and pride of Germanicus; he enlarged on the injuſtice the young prince had done him in driving him out of his government, and concluded with acquainting the emperor, that he was preparing to return to his province, and reſume with his former loyalty the care of the army. In the mean time, putting Domitius Celer on board a galley, he ſent him before him into Syria, while he himſelf, having formed into companies the deſerters, who flocked to him from all parts, and the ſervants who attended the camp, ſailed over to the continent, where he had the good look to intercept a body of new-raiſed ſoldiers on their march into Syria. He alſo wrote to the petty kings of Cilicia, ordering them to join him with all their forces. By this means, having got together a conſiderable body of men, he put to ſea again, and ſteering along the coaſts of Lycia and Pamphylia, met the fleet, which carried Agrippina with the aſhes of her husband to Rome. Both fleets prepared for battle; but, as they were afraid of each other, they proceeded no farther than to hard words. Vibius Marſus, who commanded Agrippina's galleys, ſummoned Piſo as a criminal to his trial at Rome, which ſummons he anſwered with deriſion and contempt. After this both fleets continued their courſe, the one for Italy, the other for Cilicia, where Piſo made a deſcent, and ſeized a ſtrong caſtle on the frontiers of Syria; which Sentius no ſooner underſtood, than he flew thither at the head of his legions, overthrew Piſo's men at the firſt onſet, obliged him to take ſhelter behind the walls of the caſtle, and ſoon reduced him to ſuch ſtreights, that he offered to ſurrender the place, upon condition that Sentius would ſuffer him to remain there till the emperor's pleaſure was known. But this being rejected, and the place reduced to the utmoſt extremity, he was forced to ſubmit upon what terms Sentius thought fit to impoſe upon him, which were, that he ſhould forthwith embarque and return to Rome [b].

He reſolves to return to his government.

He is forced to abandon Syria.

DURING theſe troubles in the eaſt, the ſenate was wholly taken up at Rome with inventing and decreeing new honours to Germanicus, in order to eternalize the memory of a prince ſo much beloved, and ſo well deſerving of the empire. It was decreed, that his name ſhould be inſerted in the Salian hymns (W); that curule chairs ſhould be placed for him among

Honours decreed at Rome to Germanicus.

[b] Tacit. c. 74—82.

(W) This honour was peculiar to the gods; for till this time, only their names were ſung in the Salian hymns. Afterwards M. Antoninus,

mong the prieſts of Auguſtus (X), and oaken crowns hung over them, as an acknowledgement of his having ſaved many citizens; that his ſtatue in ivory ſhould be carried before the proceſſion at the Circenſian games; an honour peculiar to the gods and ſuch men as were deified; that none but one of the Julian family ſhould be appointed flamen or augur in his room, &c. To theſe honours triumphal arches were added, one at Rome, another on the banks of the Rhine, and a third upon mount Amanus in Syria, with inſcriptions of his exploits, and a declaration that he died for the republic; a ſepulchre at Antioch, where his body was burnt; and a tribunal at Epidaphne, where he ended his life (Y). Many ſtatues were raiſed to him, and many places appointed for paying him divine honours. Some were for decreeing to him, as a great maſter of eloquence, a golden ſhield, remarkable for its bulk (Z); but this Tiberius would not allow, ſaying, that in M. Antoninus, the philoſopher, ordered the ſame honour to be conferred on his ſon Verus, as Spartianus informs us (74).

(X) It was deemed a particular mark of diſtinction at Rome, for any one to have a fixed place allotted him at the public ſhews. This honour was in proceſs of time improved by flattery, and extended not only to ſuch as were abſent, but even to the dead. P. Valerius Poplicola, who was made dictator in the year of Rome 409, firſt enjoyed the honour of being diſtinguiſhed, though abſent, with a fixed place in the circus, which was allotted to him and his poſterity (75). The ſame honour was afterwards beſtowed upon Julius Cæſar, M. Marcellus, and others, with this improvement; that curule chairs with golden crowns ſhould be placed for them in the circus and theatre, even after their death to preſerve their memory (76). The emperor Severus cauſed three curule chairs to be placed in the theatre to honour thereby the memory of Pertinax (77). To Germanicus was probably decreed but one chair in each of the three theatres.

(Y) Tacitus tells us, that he died at Epidaphne, a celebrated place in the neighbourhood of Antioch, of which we have ſpoken in our hiſtory of Syria; but all other writers agree, that he ended his days in the city of Antioch (78).

(Z) It was an antient cuſtom among the Romans to ſet up the images of illuſtrious men in the curia and in their temples. Thus the

(74) Spart. in M. Anton. philoſoph. (75) Liv. l. ii. (76) Dio, l. xliv. (77) Xiphil. l. iii. (78) Dio, l. lvii. p. 615. Suet. in Tib. c. 1, &c.

in eloquence no regard was to be had of the dignity of the perſon, and that therefore he himſelf would dedicate a ſhield equal in ſize to thoſe of other orators, it being ſufficient glory for him to be ranked amongſt the antient writers. The Roman knights in their turn, to honour the memory of the deceaſed prince, agreed to change the name of that body of horſe which, being compoſed of the young nobility, was ſtyled "The ſquadron of the juniors," and call it thenceforth "The "ſquadron of Germanicus," appointing at the ſame time, that the effigies of Germanicus ſhould be carried before the ſaid ſquadron, as their ſtandard, at their public reviews, which were annually made on the ides of July[c]. In the height of the public grief Livia, called alſo Livilla, ſiſter to Germanicus and wife to Druſus, was delivered of male twins, which proved ſuch matter of joy to Tiberius, that he could not help boaſting to the ſenate, that to no Roman of the ſame rank had ever before been born two ſons at a birth. But the encreaſe of Druſus's family doubled the grief of the people, who ſaw with regret that of their beloved Germanicus removed farther and farther from the throne[d]. This ſame year ſevere laws were enacted

Livilla delivered of male twins.

[c] Idem, c. 83. [d] Idem, c. 84.

the image of Scipio Africanus was ſet up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and that of Cato the cenſor in the curia, or ſenate-houſe, as we read in Valerius Maximus (79). Auguſtus cauſed the images of all thoſe Romans, who before his time had eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in the arts either of peace or war, to be ſet up in the curia, allotting to each profeſſion its proper place. Thus Tacitus tells us, that the image of Hortenſius was placed among the orators. The like honour the fathers were now for decreeing to Germanicus, as to one of the maſters of eloquence. Theſe images are called by the antients ſhields (80), becauſe engraved in gold, ſilver, or braſs, in the form of a ſhield. This is the common opinion; though ſome writers think, that in latin they ought not to be called clypei, which word ſignifies a ſhield; but clupea, that is, engraved work, from the antient word "cluere" to engrave. This derivation Pliny deſpiſes as a fond conceit of the grammarians: "Scutis qualibus ad Trojam pugnatum eſt," ſays he, "continebantur imagines, unde & nomen habuere clype-"orum, non, ut perverſa Grammaticorum ſubtilitas voluit, a "cluendo." However, Livy calls them clupea; "clupea," ſays "he, de columnis dempſit" (81). Frequent mentionis made of theſe

(79) Val. Max. l. viii. c. 15. (80) Vide Plin. l. iii. c. 7. Suet. in Domit. Capitol. in Antonino. Trebel. in Claud. Liv. l. lx. Phil. legat. ad Caium. (81) Liv. l. lx.

acted by the ſenate to reſtrain the lewdneſs of women, and it was provided, that no woman ſhould proſtitute herſelf, whoſe father, grandfather, or huſband were Roman knights. The fathers were prompted to make this prohibition by the monſtrous impudence of one Viſtilla, who, though a lady of great quality and born of a prætorian family, was not aſhamed to appear before the ædiles, and publicly declare herſelf a proſtitute, purſuant to an antient law, which obliged all women, who became venal, to acknowledge their infamy before the above-mentioned magiſtrates. By this public declaration the antient Romans had thought proſtitutes ſufficiently puniſhed; but Viſtilla making no account of ſuch a chaſtiſement, and the fathers fearing other women of diſtinction might follow her example, they publiſhed the above-mentioned prohibition, and at the ſame time baniſhed the infamous Viſtilla to the iſland of Seriphos. Meaſures were alſo taken by the fathers for utterly extirpating the Jewiſh and Ægyptian ceremonies; and by a decree of the ſenate four thouſand young men, all deſcended from manumitted ſlaves, and infected, ſays Tacitus, with that ſuperſtition, were enrolled and tranſported to Sardinia to ſuppreſs the robbers who infeſted that iſland: if they periſhed through the badneſs of the air, the ſenate thought it would be no great loſs (A). The reſt were ordered to depart Rome, and all Italy, if within a ſtated time they did not renounce their national ceremonies[c]. The ſame year, Tiberius gave ſeveral

Laws againſt the lewdneſs of women.

The Jewiſh and Ægyptian ceremonies aboliſhed at Rome.

[c] Idem, c. 85.

theſe ſhields in antient inſcriptions: Lipſius quotes the following: "Huic. Decuriones. Funus. Publicum. Statuam. Equeſtrem. Clypeum. Argenteum. Locum. Sepulturae. Decreverunt." Theſe ſhields were ſometimes hung up to preſerve the memory of the deceaſed without any effigies, and only with the names of the perſons, by whom and to whoſe honour they were offered (82). Such ſhields were ſometimes ſet up by private perſons to honour the memory of their anceſtors without any order or decree of the ſenate; for Pliny in ſpeaking of Appius Claudius who was conſul in the year of Rome 259, ſays, that he was the firſt, who, though a private perſon, ſet up in public and conſecrated the ſhields of his anceſtors (83).

(A) Joſephus complains of this ſeverity; for, according to him, the four thouſand men ſent into Sardinia were all Jews. Suetonius agrees with Joſephus. Tiberius, ſays that writer, put a ſtop to foreign

(82) Vide Phil. Jud. ubi ſupra.

(83) Vide Lip. in excurſ. in lib. ii. annal. Taciti, litera N.

inſtances of generoſity, which ought not to be omitted. Occia, who had preſided over the veſtals fifty-ſeven years with great reputation of ſanctimony, being dead, he repreſented to the ſenate, that another virgin was to be choſen in her room; and Fonteius Agrippa and Aſinius Pollio offering their daughters, he thanked them both for their regard to the commonwealth, but preferred Pollio's daughter, for no other reaſon, but becauſe her mother had had but one huſband: to comfort the other who was poſtponed, he gave her for her fortune a thouſand great ſeſterces. Corn being very dear, he ſettled the price which the buyer was to pay; and that the ſeller might not loſe the advantage naturally ariſing from the ſcarcity of grain, he took

Inſtances of Tiberius's generoſity.

reign ceremonies, and likewiſe to the Egyptian and Jewiſh rites, obliging all thoſe, who were inclined to ſuch ſuperſtitions, to burn the furniture belonging to their religion. He liſted the Jewiſh youth, and ſent them into the moſt peſtilent and unwholeſome provinces under his command, obliging the remainder of that nation, and ſuch as followed their footſteps, to depart the city upon pain of perpetual ſlavery. Thus far Suetonius (84). To the expulſion of the Jews an impoſtor of that nation gave occaſion, who being obliged to fly his country for a breach of the laws, retired to Rome, where he ſet up for an expounder of the law of Moſes, and, with the aſſiſtance of three others, all of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf, gained over to the Jewiſh religion one Fulvia, the wife of Saturninus, a woman of great diſtinction. The zealous proſelyte was eaſily perſuaded to make a rich preſent of purple and gold to the temple of Jeruſalem, which ſhe delivered to her directors; but they, inſtead of ſending the offering to Jeruſalem, converted it to their own uſe. This Fulvia diſcloſed to her huſband, and he to the emperor, who thereupon ordered all the Jews to depart Rome, after having liſted four thouſand of their youth and ſent them into Sardinia. Joſephus tells us, that ſuch as ſcrupled ſerving in the Roman army were ſeverely puniſhed (85). At the ſame time the Egyptians were driven out of Rome, and their rites utterly ſuppreſſed: they had been formerly forbidden by Auguſtus (86), but at this time that prohibition was renewed and enforced, on occaſion of a very ſcandalous ſtory related at length by Joſephus. Decius Mundus, a young Roman knight, falling in love with a married lady of the firſt quality in Rome, by name Paulina, and not being able to prevail upon her, as ſhe was a mirrour of chaſtity, even with the offer of two hundred thouſand drachmas, to comply with his unlawful deſires, had recourſe to the prieſts of the god Iſis. Theſe

(84) Suet in Tib. c. 36. (85) Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 5. (86) Dio, l. liv. p. 525.

took upon himself to pay two nummi, that is, fourteen pence of our money, a buthel over and above the fixed price. For these bounties the people offered him again the title of "Father of his country," which he rejected, and at the same time sharply rebuked such as styled him lord, shewing thereby, says Tacitus, that though he dreaded liberty, yet he could not abide flattery. The same author tells us, upon the authority of the writers of those times, some of them senators, that letters were read in the senate from Adgandestrius, prince of the Catti, offering to dispatch Arminius, provided poison were sent him for that purpose: to which Tiberius returned this answer; that it was not the custom of the Roman peo-

 ple,

These pretending that the god Anubis, to whose worship Paulina was greatly addicted, was in love with her, persuaded her to pass a night in the temple of that deity; when Mundus, by paying down twenty-five thousand drachmas to the priests, and promising them the like sum, obtained what he had in vain applied for to Paulina herself with the tender of two hundred thousand drachmas. The next day the deluded lady bragging of the honour done her by the Egyptian deity, some believed her, while others ascribed the whole to the strength of her imagination. But three days after Mundus meeting her, "I thank you Paulina," said he, "for saving me "two hundred thousand drachmas, and granting me at the same "time, not under the name of Mundus, but of Anubis, the favours "which I would willingly have purchased at so dear a rate." At these words the virtuous Paulina was thunder-struck; she burst into tears, tore her garments, and hastening to her husband, she acquainted him how she had been abused and betrayed by the priests; and, drowned in tears, besought him to exert himself in the prosecution of the priests, by whom her simplicity and credulity had been thus enormously abused. Hereupon her husband complained to the emperor, relating to him every particular of so base an action; and he, upon a narrow enquiry into the fact, and a strict examination of the priests, finding them guilty, ordered them all to be crucified, the temple of Anubis to be pulled down, his statue to be thrown into the Tiber, the Egyptian rites to be utterly suppressed, and all who professed them to be banished Rome. Ida, the freedwoman of Mundus's father, who first advised him to apply to the priests, for which advice she received fifty thousand drachmas, was crucified with the priests; but Mundus himself was only banished, Tiberius exempting him, says Josephus, from a more severe punishment in regard of his passion, which was so violent, that, finding the chaste Paulina proof against all temptation, he had resolved to starve himself to death (87)

(87) Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 4.

ple to take vengence on their enemies by treachery, but openly and in the field; wherein he gained equal glory, ſays our hiſtorian, with the antient Roman commanders, who would not ſuffer king Pyrrhus to be poiſoned, but diſcloſed to him the whole plot. Arminius, however, after the departure of the Romans, and expulſion of his rival in power Maroboduus, attempting to inſlave his country, fell by the treachery of his kindred in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age. Tacitus calls him, not undeſervedly, the deliverer of Germany; for under his conduct the Germans ſhook off the Roman yoke, and long maintained their liberties, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the generals ſent from Rome to bring them again under ſubjection. He commanded the troops of his country twelve years, during which time he was often defeated, but always found means to repair his loſſes, and renew the war with freſh rigor. His name in Tacitus's time was ſtill celebrated by his countrymen in their ſongs [f]. Pliny obſerves, that this year on the eighth of July a new iſland was formed near that of Delos in the Archipelago [g].

Death of Arminius.

Agrippina's arrival in Italy with the aſhes of her husband.

In the beginning of the next year, M. Valerius Meſſalinus and M. Aurelius Cotta being conſuls, Agrippina arrived at Brunduſium with the aſhes of her deceaſed huſband, and was received at her landing with tokens of the deepeſt ſorrow, not only by the inhabitants of that, but of all the neighbouring cities, who had flocked to Brunduſium to condole with her on ſo melancholy an occaſion. She no ſooner appeared on the ſhore, attended by her two children, Caius and Julia, with the funeral urn in her arms and her eyes fixed on the ground, than the whole multitude burſt into tears; nothing was heard but groans, outcries, and lamentations, friends, relations, ſtrangers, being equally affected at the ſight of ſo moving an object. Tiberius had diſpatched two prætorian cohorts to attend the remains of the deceaſed prince from Brunduſium to Rome, and ordered the magiſtrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania to pay their laſt offices to the memory of his ſon. The urn therefore was carried on the ſhoulders of the tribunes and centurions, and accompanied by the chief magiſtrates of the places through which it paſſed, the lictors of the deceaſed general marching before it with their faſces reverſed (B). When

[f] Idem, c. 88. [g] Plin. l. ii. c. 87.

(B) This cuſtom of carrying the faſces reverſed in token of grief is likewiſe mentioned by Pedo in his elegy to Livia;

"Quos

When the funeral proceſſion arrived at any Roman colony, the nobility in their beſt apparel, and the people in mourning, ſlew victims, erected altars, and burnt perfumes, teſtifying with loud lamentations their common ſorrow. The nearer they drew to Rome, the greater was the concourſe. At Terracina they were met by Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, by Claudius, Germanicus's younger brother, and by ſuch of his children as had been left at Rome. At ſome diſtance from the city the conſcript fathers, with the conſuls at their head, and immenſe crouds of people, lined the road, through which the proceſſion paſſed, all drowned in tears and teſtifying their grief with ſighs, in which flattery had no ſhare, every one being well appriſed how real was the joy, how inſincere was the grief of Tiberius. Neither he nor his mother Livia appeared abroad, either becauſe they thought it below their grandeur to lament publicly, or through fear of betraying in their countenances ſome marks of joy amidſt the public lamentations (C). How received.

" Quos primum vidi faſces, in funere vidi,
" Et vidi verſos, indiciumque mali."

And Statius:

„ ——————ducunt inſignibus ipſi
„ Grajugenæ reges (88)."

Not only the lictors carried their faſces reverſed, but the ſoldiers their arms, as appears from the funeral proceſſion, which Virgil deſcribes on occaſion of the death of Pallas:

„ ——————Tum mæſta phalanx Teucrique ſequuntur,
„ Tyrrhenique duces, & verſis Arcades armis (89)."

It is well known, that Virgil introduces in his poem the cuſtoms that prevailed at Rome.

(C) Tacitus tells us, that neither in any hiſtorian, nor in the journals of the city, he could find, that Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, bore any part in the funeral, though Agrippina, Druſus, Claudius, and the other relations of the deceaſed, were there recorded by name. Perhaps ſhe was prevented by ſickneſs; perhaps ſhe was ſenſible, that ſhe would have ſunk under the weight of her ſorrow; or elſe ſhe was detained by Tiberius that he and Livia might ſeem to have followed her example, and the people not think it ſtrange, that the grandmother

(88) Stat. Thebaid. l. vi. (89) Virgil. Æneid. l. xi. v. 92, 93.

The remains of the deceaſed were repoſited in the tomb of Auguſtus, the whole city attending them to the field of Mars, where that ſtately monument was erected, and crying aloud in the height of their grief, that the republic was utterly ruined, that no farther hope remained, as if they had forgot by whom they were governed. But nothing offended Tiberius ſo much as the affection which the people ſhewed for Agrippina, calling her, "The ornament of her "country, the only blood of Auguſtus, a true pattern of "antient virtue," and at the ſame time imploring the bleſſings of the gods for her iſſue, that they might outlive the perſecutions of the wicked. As the people ſet no bounds to their grief, he thought proper to check it by a public decree, exhorting them to reſume their ſeveral vocations, and, as the Magneſian games were at hand, to indulge themſelves in their uſual diverſions, now they had by their lamentations given ſufficient vent to their grief. He urged the examples of the deified Julius and the deified Auguſtus, who upon the loſs, the former of an only daughter, the latter of his beloved grandſons, had both got the better of their ſorrow; he put them alſo in mind of the conſtancy with which the Roman people had formerly borne the ſlaughter of their armies, the death of their generals, and the utter deſtruction of many noble families, adding, that princes were mortal, but the commonwealth eternal. The emperor's decree was immediately complied with, as to the external appearance; the courts of juſtice were opened again, public affairs reſumed, and an end put to the vacation. Druſus, who was come to Rome on purpoſe to attend the funeral, returned to the army in Illyricum; which he had ſcarce reached, when Piſo appeared in the camp, hoping to find the young prince leſs incenſed againſt him for the death of a brother, than favourable to him for the removal of a rival. Druſus at their firſt meeting told him, that if the crime laid to his charge was true, he would be the firſt to revenge it; but that he hoped the current report was groundleſs, and that the death of Germanicus would be pernicious to none. This declaration he made in public, and carefully avoided all private interviews with Piſo. This artful anſwer and the cautious behaviour of a youth, otherwiſe frank and unwary, prompted moſt people

Tiberius by a decree checks the public grief.

Druſus's artful anſwer to Cneius Piſo.

mother and uncle had abſented themſelves when the mother had not appeared; but aſcribe their abſence to the ſame cauſe, viz. an equal affliction.

ple to believe, that he had been inſtructed beforehand by his father how to behave in ſo nice and critical a conjuncture. Young Piſo, whom the father had ſent to Rome with inſtructions how to ſoften the emperor, was received very kindly by him, and honoured with ſuch preſents as were uſually beſtowed on the ſons of governors, when they returned from the provinces. This he did to ſhew himſelf utterly unbiaſſed. In the mean time, news was brought, that Martina, famous for the art of poiſoning, who, as we have related above, had been ſent in cuſtody towards Rome, was found dead at Brunduſium with poiſon bound up in the knots of her hair, but without any marks of poiſon on her body. Whether her death was accidental, or procured by private orders from Tiberius or Piſo, was never known. By her death the accuſers were deprived of their chief evidence; for ſhe had ever lived in cloſe confidence with Plancina, and the ſenate hoped to extort from her, by force of torments, a ſincere confeſſion of the crime and a diſcovery of her accomplices. Not long after Piſo arrived at Rome with his wife Plancina, and landed, as he had embarqued at Narnia upon the Nar and thence ſailed into the Tiber, near the tomb of Auguſtus, where the aſhes of Germanicus had been lately repoſited. This with their inſolent behaviour heightened the indignation of the people; for they both appeared with gay countenances, and, attended with a numerous retinue, he of clients and domeſtics and ſhe of women, proceeded to their ſtately palace, which overlooked the forum, and was, on occaſion of their return, magnificently adorned and illuminated. The night they paſſed in rejoicings, having invited their friends and relations to a great banquet, with which they ſolemnized their ſafe arrival. But the very next day Piſo was arraigned by Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had attended Germanicus, before the emperor; who after having heard in a private audience the charge of the accuſers and the defence of the accuſed, referred the entire cauſe to the ſenate, being well appriſed of the reflections that would be caſt upon him, whether he condemned or abſolved the accuſed. When the ſenate met for this great trial, Tiberius made a ſpeech full of affected moderation; he told the conſcript fathers, that Piſo had been his father's lieutenant and friend, and lately appointed by himſelf, at the direction of the ſenate, to aſſiſt Germanicus in ſettling the affairs of the eaſt: whether he had there, by his haughtineſs and oppoſition, provoked the young prince, and rejoiced at his death,

Cn. Piſo arrives at Rome.

Is arraigned,

Tiberius's ſpeech to the ſenate on this occaſion.

or

or wickedly procured it, they were then to judge with unbiaſſed minds. "If you find him guilty," ſaid the emperor, "of having only exceeded the bounds of his commiſ-
"ſion, and not ſubmitted to the will of his general, or even
"of having betrayed joy at his death and my affliction, I
"ſhall ever hate him and baniſh him from my houſe; but
"cannot for private injuries exert the prince, and condemn
"him as a criminal. But if you find him guilty of Germa-
"nicus's death, it is incumbent upou you to revenge it, and
"afford his children, and us his father and grandmother,
"the ſatisfaction of ſeeing him puniſhed for ſuch an enor-
"mous attempt. Examine too with great care, whether
"he endeavoured to debauch the army, whether he counte-
"nanced licenciouſneſs in the ſoldiery, or attempted to re-
"cover the province by force of arms. I have juſt cauſe
"to be offended with the indiſcreet zeal of his accuſers;
"to what purpoſe ſtrip the corſe, and expoſe it naked to
"the eyes of the multitude? Why was it proclaimed a-
"mong foreign nations, that he was taken off by poiſon,
"if all this was ſtill doubtful and remains to be examined?
"I am grieved for the death of my ſon, and ever ſhall la-
"ment ſo great a loſs; but far be it from me any ways to
"hinder the accuſed from doing all he can to ſhew his inno-
"cence, or even from expoſing and laying open the faults of
"Germanicus, if he had any faults. I beſeech you to proceed
"with the ſame impartiality: let not your regard to me
"miſlead you to take crimes for proved, becauſe they are
"committed againſt me. As for the accuſed, if he has any
"friends or relations, let them exert their eloquence, and
"uſe their utmoſt endeavours to clear him from the crimes
"laid to his charge. Let his accuſers take the ſame pains
"to convict him of the charge which is brought againſt him:
"by this means we ſhall be able to judge impartially, to
"abſolve the accuſed, if innocent; to condemn him, if
"guilty." Two days were then allowed to the accuſers to make good their charge, and, ſix days after, three to the accuſed to make his defence. The articles of impeachment, brought againſt Piſo by Servæus, Veranius, and Vitellius, were, that he had permitted a general licentiouſneſs in the army, and corrupted the common ſoldiers to that degree, that he was ſtyled by the moſt profligate father of the legions; that he had abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner the friends of Germanicus; and laſtly, that by poiſon and witchcraft he had deſtroyed Germanicus himſelf, and borne arms againſt the commonwealth; inſomuch, that they had been obliged to

Articles of impeachment brought againſt Piſo.

engage

engage and defeat him before they could bring him to his trial. He defended himſelf but weakly againſt theſe accuſations; only the charge of poiſoning Germanicus could not be ſufficiently proved. However, the ſenate could not be perſuaded, that Germanicus had died a natural death; and at the ſame time the people were heard crying aloud at the door of the ſenate-houſe, that though the fathers abſolved the accuſed, yet he ſhould not eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes; nay, they had already overturned the ſtatues of Piſo, and would have dragged them to the ſcalæ Gemoniæ, the place where criminals were executed, had they not been reſcued by Tiberius's orders. Theſe diſturbances induced the ſenate to put off the final deciſion of the caſe; and Piſo, that he might not be expoſed to the outrages of the incenſed multitude, was conveyed to his houſe in a litter, followed by a tribune of a prætorian cohort, whom ſome looked upon as a guard for his ſafety, others as the miniſter of his death.

Piſo abandoned by his wife Plancina.

THE people were no leſs incenſed againſt Plancina than Piſo; but ſhe, having by the ſecret ſolicitations of Livia ſecured her own pardon, began by degrees to drop her huſband, and to make a ſeparate defence, though ſhe had declared from the beginning, that ſhe would employ all her intereſt and favour with Livia in behalf of both, and that by the ſame ſentence they ſhould both be either abſolved or condemned. This ſo diſheartened Piſo, who had placed more confidence in the intereſt of his wife, than his own, that he was ſometime in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould make any farther defence. But his ſon prevailed upon him to appear once more before the ſenate and try whether he could move the fathers or Tiberius to compaſſion. But the ſenate proving implacable, and the emperor carefully avoiding to ſhew even in his countenance the leaſt mark of tenderneſs towards him in his diſtreſs, he returned home, as if he deſigned to prepare for his farther defence againſt the next day. But, inſtead of that, he wrote a letter to the emperor, which he ſealed and delivered to his freedmen. He then bathed, according to the Roman cuſtom, and ſupped as uſual. His wife kept him company till the night was far ſpent, and then retired; which ſhe had no ſooner done, than Piſo ordered the door of the chamber to be ſhut, and was found at break of day with his throat cut, and his ſword lying by him. Tacitus tells us, that while he was a youth, he heard from ſome old men, that a bundle of writings was frequently ſeen in Piſo's hands during his trial, which contained, as his friends conſtantly affirmed, the letters of Tiberius, ordering

His death.

him

him to dispatch Germanicus. These letters, said they, he designed to lay before the senate and accuse the prince; but was diverted from it by Sejanus, who in the emperor's name promised him his pardon: they add, that Piso did not fall by his own hand, but by that of an executioner sent privately by Tiberius to dispatch him. Our historian tells us, that he dares affirm neither of these things, but yet thought himself obliged to acquaint his readers with such relations (D). Tiberius fearing the death of Piso might be imputed to him, as if he had procured it to prevent farther discoveries, examined his domestics in the senate about the circumstances of his death, and then read the letter which Piso had written to him, imploring his protection for his sons, whom he cleared from having any share in his late conduct, whatever it were. Of his wife Plancina he said nothing. One of his sons had remained at Rome, and therefore could be no ways accessory to his father's guilt; the other had indeed attended him into Syria, and served under him in the war he raised in the province; but Tiberius would not allow that to be imputed to him as a crime, alledging the orders of his father, which, he said, a son could not disobey. As for Plancina, who was supposed to have been more guilty than her husband, Tiberius openly declared, not without blushing and betraying great confusion in his speech and countenance, that at the earnest entreaties of his mother he could not help pleading for her and assisting her in her trial. However, Vitellius and Veranius did not drop the prosecution; but after they had in a trial, which lasted two days, made the charge appear pretty plain, and silenced those who pleaded for the accused, she escaped the punishment due to her crime by the indulgence of the servile senate. For the consul Aurelius Cotta being first asked his opinion by the emperor, who collected the voices himself, answered

Tiberius favours Plancina.

Who is absolved.

(D) Suetonius writes that he narrowly escaped being torn in pieces by the populace and was condemned to death by the senate (90). Dion says, that he was brought into the senate by Tiberius himself, who desired, that he might have time to prepare for his defence, and that he laid violent hands on himself. But, according to Tacitus, the sentence was not awarded against him till after his death; neither does that writer say, that he laid violent hand on himself, but only that he was found with his throat cut, and his sword lying by him.

(90) Suet. in Calig. c. 2.

anſwered in the following terms: I am of opinion, that the name of Piſo be razed out of the conſular faſti or tables, part of his eſtate forfeited, and part granted to his ſon Cneius upon his changing that name; that his ſon Marcus be driven out of the ſenate, baniſhed for ten years, and allowed out of his father's eſtate only fifty thouſand great ſeſterces; as to Plancina, I think ſhe ſhould be pardoned at the requeſt of Livia. This ſentence ſeemed too rigorous to the emperor with reſpect to Piſo's children and memory; he therefore would not allow his name to be ſtruck out of the conſular tables, ſaying, that the name of Marc Antony, who had made war upon his country, and that of his ſon Julius Antonius, who had by adultery diſhonoured the houſe of Auguſtus, remained ſtill there. He likewiſe delivered Marcus Piſo from the infamy of being deveſted of his dignity, and left him his paternal inheritance entire. He alſo oppoſed the motion of Valerius Meſſalinus, who was for erecting a golden ſtatue in the temple of Mars the avenger, and that of Cæcina Severus, who propoſed building an altar to Revenge. Such monuments, he ſaid, were fit to be raiſed for victories over a foreign enemy; but domeſtic evils were either to be buried in oblivion, or remembered with grief (E). As the emperor had ſhewn great favour to Plancina and her children, to maintain the opinion of an impartial judge, a few days after the trial, he moved in the ſenate, that Vitellius, Veranius, and Servæus, who had accuſed Piſo, might be rewarded; and they were accordingly preferred to pontifical honours [h].

Tiberius favours the children and memory of Piſo.

THE death of Germanicus being thus revenged, Druſus, who had returned from Illyricum to be preſent at the trial, was honoured with an ovation, which, though decreed him the year before for having ſettled peace in Germany,

[h] Tacit. l. iii. c. 1---19.

(E) Meſſalinus added to his motion, that public thanks ſhould be rendered to Tiberius, Livia, Antonia, Agrippina, and Druſus, for having revenged the death of Germanicus, but omitted to mention Claudius the brother of the deceaſed prince. Whereupon Lucius Aſprenas aſked him, whether he had omitted him deſignedly; and then Meſſalinus ſubjoined the name of Claudius too. This ſhews how little regard was then paid to Claudius: and indeed he was deſpiſed and neglected by all, and thought incapable of any public employment. But for all this, fortune reſerved the ſovereignty to him, and we ſhall ſee him one day, notwithſtanding the weakneſs both of his body and mind, maſter of the Roman empire.

Vipſania the mother of Druſus dies.

many, he had poſtponed till the trial was over. A few days after died his mother Vipſania, of all the children of Agrippa, the only one, ſays Tacitus, who died a natural death (F).

Tacfarinas renews the war, but is defeated.

The ſame year Tacfarinas, who had been ſome time before defeated by Furius Camillus, as we have related above, renewed the war in Africa, but was obliged by L. Apronius, who had ſucceeded Camillus in the government of that province, to ſhelter himſelf again in the deſerts. A Roman cohort having on this occaſion given ground at the firſt onſet, the proconſul cauſed every tenth man of that cowardly body to be executed; which exemplary rigor, at this time very rare, had ſo good an effect on the reſt, that a numerous body of the enemy was ſoon after put to flight by a detachment of no more than five hundred veterans, and their numerous army utterly routed by another detachment commanded by Apronius Ceſianus, the proconſul's ſon. This year, Æmilia Lepida, deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome, and beſides great grand-daughter to Sylla and Pompey, and once deſigned for the wife of Lucius Cæſar and for the daughter-in-law of Auguſtus, was charged with impoſing upon her huſband Publius Quirinius a ſuppoſititious child, with audultery, and with conſulting the Chaldeans about the fate of the imperial family, which was a capital crime. Her brother Manius Lepidus undertook her defence, Tiberius behaving on this occaſion with ſuch ſubtlety, that it was impoſſible to diſcover his real ſentiments. At firſt he begged the ſenators not to meddle with the articles of treaſon, and ſoon after charged Marcus Servilius to produce thoſe very proofs which he pretended to ſuppreſs:

The trial of Æmilia Lepida.

(F) Agrippa had three wives, viz. Pomponia, the daughter of Atticus, Marcella the daughter of Octavia, and Julia. By Pomponia he had Vipſania the mother of Druſus, mentioned here by Tacitus; Marcella likewiſe brought him children, if Suetonius is to be credited; but as we find no farther mention made of them, we conclude, that they died very young: by Julia he had five children, Caius and Lucius Cæſars, Agrippa Poſthumus, Agrippina, and Julia. Caius and Lucius were ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned; Agrippina periſhed by hunger, and Poſthumius Agrippa by the ſword; but as to Julia, ſhe died a natural death, according to the account which Tacitus himſelf gives of it (91); though he tells us in this place, that Vipſania was of all the children of Agrippa the only one who died a natural death.

(91) Tacit. annal. l. iv.

ſuppreſs: He would not ſuffer the ſlaves of Lepida to be examined by torture as to the articles of treaſon, nor his ſon Druſus, though conſul elect, to vote firſt, leſt the reſt ſhould think themſelves obliged to follow his example. However, the ſlaves of Lepida confeſſing upon the rack, that ſhe had impoſed upon her huſband a ſuppoſititious child, and even attempted to poiſon him, ſhe was condemned to perpetual baniſhment; but at the requeſt of Scaurus, who had had a daughter by her, either before her marriage with Quirinius or after her divorce, her eſtate was not confiſcated. After ſhe was condemned, Tiberius told the ſenators, that he had learnt from the ſlaves too of her huſband Quirinius, that ſhe had attempted to poiſon him [i]. Suetonius tells us, that ſhe had committed the crimes, for which ſhe was at this time condemned, twenty years before; but Tacitus only ſays, that ſhe was proſecuted by her huſband even after their divorce; which drew compaſſion upon her, however guilty and infamous. This year Tiberius ſoftened the rigor of the law Papia Poppea, which, as we have related above, loaded thoſe with heavy fines who did not marry at a certain age. But great numbers of Romans chuſing rather to pay the ſaid fines, than incumber themſelves with a family, ſo that the law ſerved only to enrich the exchequer, Tiberius with great diſintereſtedneſs appointed five perſons, who had been formerly conſuls, five who had been prætors, with ten other ſenators, to examine all the regulations made before his time againſt celibacy. Theſe explained the intricacies of the laws enacted againſt a ſingle life, which the pleaders, that is, the lawyers of thoſe days, laid hold of to undo many noble families; and at the ſame time they qualified the rigor of the antient law by leſſening the fines, which, according to the regulations of Auguſtus, every man was to pay, who did not marry at a certain age. This, as Tacitus obſerves, was ſome relief to the city, the number of laws proving as great an evil as the crimes, for the reſtraining of which they were enacted. Towards the end of this year, Nero, Germanicus's eldeſt ſon, being now of age, Tiberius recommended him to the ſenate, that he might ſtand for the quæſtorſhip five years ſooner than the laws directed, which, as we may well imagine, was readily granted, as alſo a place in the college of pontiffs. The firſt day he entered the forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money

The ſeverity of the law Papia Poppeá ſoftened.

was

[i] Idem, c. 22, 23. Suet. in Tib. c. 49.

was diſtributed by Tiberius to the populace, overjoyed to ſee a ſon of Germanicus now of age. Their joy was doubled by his marriage with Julia the daughter of Druſus; but ſoon after the people ſaw with the utmoſt concern and indignation the daughter of Sejanus betrothed to young Druſus, the nephew of Germanicus and ſon of Claudius, who reigned after Caligula. By this match the Claudian family ſeemed in a manner degraded, and Sejanus, whoſe power and credit with the emperor was already too great, raiſed ſtill higher. But a few days after Druſus died at Pompeii by a very ſtrange accident, being choaked by a pear, which ſtuck in his throat, as in play he threw it up in the air, and catched it in his mouth [i].

Death of Druſus, nephew to Germanicus.

THE following year Tiberius was conſul the fourth time, and Druſus the ſecond; but Tiberius, ſoon after he had reſumed the faſces, under pretence of his health, retired to Campania, either with a deſign to accuſtom himſelf by degrees to live out of Rome, or to leave Druſus the honour of diſcharging that office alone. Not long after his departure he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that Tacfarinas had raiſed new diſturbances in Africa, and exhorting them to chuſe a proconſul to be ſent into that province equal to the war with which it was threatened. Upon the receipt of this letter the fathers met, but, inſtead of naming a governor themſelves, decreed, that the appointment of a proper perſon for the government of Africa ſhould be left to the emperor. On this occaſion Cæcina Severus made a ſpeech againſt any magiſtrate's carrying his wife with him into his province; but, being oppoſed by Valerius Meſſalinus and Druſus himſelf, his motion was over-ruled (G). The next time the

Tiberius goes into Campania.

ſenate

[i] Tacit. c. 29. Suet. in Claud. c. 27.

(G) Cæcina introduced this motion with a long preamble, that he lived in perfect concord with his wife, and had ſix children by her; but nevertheleſs had practiſed himſelf, though he had ſerved forty years in different provinces, what he offered to the public. He ſaid, that it had not without cauſe been provided of old, that women ſhould not be carried into the countries of confederate or foreign nations, ſince they introduced luxury in peace, retarded war with their fears, and made the Roman armies on their march reſemble thoſe of the barbarians. Women, ſaid he, are not only tender and unfit to bear fatigues; but, if not reſtrained, cruel, ambitious, and greedy of power. They even march among the ſoldiers, and

are

enate met, a letter was presented to them from Tiberius, wherein, after complaining of them for casting upon him the care are attended and obeyed by the centurions. A woman has lately acted the chief part at the exercise of the cohorts and the evolutions of the legions. Besides, you well know, conscript fathers, that as often as any of the magistrates are accused of plundering the provinces, their wives are always concerned in the guilt. To them the most profligate in the provinces immediately apply; by them all affairs are undertaken and transacted. They are no less respected than their husbands, have the same court paid them, are equally obeyed, nay more readily obeyed, their orders being generally more imperious. This authority in women was formerly restrained by the Oppian and other laws; but now they rule without controul, not only their families, but the forum, the courts of justice, and even the armies. To this speech, which was applauded by some, but disliked by the far greater part, Valerius Messalinus answered, That many of the institutions of their forefathers were changed for the better: that women were so far from burdening the provinces, that they were no burden to their own husbands; that in time of peace they proved no incumbrance to them, but a great relief after the fatigues of war, to which it was not proper they should attend their husbands. As to the pride, cruelty, and ambition, to which some of them had given a loose, he answered, that if on that account none were to be allowed to accompany their husbands into the provinces, no governors ought, according to that method of reasoning, be sent thither, since some of them had proved cruel, haughty, rapacious, &c. The Oppian laws, he said, were once judged necessary, and their severity thought expedient for the state; but afterwards their rigor was softened, and that too was judged expedient for the public good. As to the wives being accessory to the guilt of their husbands, the latter, he said, ought to bear the blame; but he thought it very hard, that for the too great compliance of one or a few weak husbands, all the rest should be deprived of the comfort and relief which the fellowship of their wives, the natural partners of their good and bad fortune, afforded them. He added, that the sex, weak by nature, would be thus left defenceless, a prey to their own passion, and exposed to the temptations of thousands, who would make it their business to seduce them; whereof the natural consequence in an absence of many years was to every one obvious, since the marriage-bed was scarce preserved undefiled under the eye of the husband. He concluded his speech with exhorting the fathers so to redress the evils abroad, as not to neglect the disorders at home. Drusus approved of this speech;

care of all public affairs, he named M. Lepidus and Junius Blæſus, leaving it to them to chuſe for the proconſulate of Africa which of the two they pleaſed. Hereupon Blæſus was choſen, Lepidus excuſing himſelf with great earneſtneſs, and pleading his infirmities, the tender age of his children, and a daughter who was marriageable. There was another reaſon too, ſays Tacitus, which, though not mentioned by Lepidus, was underſtood: Blæſus was uncle to Sejanus, and therefore, as his intereſt prevailed, Lepidus declined ſtanding in competition with him [k]. The moderation and mildneſs with which Druſus governed, during his father's abſence, encouraged ſome ſenators to apply to him for redreſs to an evil, which was by degrees grown inſupportable. The ſtatues of the emperor were become ſanctuaries to profligates, who, laying hold of them, might with impunity threaten, and wantonly inſult whom they pleaſed, not even a maſter being allowed to puniſh a ſlave for the invectives he had uttered againſt him, while he held the emperor's ſtatue. Againſt this abuſe Caius Seſtius, a ſenator, ſpoke with great vehemence, as he had been lately abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner by one Annia Rufilla, whom he had got condemned for forgery. To put a ſtop to this diſorder, Druſus ſummoned Rufilla before his tribunal; and finding her guilty of uttering invectives againſt Seſtius, under ſhelter of the emperor's ſtatue, he committed her to priſon. The puniſhment of this profligate women, and that of two Roman knights, Conſidius Æquus and Cælius Curſor, who had forged a charge of treaſon againſt the prætor Magius Cæcilianus, gained Druſus the affections of the people, and made them overlook his love of pleaſure and the luxury in which he lived, ſpending the day at the ſhews of gladiators, and the greater part of the night in revels and banquets. Antiſtius Vetus, a principal nobleman of Macedon, being tried for adultery, during Druſus's adminiſtration, was abſolved; which highly offended Tiberius, who wrote a letter to the ſenate, reproaching the judges, and ordering them

Statues of the emperors become ſanctuaries.

Druſus redreſſes this evil.

Antiſtius Vetus tried.

[k] Idem, c. 35.

ſpeech; and having alledged the example of Auguſtus, who travelled moſtly accompanied with Livia, added, that he himſelf had taken a progreſs to Illyricum, and was ready, if it were thought expedient, to viſit other nations; but not without uneaſineſs, if he were to be torn from his dear wife, by whom he had ſo many children. For theſe reaſons, if they deſerved that name, the motion of Cæcina was defeated (92).

(92) Tacit. c. 34.

them to recall Vetus and try him for treaſon, as a diſturber of the public peace, and confederate with the late king Rheſcuporis, when having killed his nephew Cotys, whom Tacitus through miſtake calls his brother, he deſigned to make war upon Rome. The charge of treaſon, ſays our hiſtorian, proved in thoſe days the ſum and bulwark of all accuſations whatſoever, and was the moſt effectual means of making ſure of the criminal. Vetus was therefore condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and to his ſentence was added, that he ſhould be confined to an iſland, neither in the neighbourhood of Macedon, nor of Thrace. The troubles, which began about this time in Thrace, pompted the judges, or rather Tiberius, to add this clauſe. For the Odryſians, and other warlike nations of Thrace, being diſſatisfied with the government of Rhemetalces, to whom Tiberius had given that part of Thrace, which his father Rheſcuporis had held, and much more with the government of Trebellienus Rufus, whom Tiberius had appointed guardian to the ſons of Cotys, who were minors, openly revolted; and having committed dreadful ravages, beſieged Rhemetalces in the city of Philippopolis. But diviſions ariſing among them, Publius Velleius, whom ſome writers take to be the hiſtorian Velleius Paterculus [l], marching againſt them from the neighbouring province, where he commanded, defeated them, and obliged them, without loſing a ſingle man, to abandon the ſiege [m].

And condemned.

A revolt in Thrace ſuppreſſed.

The ſame year, the Gauls, no longer able to bear the heavy tributes, with which they were loaded, and the cruelty and pride of their governors, attempted to ſhake off the Roman yoke, being ſtirred up by Julius Florus, a native of Treves, and Julius Sacrovir, a leading man among the Ædui, that is, thoſe of Autun. The Andecavi and Turonii, that is, the inhabitants of Angers and Tour, firſt took up arms; but the former were ſoon reduced by Acilius Aviola at the head of a cohort drawn from the garriſon of Lugdunum or Lions, and the latter by the ſame Aviola with a detachment ſent him by Viſellius Varro governor of Lower Germany. Julius Florus, having attempted in vain to debauch a body of horſe, which had been raiſed by the Romans at Treves, made to the foreſt of Ardea, attended by a rabble of his own clients and followers; but finding all the paſſes beſet by Viſellius Varro and Caius Silius, he was obliged to venture a battle with his countryman Julius Indus, whom the Romans

The Gauls revolt.

[l] Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 24. [m] Tacit. c. 36, 37.

had ſent forward with a choſen body of men, as one who was well acquainted with the roads, and a declared enemy to Florus. Indus put him to flight at the firſt onſet, and by purſuing him from place to place, reduced him to ſuch ſtreights, that finding no other means to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemy, he put an end to his life with his own ſword. By his death the inſurrection of Treves was quelled. But that of the Ædui gave the Roman generals no ſmall uneaſineſs, Sacrovir, the chief author of it, having raiſed an army of forty thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of Auguſtodunum or Autun, the capital of the nation, where he found and ſeized all the young nobility of Gaul, hoping by that means to engage their parents and relations in his intereſt. A contention which aroſe between the Roman generals about the command of the army, gave him time to prepare for a vigorous defence. At length Varro who was old and infirm, yielding to Silius, who was vigorous and in the flower of his age, the troops began their march, and advancing towards Auguſtodunum, were met by Sacrovir twelve miles from that city. Whereupon an engagement enſuing, the Gauls were routed with great ſlaughter, and Sacrovir obliged to fly firſt to Auguſtodunum, and thence to a neighbouring town, where he ſlew himſelf, and thoſe who attended him one another, after having ſet fire to the place, by which it was reduced to aſhes. Our hiſtorian obſerves, that when news of this inſurrection in Gaul was brought to Rome, the beſt men were grieved for the ſake of their country, but many rejoiced in their own dangers, and in hatred to Tiberius wiſhed ſucceſs to the common enemy [n].

Julius Florus, one of the ringleaders of the revolt, is routed, and dies by his own hand.

Sacrovir the author of the rebellion dies in the ſame manner.

WHEN the inſurrection was entirely ſuppreſſed, Tiberius wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the riſe, progreſs, and concluſion of the war; he added, that it was brought to an happy iſſue by the fidelity and bravery of his lieutenants directed by his counſels. As ſome had complained of him for not going in perſon to ſuppreſs it, in the ſame letter he yielded reaſons why neither he nor Druſus had, during theſe commotions, offered to ſtir out of Italy, telling them, that the Roman empire was an immenſe body, and that it was below the dignity of princes, upon the revolt of one or two cities, to abandon the capital, whence proper directions were ſent to govern the whole; but nevertheleſs, that he would viſit thoſe nations and ſettle them, ſince they were again brought under ſubjection; which before

Tiberius's reaſons for not going in perſon into Gaul.

[n] Idem, c. 40—47.

before would have been doing them too much honour, as if he had not been able to conquer them by his lieutenants. The ſenate decreed vows, ſupplications, and the other uſual honours on ſuch occaſions; but Cornelius Dolabella, a notorious flatterer moved, that Tiberius, on his return from Campania, ſhould be honoured with an ovation. This ridiculous motion occaſioned a letter from the emperor, wherein he declared, that he was not ſo deſtitute of glory as to hunt after empty honours in his old age, for a ſhort progreſs in the neighbourhood of Rome, after having in his youth vanquiſhed moſt warlike nations, and either enjoyed or deſpiſed many triumphs. This year Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, whom St. Luke calls Cyrenius, dying at Rome, Tiberius wrote to the ſenate, deſiring that he might be honoured with a public funeral. He was a native of Lanuvium, a municipal town; but, though of a mean deſcent, had raiſed himſelf by his valour to the higheſt poſts in the army, and had been honoured by Auguſtus, firſt with the conſulſhip, and afterwards with the enſigns of triumph, for driving the Homonadenſes out of their ſtrong-holds in Cilicia. Upon the diſgrace of Marcus Lollius he was appointed governor to Caius Cæſar, then employed in ſettling the affairs of Armenia, in which high ſtation he made uſe of all his intereſt in behalf of Tiberius then at Rhodes, and by degrees reconciled the young prince to him. Theſe kind offices Tiberius now remembered, and extolled them in his letter to the ſenate, inveighing at the ſame time againſt Lollius, as the author of the miſunderſtanding between him and Caius. When Archelaus, the ſon of Herod, was depoſed by Auguſtus, Quirinius was appointed governor of Syria, and ordered to ſeize the country, which Archelaus had held, and reduce it to a Roman province; which he did accordingly, taxing the Jews according to the eſtimate of their eſtates, which had been made eleven years before by Sentius Saturninus. The ſenate readily complied with the requeſt of Tiberius as to the funeral of Quirinius, though they had no great reſpect for his memory on account of his covetouſneſs, his great credit with the emperor, and above all, for his proſecuting Æmilia Lepida in the manner we have related above [o]. At the end of the year Druſus falling ſick, Caius Lutorius Priſcus, a Roman knight, thinking the diſtemper would prove mortal, compoſed a poem bewailing his death, and out of vanity read it in the houſe

P. Quirinius honoured with a public funeral.

C. Lutorius Priſcus tried.

[o] Idem, c. 48. Strab. l. xii. Dio, l. lvii. Joſeph. antiq. l. i. & ii.

of P. Petronius in the preſence of Vitellia, mother-in-law to Petronius, and of another woman of great diſtinction. As Rome ſwarmed with informers, the poet was immediately accuſed of this before the ſenate; all the ladies, who had heard him, were ſummoned to appear againſt him, and frightened into a confeſſion, except Vitellia, who maintained to the laſt with great firmneſs, that ſhe had heard nothing. But more credit being given to thoſe who depoſed againſt him, Haterius Agrippa, who, as conſul elect, voted firſt, declared, that, in his opinion, he ought to be puniſhed with death; Lepidus was for condemning him to perpetutal baniſhment and confiſcating his eſtate. But of all the conſulars, Rubellius Blandus alone voting with Lepidus, and the reſt with Agrippa, Priſcus was conveyed to priſon, and immediately put to death. To what a deplorable ſtate of ſlavery was Rome already reduced! But Lutorius's real crime was, it ſeems, his having compoſed a poem on the death of Germanicus, which had been ſo well received, that Tiberius could not help rewarding him for it [p]. The emperor, who was ſtill in Campania, behaved on this occaſion with his uſual ambiguity; for in a letter, which he wrote to the ſenate, he commended their zeal in thus puniſhing the ſlighteſt injuries done to the prince; but at the ſame time entreated them not to be ſo haſty in puniſhing words: he praiſed Lepidus, blamed not Agrippa. His ſeeming to diſapprove of this ſudden execution gave riſe to a famous decree of the ſenate, viz. that their orders ſhould not be carried to the treaſury (H), nor the condemned perſon executed, in leſs than ten days. But no criminals reaped any benefit from this reſpite in Tiberius's reign, his cruel and revengeful temper being never ſoftened by time, as Tacitus well obſerves [q].

Condemned and executed.

His haſty execution gives riſe to a famous decree.

THE

[p] Tacit. c. 49. Dio, l. lvii. p. 616, 617. [q] Tacit. c. 51. Dio, ibid. p. 617. Suet. in Tib. c. 75.

(H) In the treaſury were lodged the public regiſters and the decrees of the ſenate, which, till entered there, had neither the force nor name of decrees, but were called the orders or authority of the ſenate, as is evident from Cicero, Dion Caſſius, and other antient writers. This decree of the ſenate, by which it was provided, that no perſon condemned ſhould be executed till the tenth day after ſentence pronounced, was obſerved by Caligula, even with reſpect to thoſe whom he himſelf ſentenced to death (93), and probably by all the ſucceeding emperors to the time

(93) Senec. de tranq. c. 14. p. 354.

THE following year, Caius Sulpitius Galba and Decimus Haterius Agrippa being consuls, Caius Bibulus, one of the ædiles moved, that some regulation might be made against luxury, which, in spite of the sumptuary laws, was grown to a monstrous excess in the expence of entertainments, in the number of domestics, in the quantity of gold and silver plate, of pictures, statues, precious stones, &c. The motion was seconded by the other ædiles, who made long descants on the mischievous consequences of the growing evil. The fathers heard them with patience, but referred the whole matter to Tiberius; which occasioned a letter from him to

time of Theodosius the Great, who granted twenty days more to those who were condemned (94) either by the prince, or the senate (95). This we find is the general opinion, an opinion, without all doubt, well grounded, since Tacitus, Dion Cassius, Suetonius, and Seneca affirm, in express terms, that Tiberius granted ten days respite to criminals after sentence, and the more modern writers unanimously ascribe to Theodosius the thirty days reprieve. But on the other hand, we read in Quintilian, who flourished about this time, the following words: "The "law forbidding a criminal to be executed till after thirty days "was wisely established, seeing the accuser may be deceived "(96);" and in Calpurnius Flaccus, who wrote long before Theodosius's time, "Let the punishment of a ravisher be de-"ferred thirty days (97)." As there is no reconciling testimonies so evidently opposite and contradictory, and on the other hand we have innumerable instances of transcribers mistaking numbers, we shall with the most judicious critics impute to them the present disagreement among authors. Perhaps in transcribing the declamations of Quintilian and Calpurnius in, or after, Theodosius's time, they adapted them to the law which that emperor had enacted. Baronius pretends, that the ten days reprieve extended to all criminals, by what judge soever condemned; and thence infers, that Pilate transgressed the law of his prince in causing our Saviour to be crucified as soon as he had pronounced sentence against him (98). But it is manifest from Gothofredus in his comments upon the Theodosian code, that neither the decree of Tiberius, nor the law of Theodosius, extended to the magistrates in the provinces till the time of Nicephorus Botoniates, who ordered all judges and magistrates to conform to the law of Theodosius (99).

(94) In l. si vindicari, c. de pænis. (95) Sid. l. i. epist. 7. (96) Quintil. declamat. 303. (97) Calpur. Flacc. declamat. 25. (98) Baron. annal. 34. (99) Cod. Th. tom. 3. p. 307.

the conſcript fathers, wherein, after commending the zeal of the ædiles, he owned, that the exceſſes they complained of required a regulation, that the prevailing evil ought to be checked by the ſevereſt laws; but nevertheleſs, if ſuch laws were enacted, even thoſe who now cenſure, at their entertainments and in their converſations, the profuſe luxury of the times, would be the firſt to complain, that the ſtate was utterly undone, that ſnares were laid for every noble and wealthy family, and that all men would become the prey of informers. In the end of his letter, he told them, that if any of the magiſtrates would undertake to put a ſtop to ſo great an evil, he ſhould have both his praiſes and thanks for eaſing him of part of his burden; but that as to himſelf, he would not take upon him that odious taſk: Believe me, conſcript fathers, ſaid he, I am not fond of being the object of the public hatred; I have already enemies enow: let me not therefore, I entreat you, wantonly and vainly raiſe more by ſuch regulations, as promiſe no advantage to you or to me. The ſenate, upon reading the emperor's letter, ordered the ædiles to proceed no farther in that matter. Tiberius, by thus rejecting the project of reforming luxury, which would have proved an inexhauſtible fund of crimes, impeachments, and confiſcations, gained the fame of moderation among the nobility, with whoſe wealth the accuſers would not have failed to enrich themſelves, had the emperor either enforced the antient, or enacted new, ſumptuary laws[r]. Soon after Tiberius wrote another letter to the ſenate, deſiring the tribunitial power for Druſus, which the fathers granted with the more refined flattery, as they had foreſeen this requeſt: ſtatues were decreed both to Tiberius and Druſus, altars were erected to the gods, arches raiſed, &c. M. Silanus moved, that for the future not the names of the conſuls, but of thoſe who exerciſed the tribunitial power, ſhould be prefixed to all public and private records; Haterius Agrippa, that the decrees of that day ſhould be written in letters of gold and hung up in the ſenate. Thus the lords of the Roman ſenate, who once headed mighty armies, raiſed and depoſed great kings, beſtowed or took away empires, were by degrees changed into mean ſlaves, and become by their infamous flattery an object of deriſion and contempt to all foreign nations, nay to that very prince, whoſe favour they ſtrove to gain by diſgracing themſelves. Druſus, who was then in Campania, probably with his father, wrote to the ſenate, returning them thanks for the tribunitial power with which they had inveſted

Tiberius refuſes to take upon him the cure of luxury.

Druſus inveſted with the tribunitial power.

The debaſement of the ſenate.

[r] Tacit. ibid. c. 52---55.

ed him; but did not condeſcend to come to Rome, as was expected, to receive it. Soon after, Servius Maluginenſis, who, as prieſt of Jupiter, was not allowed to leave Italy, nay, to ſleep one night out of Rome, demanding the government of Aſia, and his ſuit being oppoſed by Lentulus the augur, and others, the affair was referred to Tiberius, who, in his anſwer to the ſenate, poſtponing the pretenſions of the prieſt of Jupiter, moderated the honours which had been decreed to Druſus with the tribunitial power, and particularly cenſured the motion of the golden letters, as contrary to the cuſtom of Rome. As the liberty of inſtituting ſanctuaries and priviledge places at pleaſure had long ſince prevailed among the Greek cities, and filled their temples with fugitive ſlaves, debtors, and criminals, Tiberius this year referred to the ſenate the examining of the privileges which thoſe cities enjoyed, and the grants on which they were founded. The ſenate and conſuls, after having heard the Greek deputies, and carefully ſearched into the validity of their ſeveral pretenſions, utterly ſuppreſſed ſome ſanctuaries, and either limited the extent, or abridged the privileges and immunities of others, ordering the decree they enacted on this occaſion to be engraved on braſs, and hung up in the temples of Greece [s]. Suetonius tells us, that Tiberius abſolutely ſuppreſſed all ſanctuaries throughout the whole Roman empire [t]. Not long after Livia being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, Tiberius haſtened back to Rome; ſince the mother and ſon either ſtill lived in perfect amity, or cunningly diſguiſed their mutual hatred: the latter was commonly believed at Rome; for Livia having not long before dedicated a ſtatue to Auguſtus, and placed her own name before that of Tiberius, the emperor was thought to have grievouſly reſented this, as an undervaluing the majeſty of the prince, but to have ſmothered his reſentment with a deep diſſimulation. However that be, the ſenate upon her illneſs decreed ſupplications to the gods, with the celebration of the great Roman games for her recovery, and betrayed on this occaſion ſuch a mean ſpirit of ſervitude, that Tiberius himſelf was aſhamed of their vile debaſement, and ſcandalous ſubmiſſions [u]. The next time the ſenate met, Caius Silanus, proconſul of Aſia, Cæſius Cordus, proconſul of Crete, and Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, were accuſed before them, the two firſt of robbing the public, and the other of treaſon, for having uſed as the current coin a piece of ſilver, on which was engraved

The number of ſanctuaries leſſened.

Livia's illneſs, Tiberius returns to Rome.

Other inſtances of the ſervile ſpirit of the ſenate.

[s] Idem, c. 55. [t] Suet. in Tib. c. 37. [u] Idem, c. 64.

graved the effigies of Tiberius. To the charge of rapine and extortion againſt Silanus and Cordus, that none of their friends or relations might dare to plead for them in their trial, articles of treaſon were ſubjoined, a ſure bar, ſays Tacitus, to all aſſiſtance, and a ſeal upon their lips. They were both found guilty of male-adminiſtration and extortion, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and their eſtates declared confiſcated.

Caius Silanus and Cæſius Cordus condemned.

But Cneius Lentulus moving, that the eſtates of Silanus deſcending to him from his mother Cornelia, who was related to the Cæſars, might be reſtored to his ſon, Tiberius approved of and aſſented to, the motion: nay, he even mitigated the rigor of the ſentence which the ſenate had pronounced againſt him, alledging, that the iſland of Gyarus, to which they had confined him, was an unhoſpitable place and deſtitute of inhabitants, and begging, that in favour of the Junian family and in regard of his ſiſter Torquata, a veſtal of an unblemiſhed character, they would allow him for the place of his exile the iſland of Cythera. This the ſenators readily granted at the requeſt of the prince, who by this affected ſhew of clemency pretended to cover the artifice and violence which he had employed to deſtroy the unhappy proconſul (I). To what place Cordus was confined, we are not told. As for L. Ennius, the emperor judged the charge brought againſt him frivolous, and therefore would not allow him to be tried as a criminal. Whereupon Ateius Capito, with an affected ſpirit of liberty, cried out, that

The infamous flattery of Capito.

(I) Silanus was very hardly uſed in his trial, as Tacitus obſerves. The beſt pleaders of all Aſia were choſen on purpoſe to accuſe him. They charged him with cruelty and extortion in his government. To this charge was added that of treaſon by Mamercus Scaurus once conſul, Junius Otho prætor, and Brutidius Niger ædile. The number of his accuſers was encreaſed by Gellius Poplicola and Marcus Paconius, the former quæſtor to Silanus, the other his lieutenant. As he was accuſed of treaſon, no one dared to appear in his favour, he himſelf was no pleader or orator, and beſides, Tiberius, with an awful voice and countenance, was continually interrupting and confounding him with queſtions, which he was not allowed time to refute, nay, he was often forced to confeſs, leſt the emperor ſhould have aſked in vain. His ſlaves too were firſt by the emperors orders ſold to the public, and then examined upon the rack. He was no doubt guilty of cruelty and extortion; but the hatred and ſpite, which Tiberius ſhewed him, and his eagerneſs to get him condemned, were juſtly cenſured.

that the emperor intrenched upon the privileges of the ſenate; that all injuries done to the prince were public injuries, injuries done to the commonwealth, which it was the province of the ſenate, charged with the care of the republic, to revenge and reſtrain in ſpite of any one's private clemency and compaſſion. Tiberius had reaſon to cry aloud, as we are told he uſed to do, as often as he went out of the ſenate, "Oh men prepared for bondage!" He was, ſays Tacitus, irreconcileable to public liberty; but abhorred flattery, as ſuiting only with the ſpirit of ſlaves. The infamy of Capito was the more ſignal, as he debaſed by it, not only the dignity of the ſenator, but his own perſonal accompliſhments [u] (K). The condemnation of Silanus and Cordus was followed by a religious debate, in what temple the offering ſhould be placed, which the Roman knights had vowed to Fortune Equeſtrian for the recovery of Livia. As there

[u] Idem. c. 66---71.

(K) Ateius Capito was a man of extraordinary accompliſhments, and one of the moſt learned civilians of his age. All we know of his pedigree is, that his grandfather was only a centurion under Sylla, and that his father arrived at the prætorſhip. Gellius, Macrobius, and Feſtus, quote ſeveral books wrote by him, viz. a comment upon the laws of the twelve tables, a hundred and twenty books "de jure," ten books "de jure "pontificum, ten de jure ſacerdotum," a treatiſe "of the duty "of a ſenator," and a volume of collections. But he debaſed, ſays Tacitus, his rare accompliſhments by the moſt infamous flattery and a mean obſequiouſneſs to power. Auguſtus honoured him early with the conſulſhip to raiſe him above Antiſtius Labeo, another civilian of equal knowledge and abilities, but of an unblemiſhed character and a probity which was proof againſt all temptations. However, Labeo obtained the prætorſhip; but his virtue checked his riſe to greater preferments, whence he was no leſs beloved and adored by the people, than his rival abhorred and deteſted. We do not find the name of Capito in the conſular tables; whence, as both Tacitus in this place and Pomponius in his book "de origine juris" (100) aſſure us, that he was raiſed to the conſulſhip, we conclude, that he was one of the conſuls who were called ſuffecti, becauſe ſubſtituted in the room of thoſe who died or reſigned. Pighius produces an antient marble diſcovered at Rome with this inſcription; "C. Ateio. Capitone. C. Vibio. Poſtumo. "cos." Vibius was, according to Pighius, conſul in the year of Rome 759.

(100) Pomp. p. 1.

there was no temple in Rome dedicated to Fortune under that title, but one at Antium, it was decreed, that the gift of the knights ſhould be preſented there. And now that matters of religion were on foot, Tiberius, as pontifex maximus, returned the anſwer which he had lately deferred, touching the pretenſions of Servius Maluginenſis, and produced a ſtatute of the pontiffs made under Auguſtus, declaring, that when the prieſt of Jupiter was taken ill, he might, with the conſent of the pontifex maximus, be abſent from the city two nights, except on days of public ſacrifice, and never more than twice a year. This regulation ſhewed that the adminiſtration of a province, which required a year's abſence, was incompatible with the office of the flamen dialis, or prieſt of Jupiter [w]. So that the government of Aſia, which Maluginenſis had demanded, was conferred on the conſular, who was next in ſeniority to him. When this affair was over, Æmilius Lepidus aſked and obtained leave of the ſenate to repair and beautify at his own expence the baſilic (L) of Paulus Æmilius. On the other hand, the emperor undertook to rebuild the theatre of Pompey, which had been conſumed by accidental fire, none of that family being equal to ſo great a charge, and promiſed that it ſhould ſtill be called by the name of its illuſtrious founder. On this occaſion he enlarged on the praiſes of his favourite Sejanus, to whoſe care and vigilance, he ſaid, it was owing, that the fire had done no greater damage. Hereupon the ſervile ſenate, applauding the prince's ſpeech, decreed a ſtatue to Sejanus to be placed in the theatre of Pompey [x].

Prieſt of Jupiter debarred from the government of the provinces.

We

[w] Idem, ibid. [x] Idem, c. 72.

(L) Baſilics were originally ſpacious halls in which kings, from whom theſe buildings borrowed their name, adminiſtered juſtice to their ſubjects. The Romans appropriated that name to great halls, having two ranges of pillars and two wings with galleries over them. Cicero ſpeaks of the baſilic mentioned here (1), which, according to him, was begun by Æmilius Paulus, then ædile, and afterwards conſul with C. Marcellus. It was afterwards finiſhed under Auguſtus by Paulus Æmilius, who was conſul in the year of Rome 730, and afterwards cenſor (2); but being conſumed by accidental fire, it was rebuilt twenty years after by another Æmilius (3). As it was at this time out of repair, Lepidus aſked leave to ſtrengthen and embelliſh it at his own expence.

(1) Cic. ad Attic. l. 4. ep. 17. (2) Dio, l. xlix. (3) Idem, l. liv.

We are told by Seneca [y], that upon the paſſing of this decree, Cremutius Cordus, of whom we ſhall ſpeak anon, cried out, "Now is Pompey's theatre utterly de-"ſtroyed."

THIS year Tacfarinas, quitting a-new the deſerts, to which he had been ſo often driven, appeared unexpectedly in the fruitful plains of Africa at the head of a numerous army; and having committed every-where dreadful devaſtations, he arrived to ſuch an height of boldneſs, as to ſend embaſſadors to Tiberius, demanding a ſettlement for himſelf and his army, and threatening the emperor, in caſe he did not grant him his requeſt, with an eternal war. Our hiſtorian tells us, that Tiberius never betrayed ſo much indignation and reſentment as on this occaſion, not being able to bear, that a deſerter, a free-booter, ſhould have the arrogance to offer terms of peace, as if he were an equal enemy. He therefore ordered Junius Blæſus, whom he continued another year in the government of Africa, to exert his utmoſt efforts againſt ſo bold and contemptible an enemy. Blæſus drove him every-where before him, and purſued him even into the deſerts, where he took his brother priſoner; but Tacfarinas himſelf had the good luck to make his eſcape, though the paſſes were beſet on all ſides by the enemy. However, as moſt of his forces were cut in pieces and his brother taken, Tiberius looked upon the war as concluded, and confirmed to Blæſus the title of imperator, which his troops had conferred upon him. He was the laſt private perſon who enjoyed that title, thenceforth peculiar to the reigning family (M). He was likewiſe honoured with the enſigns of triumph, Tiberius declaring that he thus diſtinguiſhed him in regard of Sejanus, who was his nephew, though in Tacitus's opinion his actions entitled him to all the honours that were conferred upon him [z]. This year died three perſons of great diſtinction, viz. Ateius Capito, the moſt learned civilian in Rome, but one who debaſed his extraordinary parts with the meaneſt and moſt ſervile flattery, as we have obſerved above; Aſinius Saloninus, grandſon to M. Aggrippa; and Aſinius Pollio, half brother to Druſus,

Tacfarinas's arrogant embaſſy to Tiberius.

He is diſtreſſed by Blæſus.

Who is honoured with the title of imperator.

Deaths of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons.

[y] Senec. ad Martiam, c. 22. [z] Idem, c. 73, 74.

(M) Lipſius obſerves here, that the title of imperator, when given to the prince, was placed before his name, thus; "Imp. "Cæſar Auguſtus," but put after the names of generals, to whom it was only a tranſient title of honour, thus; "Junius Blæſus imp. "M. Tullius Cicero imp."

Druſus. and betrothed to one of Tiberius's grand-daughters (N); and the celebrated Junia, niece to Cato of Utica, ſiſter to Brutus (O), and wife to Caſſius, three moſt zealous champions for the public liberty. She died ſixty-four years after the battle of Philippi, in which her huſband loſt his life. As ſhe was immenſely rich, her will made a great noiſe; for ſhe left legacies to almoſt all the great men of Rome, but nothing to Tiberius, who did not ſeem to reſent in the leaſt this omiſſion, but allowed her panegyric to be pronounced in public, and her obſequies to be performed with all the pomp ſuitable to her rank. Before the corſe were carried, according to the Roman cuſtom, the images of twenty of the moſt noble families in Rome, to which the illuſtrious deceaſed was related; but as thoſe of Brutus and Caſſius were not ſeen among the reſt, the people took thence occaſion to extol the zeal with which thoſe two heroes had formerly ſignalized themſelves in the cauſe of liberty [a].

The original character and purſuits of Sejanus.

C. Aſinius Gallus and C. Antiſtius Vetus were the following conſuls. During their adminiſtration, the famous Sejanus took the firſt ſteps towards the execution of the black deſigns he had been long foſtering in his heart. As this powerful and ambitious miniſter, henceforth to his downfal, is to act a principal part in the preſent hiſtory, we ſhall premiſe a ſuccinct account of his original, manners, and characters,

[a] Idem, c. 75, 76.

(N) Aſinius Pollio, the famous orator and poet, one of Auguſtus's chief favourites, and Virgil's patrons, had a ſon by name Aſinius Gallus, who, according to Lipſius (4), was ſurnamed Saloninus from the city of Salona in Dalmatia, which was taken either by him, or during his conſulſhip. Salonius, or, as Tacitus and Dion Caſſius conſtantly call him, Aſinius Gallus, married Vipſania, the daughter of Agrippa, after Tiberius had divorced her to marry Julia. Tiberius had by her Druſus; and Aſinius Gallus many children, viz. Aſinius Saloninus, or Aſinius Gallus, mentioned by Tacitus in this place, Aſinius Gallus, Aſinius Pollio, who was conſul in the year of Rome 756, Aſinius Agrippa, and Aſinius Celer, whom Pliny calls a conſular man.

(O) Junius Silanus, who was conſul with L. Licinius Murena, married Servilia the ſiſter of Cato, and had by her Tertia or Tertulla, and this Junia, who was ſiſter to Brutus by the mother; for M. Junius Brutus was the famous Brutus's father.

(4) Lip. in Tac. annal. 3. N. 174.

racters, copied from the most creditable writers of antiquity. L. Ælius Sejanus was born at Vulsinii in Hetruria (P), son to Sejus Strabo, who, though commander of the prætorian guards under Augustus, and in the beginning of Tiberius's reign, was but a private Roman knight [b]. His mother was descended of an illustrious family, viz. the Junian; for Junius Blæsus, who at the death of Augustus commanded the legions in Pannonia, and afterwards signalized himself against Tacfarinas in Africa, was his maternal uncle. He had other relations in great employments, and even brothers, who had been consuls [c]; but these were perhaps of the Ælian family, into which Sejanus, as we conjecture from his name, was probably adopted. In the very beginning of Tiberius's reign, he was joined with his father in the command of the prætorian guards, and even then in high favour with the prince; whence no collegue was assigned him in that important employment, when his father was sent into Egypt, the government of which kingdom was, by the regulation of Augustus, committed only to private knights. In his early youth he was suspected of having for hire abandoned himself to the lewd desires of the famous Apicius (Q). As to his character,

[b] Tacit. l. iv. c. 1. Dio, l. lvii. p. 616. [c] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 127.

(P) The poet Juvenal alludes to Vulsinii the birth-place of Sejanus in the following lines:

" ——— idem populus, si Nursæia Thusco
" Faviſſet, si oppressa foret secura senectus
" Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
" Augustum," &c.

For Nursæia, or as some will have it, Nortia, was the tutelar goddess of Vulsinii, as appears from Livy (5).

(Q) The antients mention three Apiciuses, all famous epicures. The first lived in the times of the republic, and is spoken of by Athenæus (6). The second, who is mentioned by our historian in this place, lived under Augustus and Tiberius; and the third, as appears from Suidas, under Trajan. The second was the most famous of all for gluttony; for after he had by voluptuous eating and drinking reduced his immense wealth to ten millions of small sesterces, he chose rather to put an end to his life, than retrench the usual expences of his table, for which the

(5) Liv. l. vii. (6) Athen. l. iv. c. 20.

ter, Tacitus draws it in the following lines: With various inſinuations and artifices he got the aſcendant over Tiberius ſo far, that he made him, tho' reſerved to others, to himſelf careleſs and open. He did not accompliſh this ſo much through policy, for by that others overpowered him, as from the wrath of the gods againſt the Roman ſtate, to which his riſe and his downfal proved alike deſtructive. He had a ſtrong body and a bold mind. He diſguiſed his own faults, and impeached others: alike fawning and imperious. By his outward appearance one would have thought him modeſt, but in his heart he had the moſt unſatiable thirſt after power, to which he made ſometimes luxury and bribery ſubſervient, and ſometimes induſtry and application, qualities no leſs pernicious, when they are aſſumed for the vile purpoſes of power. Thus far Tacitus. The ambitious favourite, ſeeing himſelf by the indulgence of his kind maſter, lifted up above his condition and raiſed to the higheſt poſts of the empire, began to entertain thoughts of ſoaring ſtill higher. He was in power and authority the ſecond man in the Roman ſtate; but this to his ambition ſeemed little; he aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereign power, towards the attaining of which, his firſt ſtep was to gain the affections of the prætorian guards, who were all under his command. Till his time they had been quartered all over the city, and diſperſed about the neighbouring towns and villages. But Sejanus,

the remaining ſum was no ways ſufficient. Tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the moſt exquiſite meats, that the foreſts, ſeas, or rivers produced, were, ſays Appian the grammarian, his daily food (7). He is ſtyled by Pliny "nepotum "omnium altiſſimus gurges." Seneca, who was his contemporary, tells us, that he publiſhed a book of cookery with which he infected the age he lived in (8). A treatiſe "de re culina-"ria," that is, of "cookery," was diſcovered by Albanus Torinus in the iſland of Maguelonne near Montpelier in 1529, and printed at Baſle twelve years after. Another copy of the ſame treatiſe had been diſcovered an hundred years before, by Enochus of Aſcoli, under the pontificate of Nicolas V. To both theſe manuſcripts was prefixed the name of M. Cælius Apicius; but Voſſius is of opinion, that this Apicius lived long after the famous epicure of that name, whoſe books, "de irritamentis "gulæ and de juſcellis," are mentioned by Seneca (9), Iſidore of Seville (10), and the old ſcholiaſt of Juvenal.

(7) Vide Athen. l. iv. c. 20. (8) Senec. de conſol. ad Albin. (9) Senec. ibid. (10) Iſid. l. xx. de orig. c. 4.

janus, pretending, that while they were thus ſcattered, they lived looſe and debauched, and could not be eaſily gathered into one body on any ſudden emergency, obtained leave of the emperor to aſſemble them into one camp, where, he ſaid, the military diſcipline would be obſerved with more exactneſs and ſeverity. As ſoon as the camp was finiſhed, he made it his chief ſtudy to gain the favour of the common ſoldiers by his affability and obliging behaviour; as for the tribunes and centurions, they were all choſen by him, and he took care to employ none but his own creatures and dependents. Having thus attached to his intereſt this formidable corps, the flower of the Roman forces, his next care was to gain a ſtrong party in the ſenate, which it was no difficult taſk for a favourite to effect, at whoſe diſpoſal were both the public money and the public employments; for no ſenator, however diſtinguiſhed by his birth or perſonal accompliſhments, was employed, unleſs recommended by Sejanus [d]. He is ſaid to have gained over to his intereſt even the wives of all the men of quality in Rome, by a private promiſe of marriage to each of them, when he attained the ſovereignty. This encouraged them to contribute all that lay in their power to his grandeur, which they looked upon as their own, and at the ſame time to acquaint him with the moſt ſecret counſels of their huſbands [e]. He did not even neglect the emperor's freedmen, but carefully cultivated their friendſhip too [f]. In the mean time, Tiberius, though a man of great penetration, inſtead of curtailing the overgrown power of his favourite, was ever extolling him, in his ſpeeches both to the ſenate and people, as the ſharer of his burdens, and even ſuffered his effigies to be adored in all public places, nay, among the eagles of the legions [g]; for they all carried the image of Sejanus in their colours, except thoſe that were then quartered in Syria, which refuſed to follow the example of the reſt [h].

But Sejanus's deſign of raiſing himſelf to the ſovereign power met with many obſtructions. The imperial family had a numerous iſſue; the emperor's ſon was a grown man, and his grandſons, the children of Germanicus, who was his ſon by adoption, were now of age. This, however, did not deter Sejanus from his wicked purſuits; he reſolved to cut off

[d] Tacit. l. iv. c. 2, antiq. l. xviii. c. 8. c. 48.
[e] Dio, l. lvii. p. 669.
[f] Joſeph.
[g] Tacit. l. iv. c. 2.
[h] Suet. in Tib.

off the reigning family root and branch, that none of the blood of the Cæſars might traverſe his ambitious deſign. But as it was dangerous to cut them off all at once, he reſolved to deſtroy the whole race by degrees, and to begin with Druſus, who was continually complaining of his overgrown power (R), and had lately upon ſome conteſt ſhaken his fiſt at him; and, as he offered to reſiſt, given him a blow in the face. Upon this affront, Sejanus, after having examined with himſelf various expedients to rid himſelf of ſuch a rival, reſolved at length to apply to his wife Livia, the ſiſter of Germanicus; which he did accordingly; and having firſt, by pretending a violent paſſion for her, induced her to comply with his criminal deſires, prevailed upon her afterwards, without much difficulty, to concur with him in deſtroying her huſband. Thus the niece of Auguſtus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of ſeveral children by Druſus, diſgraced herſelf, her anceſtors, and her poſterity, with a mean adulterer, and all to exchange her preſent condition, both honourable and certain, for the hopes of one equally infamous and uncertain; for Sejanus had promiſed to marry her upon the death of her huſband, and make her his partner in the empire. Eudemus was made privy to the wicked deſign, becauſe he, as phyſician to Livia, under colour of his profeſſion, was frequently with her in private, and conſequently could adviſe and direct her without giving any umbrage. Sejanus, to convince Livia of the ſincerity of his intention, as to the promiſed marriage, and thereby encourage her to diſpatch her huſband, divorced his wife Apicata, though he had three children by her. But ſtill the blackneſs of the crime frightened Livia, and her ambition could not ſmother or get the better of her remorſe. Sejanus himſelf, abandoned as he was, could not, without horror, think of imbruing his hands in

His deſigns againſt Druſus.

He debauches his wife.

(R) Druſus complained, and indeed with a great deal of reaſon, that while he, the emperor's ſon, was in the flower of his age, another was called, as coadjutor to the government, nay, was in a manner declared collegue in the empire. Sejanus, ſaid he, has already formed a camp for the guards, that thus united, they may all at once receive his orders; the ſoldiery depend entirely upon him; his ſtatue is ſet up in the theatre of Pompey; in his grandchildren the blood of the Druſi will be mixed with that of Sejanus; what now remains but to ſee him inveſted with the ſovereign power, while the emperor's ſon is excluded from any ſhare in the adminiſtration?

in the blood of the emperor's ſon, and hence caution, delays, and great confuſion in their counſels [i].

In the mean time, Germanicus's ſecond ſon, by name Druſus, putting on the toga virilis, or the manly robe, had the ſame honours decreed him by the ſenate, which had been conferred on his elder brother Nero. On this occaſion Tiberius made a ſpeech in commendation of the youth, and likewiſe of his ſon Druſus, on account of the kindneſs he ſhewed to his brother's children (S). This raiſed new jealouſy in Sejanus, who judging it time to haſten the execution of his wicked deſign, ordered Eudemus to prepare a ſlow working poiſon, that the death of the young prince might be aſcribed to a caſual diſtemper. The fatal potion was adminiſtered to Druſus by Lygdus the eunuch, one of his freedmen, as was learnt eight years after, that is, the year in which

He cauſes Druſus to be poiſoned.

[i] Tacit. l. iv. c. 3.

(S) Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius, in the end of his ſpeech, told the conſcript fathers, as he had often done before, that he deſigned to take a progreſs into the provinces, alledging the multitude of veterans diſcharged, and thence the neceſſity of recruiting the armies. On this occaſion he enumerated all the legions then in pay, and named the countries, where they were quartered. As from this detail we may learn, what forces the Romans had then on foot, what kings were their confederates, and how far the boundaries of the empire extended, it would be an unpardonable omiſſion not to acquaint our readers with it, In the firſt place, Italy was guarded by two fleets, one at Miſenum in the Mediterranean, the other at Ravenna in the Adriatic ſea; and the coaſt adjoining to Gaul, by the gallies taken by Auguſtus at the battle of Actium, and ſent well manned and equipped to Forojulium. As to the legions, there were eight upon the Rhine to keep in awe both the Germans and Gauls, and three in Spain. In Mauritania reigned king Juba, of whom we ſpoke above, a friend and ally of Rome; the reſt of Africa was kept in ſubjection by two legions, and Egypt by the like number. Syria, quite to the banks of the Euphrates, was maintained by four legions. Thrace was poſſeſſed by Rhemetalces and the ſons of Cotys, who were in alliance with Rome; on the banks of the Danube lay four legions; two were quartered in Pannonia, two in Mœſia, and two in Dalmatia. The latter two, by the ſituation of the country, were at hand to ſupport the former, and might be ſoon in Italy upon any ſudden emergency; though Rome had her peculiar guards, nine prætorian and three city cohorts. Beſides the legions, fleets, and cohorts, which we have enumerated in the ſeveral provinces, were

Sejanus was diſgraced and puniſhed according to his deſerts, this whole ſcene of iniquity being then brought to light by his wife Apicata, and the particulars of the murder owned by Eudemus and Lygdus on the rack. Druſus fell into a lingering diſtemper, pined away and died. Tiberius, during the whole time of the illneſs of his ſon, appeared altogether unconcerned, perhaps to make a ſhew, ſays Tacitus, of the firmneſs and conſtancy of his mind; nay, after his death, when his corſe lay yet unburied, he went to the ſenate, and finding the conſuls had left their curule chairs, and placed themſelves, as a token of their grief, on a common ſeat, he put them in mind of their dignity and ſtation; and the ſenate burſting into tears, he ſmothered his own ſorrow to comfort them, which he did in a ſpeech uttered without the leaſt heſitation: he told the fathers, that he was well appriſed he might be cenſured for appearing among them while his grief was yet freſh, when few in the firſt tranſports of their ſorrow could endure even the comforting ſpeeches of their relations, or behold the day. Though thoſe who thus indulged their grief were not, he ſaid, to be condemned of weakneſs, yet for his part, he had ſought for more powerful comforts, ſuch as aroſe from purſuing the welfare of the republic. He then lamented the preſent condition of the imperial family, the extreme age of his mother, the tender years of his grandſons, and his own life in its decline, and begged, that the ſons of Germanicus, who alone could leſſen the preſent misfortunes, might be introduced. Hereupon the conſuls went for them, and bringing in the two youths, Nero and Druſus

Tiberius ſhews no concern for the illneſs and death of his ſon.

His ſpeech to the ſenate.

ſtationed, according to their ſituation and neceſſity, the fleets of the ſeveral allies, with bodies both of horſe and foot, no ways inferior either in number or ſtrength to the Roman legions. From this vaſt number of forces kept in conſtant pay, we may judge of the ſtrength and wealth of the empire at this time. As to the emperor's intended progreſs, Suetonius tells us, that he often declared in the ſenate his intention of viſiting the provinces and armies abroad, and made almoſt every year the neceſſary preparations for his journey, ordering carriages to be bought, and proviſions to be laid in at a great charge in all the municipal towns and in the colonies; nay, he went ſo far as to let the people make their ſolemn vows for his happy journey, and ſafe return, but in the mean time never ſtirred out of Rome, or went only to the neighbouring towns; whence he was generally nicknamed Callipedes, one, who according to the Greek proverb, was always running, yet never advancing (10).

(10) Suet. in Tib. c. 38.

Druſus, preſented them to the emperor, who taking them by the hand, addreſſed the ſenate thus: "Conſcript fathers, theſe father-
"leſs children I commended to their uncle, and beſought him, He recommends to them the ſons of Germanicus.
"though he had iſſue of his own, to bring them up and che-
"riſh them no otherwiſe than if they were immediately de-
"ſcended from him. Druſus being ſnatched from us, I ad-
"dreſs my prayers to you, and, in the preſence of the gods
"and our country, conjure you to receive into your protecti-
"on, and take under your tuition, the great grandchildren of
"Auguſtus, deſcended from moſt illuſtrious anceſtors; fulfil
"your own duty towards them, fulfil mine." Then turning to the youths, "To you, Nero, ſaid he, to you Druſus, theſe
"are in the ſtead of a father: your condition is ſuch, that what-
"ever good or evil befalls you, muſt befall the common-
"wealth." This diſcourſe was heard with great ſatisfaction, and drew tears from the eyes of all who were preſent. Had Tiberius ſtopt here, he had left the hearts of the ſenators full of compaſſion and admiration. But as he repeated anew what he had often ſaid, and what had been as often ridiculed, viz. that he deſigned to reſtore the republic, the ſenators began to ſuſpect the ſincerity of his other aſſertions[k]. Before the ſenate broke up, they decreed the ſame honours to the memory of Druſus, which they had before decreed to that of Germanicus, adding many others to them agreeable to the genius of flattery. The obſequies were performed with the utmoſt pomp, and the funeral proceſſion diſtinguiſhed with a long train of images, repreſenting Æneas the ſuppoſed father of the Julian family, all the kings of Alba, Romulus founder of Rome, all the heroes of the Claudian race, with Attus Claudius, the firſt of that family who came to Rome, at the head of them. Tiberius himſelf pronounced the panegyric of his ſon, the people and ſenate aſſuming the outward appearance of mourners, but rejoicing in their hearts to ſee the houſe of Germanicus nearer the throne. Beſides, Druſus was generally hated, being cruel (T), paſſionate, given to drinking, and all manner of debau-

Honours decreed to Druſus.

His obſequies

[k] Idem, c. 8.

(T) Tacitus and Dion Caſſius give us ſeveral inſtances of Druſus's cruelty, The former writer tells us, that when he firſt preſided at a ſhew of gladiators exhibited in the name of Germanicus and his own, he betrayed ſuch delight in blood, that his father was ſaid to have reproved him for it. Dion Caſſius ſays, that he often upbraided him with his cruelty both in public and in private, and adds, that from him ſharp ſwords were ſtiled "gladii "Druſiani."

chery (U). However, he lived in a friendly manner with Germanicus, and after his death ſhewed himſelf kind, at leaſt not ill
His offspring diſpoſed, towards his children. He left behind him two ſons born at a birth, one of whom did not long ſurvive him, the other named Tiberius Nero Gemellus, lived to the reign of Caius by whom he was put to death. Tiberius, if we may give credit to Suetonius[l], deſpiſed them both, as doubting whether they were really the ſons of Druſus. As ſoon as the funeral ceremonies were over, Tiberius reſumed his uſual employments, prohibited any farther vacation, and to the embaſſadors of the Ilienſes or Trojans, who came ſomewhat too late with their compliments of condolence, anſwered by way of raillery, as if the memory of his loſs had been quite effaced, that he in his turn condoled with them for having loſt ſo brave and eminent a citizen as Hector[m].

SEJANUS,

[l] Suet. in Tib. c. 62. [m] Idem ibid. c. 52.

"Druſiani." The perſon who exhibited the ſhew of gladiators uſed, as Lipſius obſerves, to examine the weapons of the combatants before they entered the liſts; on which occaſion Druſus approved of ſuch only as were exceeding ſharp; and thence ſharp ſwords were called Druſian ſwords. This was, no doubt, a great inſtance of his cruelty, as it was of humanity and good nature in M. Antoninus, to approve on the like occaſion of ſuch ſwords only as were blunt, and incapable of occaſioning deep wounds. Beſides Druſus, as Dion informs us, was very paſſionate, and upon the leaſt provocation ready to ſtrike perſons of the firſt quality; whence he was nicknamed Caſtor, whom the antients ſuppoſe to have been a famous boxer.

(U) Tacitus tells us, that in relating the death of Druſus, he followed the greateſt part of the Latin hiſtorians, and the moſt credible; but adds, that a ſtrong report prevailed in thoſe times, and was ſtill current in his, as if Tiberius himſelf had at the inſtigation of Lygdus, preſented the poiſonous potion to his ſon. The eunuch, according to this report, charged Druſus with a deſign of poiſoning his father; and privately warning the emperor of this, adviſed him to beware of the firſt draught offered him in the next entertainment at his ſon's houſe. Upon this, Tiberius, fully perſuaded of Druſus's wicked deſign, after he had ſat down to table, delivered to him the firſt cup that was preſented to him, which the young prince, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any plot, gayly drank off. This heightened the jealouſy of Tiberius, who upon the death of his ſon, which happened ſoon after, the potion having beforehand been poiſoned by Lygdus, concluded, that Druſus through fear and ſhame had ſwallowed that death which he had prepared for his father. This report our hiſtorian refutes

as

SEJANUS, when he saw the death of Druſus paſs unreveng-ed, encouraged with the ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, began to meditate how he might deſtroy the ſons of Germanicus, whoſe ſucceſſion to the empire was now unqueſtionable. But as he could not compaſs his wicked ends by poiſon, on account of the great vigilance of their mother Agrippina, and the diſtinguiſhed fidelity of their governors, he choſe to attack them another way, which was to rouſe the old hatred Livia bore to Agrippina, and by her means raiſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions againſt her and her children in the mind of the emperor. His wicked counſels had their deſired effect; for having by a thouſand calumnies and falſe inſinuations rendered Livia, who was naturally greedy of power, irreconcileable to the widow of her grandſon, he compaſſed by her means the ruin of that unhappy family, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate.

Sejanus attempts to deſtroy Agrippina and her children.

IN the mean time, Tiberius, reſuming the care of public affairs, attended the adminiſtration of juſtice at Rome, and diſpatched the petitions from the provinces. At his motion the cities of Cibyra in Aſia and Ægyra in Achaia, both overthrown by an earthquake, were by a decree of the ſenate eaſed of tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus, proconſul of the Farther Spain or Bœtica, being accuſed of governing his province in a violent and arbitrary manner, was condemned and baniſhed into the iſland of Amorgos. But Carſius Sacerdos and Caius Gracchus (W), being charged with ſupplying Tacfarinas with corn, were both acquitted[n]. This year at length, after many complaints

Vibius Serenus tried and condemned.

[n] Idem, c. 13.

as void of all appearance of truth. For, who can believe, ſays he, that a man of common prudence, much leſs Tiberius, ſo long practiſed in great affairs, would to his own ſon, without ſo much as hearing him, preſent with his own hands the mortal potion? He would, no doubt, have tortured the informer, enquired into the plot, endeavoured to diſcover the authors of it, and uſed that caution and ſlowneſs towards his only ſon, hitherto never ſuſpected of any ſuch crime, which was natural to him even in his proceedings againſt ſtrangers.

(W) Caius Gracchus was ſon to Sempronius Gracchus, who, on account of his amours with Julia, had been baniſhed by Auguſtus into the iſland of Cercina, and afterwards aſſaſſinated there by Tiberius's orders. When he firſt left Italy, he took his ſon Caius, then very young, along with him, as a companion in his exile. Caius grew up there among fugitives and men deſtitute of liberal education, and afterwards ſupported himſelf by traffic between Africa and Sicily. But, notwithſtanding the low condition to which he

complaints from the prætors, which had proved ineffectual, Tiberius, who had before layed the players under various reſtraints and curtailed their wages, repreſented to the ſenate, that they had on many occaſions raiſed tumults, and diſturbed the public tranquillity, that they promoted debauchery in private families, that the obſcenities of the Oſcan farce, the ſame with the Atellana, of which we have ſpoken in a foregoing volume[o], were grown to ſuch exceſs, that it required the authority of the ſenate to check them, &c. Upon theſe complaints from the emperor, the players were all driven out of Rome and Italy[p], and forbidden, if we believe Dion Caſſius[q], to act in any place whatſoever of the Roman dominions. The ſame year, died one of Druſus's twins, for whoſe death the emperor was greatly concerned, and no leſs afflicted for that of Lucillius Longus his antient and conſtant friend, and the only ſenator who had attended him in his retreat to Rhodes, and ſhared with him both his good and bad fortune; for which reaſon, though he was but a new man, the ſenate decreed him a public funeral, and a ſtatue to be placed in the forum built by Auguſtus. At the ſame time, Lucillius Capito, the emperor's procurator in Aſia, being accuſed before the ſenate by the province, Tiberius proteſted, that Lucillius had no authority from him but over his ſlaves, that he had only empowered him to collect his domeſtic rents, and therefore, if he had uſurped the authority of a prætor, or employed military force, he had therein traſgreſſed his orders. Hereupon the ſenate, after hearing the allegations of the province, found him guilty and condemned him. The cities of Aſia were ſo taken with the moderation Tiberius ſhewed on this occaſion, and the ſeverity with which he had proceeded the year before againſt Caius Silanus, accuſed of cruelty and extortion, that they decreed a temple to him, to his mother, and to the ſenate, and obtained leave to build it. For this conceſſion Nero returned thanks to the ſenate and his grandfather in a ſpeech which charmed the fathers, who imagined they heard and ſaw Germanicus himſelf[r]. This temple was built at Smyrna, and finiſhed three years after, as Dion Caſſius informs us[s]. Towards the

Stage-players driven out of Italy.

Lucillius Capito condemned.

A temple erected to Tiberius.

[o] Hiſt. Univerſal. Vol. XI. p. 532. [p] Tacit. c. 14. Suet. in Tib. c. 37. [q] Dio, l. lvii. p. 617. [r] Tacit. c. 15. [s] Dio l, lvii. 607.

he was reduced, the ſplendor of his illuſtrious family would have occaſioned his ruin, had not Ælius Lamia and Lucius Apronius, ſucceſſively proconſuls of Africa, cleared him from the crime laid to his charge.

the end of this year Servius Maluginenſis dying, his ſon was appointed flamen Dialis, or prieſt of Jupiter, in his room, and Cornelia choſen ſuperior of the veſtals in the place of Scantia likewiſe deceaſed. To Cornelia a preſent of two thouſand great ſeſterces was decreed, and a privilege granted to Livia of ſitting amongſt the veſtals in the theatre[t], whoſe place was, as Suetonius informs us, over-againſt the prætor's tribunal[u], no other women, however diſtinguiſhed, having a peculiar place, but all ſitting promiſcuouſly together, apart from the men, purſuant to the regulations of Auguſtus.

THE following year, Sergius Cornelius Cethegus and L. Viſellius Varro being conſuls, the pontiffs, and after their example the other prieſts, making vows for the proſperity of the emperor, commended at the ſame time Nero and Druſus to the gods; which greatly provoked Tiberius, who ſending for the pontiffs, examined them, whether they had paid that compliment to the entreaties or menaces of Agrippina. The pontiffs denied both, but nevertheleſs the emperor rebuked them for putting youths upon the level with a man of his years, and afterwards in a ſpeech to the ſenate warned the fathers to take care for the future not to feed the pride of the young men with untimely and too early honours. Sejanus, ever intent on improving all opportunities of inflaming Tiberius againſt Agrippina, laid hold of this to inſinuate, that Rome was rent into factions, that already ſome had the boldneſs to declare themſelves openly the partizans of Agrippina, and that there was no other remedy againſt the prevailing ſpirit of faction, but the cutting off, under other pretences, one or two of the moſt forward and powerful. Hereupon it was by the deluded emperor thought expedient, that the ſuppoſed riſing faction ſhould be immediately ſuppreſſed, by the utter ruin of all the friends of the houſe of Germanicus. The chief among theſe were Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus, and with them it was agreed to begin this general maſſacre. Other conſiderations, beſides the friendſhip of Germanicus, concurred to ruin Silius. He had commanded for ſeven years a powerful army, and had been diſtinguiſhed, as we have related above, with the enſigns of triumph for his exploits in Germany; he had routed Sacrovir, and ſuppreſſed the revolt in Gaul; but by boaſting his ſervices, and publicly vaunting that he had ſecured the ſovereign authority to Tiberius, by keeping his ſoldiers in their obedience, when the other legions in Germany revolted, he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the emperor, who, thinking himſelf incapable.

Tiberius betrays ſome diſaffection to Germanicus's children.

Caius Silius accuſed.

[t] Tacit. l. iv. c. 16 [u] Suet. in Aug. c. 44.

incapable of rewarding, as he ought, ſuch important ſervices, was glad of any favourable opportunity to get rid of the perſon who had rendered them. So that his chief offence was over-much ſervice done to Tiberius; thence that refined obſervation of Tacitus, that benefits are ſo far acceptable, as it ſeems poſſible to requite them; but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude. His wife too, by name Soſia Galla, contributed to his ruin by her friendſhip and intimacy with Agrippina. Both Tiberius and Sejanus thought it adviſeable to have Silius and his wife arraigned firſt, and poſtpone for ſome time the tryal of Sabinus. Accordingly, the ſenate was ſummoned, and Silius accuſed by Varro (X) the conſul of keeping up a correſpondence with the authors of the revolt in Gaul, and of diſhonouring his victory with cruel extortions: the behaviour of his wife and her avarice were likewiſe objected to him. Silius made no defence, being well appriſed it would be to no purpoſe: he only dropped ſome words to ſhew by whoſe malice he was oppreſſed. They were both declared guilty of treaſon, for under that article the whole charge was brought againſt them. Silius prevented his condemnation by a voluntary death; yet his eſtate was confiſcated, contrary to the conſtant cuſtom of Auguſtus, who beſtowed on the children of the condemned the eſtates of ſuch as died before ſentence, whether their death was natural or voluntary. His wife Soſia was baniſhed at the motion of Aſinius Gallus, who propoſed, that one half of her effects ſhould be forfeited, and the other left to her children. Marcus Lepidus voted the fourth part to the accuſers, as the law required, and all the reſt to the children. Which of theſe two opinions prevailed, our hiſtorian does not inform us. On this occaſion Cotta Meſſalinus moved, that by a decree of the ſenate, governors of provinces, however innocent in themſelves, ſhould be equally puniſhed for the crimes of their wives as for their own. As this decree is mentioned by Ulpian, we may ſuppoſe that it paſſed this year, though that writer ſpeaks of it as made four years before. Calpurnius Piſo was tried next, and charged by Quintus Granius with treaſonable words privately uttered againſt the emperor:

Prevents his condemnation by a voluntary death.

Calpurnius Piſo tried.

(X) Tacitus tells us, that Silius ſeeing the conſul engaged againſt him as an accuſer, begged the emperor to poſtpone the trial till the time of his conſulſhip was expired; but that his requeſt was rejected by Tiberius, who, cloaking his acts of tyranny under venerable old names, anſwered, that as other magiſtrates were allowed to bring particulars upon their trial, the prerogative of a conſul in the like caſe ought not to be infringed, ſince it was chiefly incumbent upon him to take care, that no damage accrued to the republic.

ror: to this charge the accuſer added, that Piſo kept poiſon in his houſe, and came into the ſenate armed with a dagger. The latter article ſeemed incredible, and therefore was dropped; but for other crimes, of which he was no leſs falſly accuſed, he was put upon his trial, but his condemnation was prevented by a natural death (Y). Then complaints were made of Caſſius Severus (Z), who, though formerly confined to the iſland of Crete for his petulant and ſatirical writings, yet continued even in his exile his former practices, defaming the moſt illuſtrious perſons in Rome. He was therefore ſtript of his eſtate, and baniſhed into the inhoſpitable iſland of Seriphos, which we have deſcribed elſewhere [u]. About this time Plautius Silvanus prætor, killed his wife Apronia, by throwing her headlong

Caſſius Severus confined to Seriphos.

[u] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. VII. p. 579, & ſeq.

(Y) L. Calpurnius Piſo was one of the boldeſt men at that time in Rome, and had threatened, as we have related above, to quit Rome, and to retire into ſome diſtant corner of the earth, where he might be free from the mercileſs purſuits of the informers. Tiberius bore this calmly, nay, he even deſcended to ſoften him with kind words. Afterwards the undaunted Piſo, in defiance of the power of Livia, proſecuted her favourite Urgulania, and could not be prevailed upon to drop the proſecution, though ſhe had taken ſanctuary in the emperor's palace. This alſo Tiberius diſſembled; but though he often ſuppreſſed his reſentment, yet deep impreſſions remained in his unforgiving ſoul. Piſo is now charged with treaſon, and but for a natural death, which very ſeaſonably intervened muſt have been puniſhed as a traitor.

(Z) Auguſtus was the firſt, as we have obſerved above, who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majeſty or treaſon. To this he was chiefly induced by the inſolence of Caſſius Severus, who had in his writings wantonly defamed the moſt illuſtrious men and women in Rome. He was of a mean deſcent, but an excellent ſpeaker, and had a particular turn for ſatyre. He wrote alſo an hiſtory, which we find quoted by Suetonius (11) and Tertullian (12). Seneca makes honourable mention of him in his controverſy (13). Tacitus tells us in this place, that he grew old among the rocks of Seriphos; which is agreeable to what we read in Euſebius, viz. that Caſſius Severus, a famous orator, died of want in the twenty-fifth year of his exile, being reduced to ſuch poverty, that he had not wherewithal to cover his nakedneſs (14). S. Jerom ſuppoſes him to have died for want of neceſſaries in the eighth year of his baniſhment (15).

(11) Suet. in Vitell. c. 2.
(12) Tertull. in apolog.
(13) Senec. controverſ. 3, init.
(14) Euſeb. in chron.
(15) Hier. in chron.

headlong out of one of the windows of his apartment. Whereupon, being carried by Apronius his father-in-law before the emperor, he pretended, that while he was aſleep, his wife had been the occaſion of her own death. Upon this anſwer, Tiberius, unmindful of his dignity, haſtened to Silvanus's chamber, and finding there evident marks of his violence and his wife's ſtruggling, he made his report to the ſenate, who immediately appointed judges to try the prætor. In the mean time, his grandmother Urgulania, who, as we have obſerved above, was one of Livia's chief favourites, finding ſhe could not with all her intereſt ſave the life of her grandſon, ſent him, by the advice of Tiberius, as was ſuppoſed, a dagger, which was tacitly adviſing him to prevent his impending condemnation by a voluntary death. The criminal had not courage enough to make uſe of the dagger; but cauſing his veins to be opened, bled to death. After his death, his former wife Numantia, whom he had divorced to marry Apronia, was accuſed of having by charms and potions diſordered the underſtanding of her huſband, but was acquitted [w].

Plautius Silvanus prevents his condemnation by a voluntary death.

Tacfarinas defeated and killed.

THIS year at length put an end to the war with Tacfarinas the Numidian, who was utterly routed and killed by P. Dolabella, proconſul of Africa, with the aſſiſtance of Ptolemy, who had ſucceded his father Juba in the kingdom of Mauritania. The proconſul deſired the enſigns of triumph for his victory, which had been granted to three others; but Tiberius refuſed him that mark of diſtinction in compliment to Sejanus, that the fame of his uncle Blæſus might not be thence eclipſed. Dolabella on his return to Rome brought with him many diſtinguiſhed captives, among whom was the ſon of Tacfarinas; and was attended by embaſſadors from the Garamantes, a people of the Inner Libya, who, being frightened with the death of Tacfarinas, whom they had aſſiſted, thought it adviſeable to appeaſe, by an embaſſy, the reſentment of the Roman people. To Ptolemy, king of Mauritania, who had bore great ſhare in this war, was diſpatched a ſenator with an ivory ſtaff and an embroidered robe, preſents which the Roman people uſed to ſend in antient times to kings, who were their friends and confederates [x]. The ſame year, one Titus Curtiſius, formerly a ſoldier of the prætorian guards, ſowed the ſeeds of a ſervile war, inviting by declarations, publicly hung up, all ſlaves to reſume their liberty. But this tumult was ſuppreſſed juſt as it was breaking out, the leader himſelf and the moſt reſolute men of his party being

A ſervile war ſuppreſſed in its riſe.

[w] Tacit. ibid. c. 15--22. [x] Idem, c. 23--27.

ing surprised and dragged to Rome, which was already in great consternation on account of the immense number of domestic slaves [y].

Vibius Serenus accused by his own son.

DURING the same consulate, Rome saw an example of horror and unnatural cruelty, which alone is sufficient to render the reign and memory of Tiberius execrable to the latest posterity. Vibius Serenus, proconsul of the Farther Spain, was condemned, as we have related above, for arbitrary administration, and banished to the island of Amorgos. But now that unhappy father is dragged from the place of his exile to a fresh trial, being accused by his son of treasonable practices against the majesty of the emperor. The father appeared before the senate, bound in chains, with a dejected countenance, and in the dismal habit of a criminal, while the son, in the gayest attire, as if he intended to insult nature itself, alledged a plot framed by his father against the emperor, accusing him at the same time of having sent conspirators into Gaul, to stir up the people there to rebellion. He likewise charged Cæcilius Cornutus, formerly prætor, with having supplied the conspirators with money. Cornutus, tho' innocent, no sooner heard himself accused, than, looking upon his accusation only as a signal of destruction, he laid violent hands on himself. But Serenus, turning full upon his son and shaking his chains, begged of the gods with tears in his eyes, that they would restore him to the place of his exile, where he might pass his days far from such objects of horror, and that they would one day take just vengeance of such a cruel and unnatural son. He then urged, that Cornutus was innocent, and only frightened with a false accusation; and challenged his son to produce other witnesses and name other confederates, since it was not probable, that with one accomplice only he should have thought of murdering the prince, and introducing a change in the government. The accuser then named Cneius Lentulus and Seius Tubero, both men of the first rank in Rome and Tiberius's intimate friends. Besides, Lentulus was extremely old, and Tubero broken with infirmities; insomuch, that Tiberius himself could not help blushing in hearing them named. Dion Cassius tells us, that Lentulus, finding himself, aged as he was, charged with meditating the murder of the prince and a change of state, broke into a loud laugh; and that the emperor instantly acquitted him, saying, "I do not deserve to "live, if I am hated even by Lentulus [z]." Tubero was likewise discharged, but the slaves of the pretended criminal were

[y] Idem, c. 27. [z] Dio, l. lviii. p. 630, 631.

were examined upon the rack, and their teſtimony proved favourable to their maſter. Hereupon the populace, provoked at ſuch monſtrous and unheard-of prceedings, began to threaten the unnatural ſon with the puniſhments inflicted by the laws on parricides; which ſo terrified him, that he fled privately out of Rome and withdrew to Ravenna. But Tiberius, ſtill remembering ſome expreſſions, a little too free, which Serenus had uſed in a letter written to him eight years before (A), and no wiſe diſguiſing his old hatred, obliged the ſon to return and purſue the action begun againſt his father. Nothing could be proved againſt him; nevertheleſs the votes being taken, he was ſentenced to death as a traytor. And then Tiberius, to mitigate the odium accruing to him from ſuch a crying piece of injuſtice, granted him his life. Hereupon Aſinius Gallus was for confining him to the iſland of Gyarus, or to that of Donuſa; this motion was diſliked by the emperor, becauſe both theſe iſlands were deſtitute of water, and to whom life is granted, ſaid he, the neceſſaries of life ought likewiſe to be granted. Serenus was therefore remanded to Amorgos [a]. The death of Cornutus, who had laid violent hands on himſelf, gave occaſion to the following motion in the ſenate; viz. that when a perſon charged with treaſon ſhould put an end to his own life before he was condemned, the accuſers ſhould looſe their rewards, which were the fourth part of the condemned perſon's eſtate. This motion ſeemed reaſonable, and would have been generally approved of, had not Tiberius, throwing off his uſual diſguiſe and reſerve, openly declared himſelf an advocate for the accuſers, ſaying with great ſternneſs, that by this means the laws would be defeated and the republic overturned; and that they had better diſannul the laws themſelves, than remove their guardians. Thus theſe bloody and deſtructive inſtruments, ſays Tacitus, never ſufficiently curbed by any terrors or puniſhments, were now allured and encouraged by ample rewards [b]. The ſame year, were accuſed and convicted Caius

The revengeful temper of Tiberius.

He openly countenances the accuſers.

[a] Tacit. c. 28--30. [b] Idem, c. 30, 31.

(A) Tacitus tells us, that after the condemnation of Libo Druſus, Serenus had by letters upbraided the emperor for not rewarding the ſingular zeal with which he had ſignalized himſelf in that trial, uſing expreſſions more free than the tender ears of a prince, naturally proud and jealous of his prerogative, could bear. Our hiſtorian, in his account of that famous trial, which he ſeems to have deſcribed pretty minutely, does not mention Serenus among the informers, though he acted, as appears from this paſſage, a chief part on that occaſion.

Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, Publius Suilius, formerly quæſtor to Germanicus, and Catus Firmius, a ſenator. Cominius had written a ſcurrilous poem againſt the emperor, who nevertheleſs pardoned him at the entreaties of his brother, who was a ſenator. Suilius, being convicted of taking a bribe in an affair which he was to decide as a judge, was by the ſenate only condemned to be driven out of Italy; but this ſentence appearing too mild to the emperor, he cauſed him to be baniſhed into an iſland, after having declared upon oath, that he conſulted therein the welfare of the republic. This ſeverity, which was then ſharply cenſured, turned afterwards to the emperor's praiſe: for Suilius, returning to Rome in the reign of Claudius, proved an abandoned mercenary and one of the moſt miſchievous miniſters of that weak prince; a proof this, of Tiberius's deep penetration and thorough knowledge of mankind, a knowledge in which he has been equalled by few, and excelled by none. Catus Firmius was likewiſe by the ſentence of the ſenate to be expelled Italy for forging crimes of treaſon againſt his ſiſter. But as he had been inſtrumental in procuring the deſtruction of Libo Druſus, by firſt malicioufly ſeducing him, and afterwards informing againſt him, as we have related above, Tiberius, mindful of this ſervice, but pretending other motives, ſaved him from baniſhment, but did not oppoſe his being expelled the ſenate [c].

Several perſons accuſed.

TACITUS begins the following year, when Coſſius Cornelius Lentulus and M. Aſinius Agrippa were conſuls, with an account of the arraignment and noble defence of Cremutius Cordus, a celebrated hiſtorian, who was accuſed of having praiſed Brutus in the annals he had publiſhed, and ſtyled Caſſius the laſt of the Romans, which was the elogium beſtowed upon him by Brutus himſelf. His accuſers were Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, both creatures of Sejanus; which he looking upon as a ſignal of his deſtruction, and beſides obſerving great ſternneſs and indignation in the countenance of Tiberius, he caſt away all hopes of life, ſpoke in his own defence with the ſpirit and in the ſtyle, of a true Roman (B), and then, withdrawing from the ſenate,

Cremutius Cordus arraigned.

[c] Idem, c, 31.

(B) " As to facts, conſcript fathers, ſaid he, I am ſo free " from guilt, that words only are produced againſt me. But " neither were my words uttered againſt the prince or his fa- " ther, who are the only perſons compriſed under the law of " treaſon.

Ends his life by abſtinence.

ſenate, ſtarved himſelf to death. The fathers condemned his books to be burnt by the ædiles; but they were ſtill privately diſperſed and read, both in Tiberius's time and many

" treaſon. I am charged with having praiſed Brutus and Caſſius,
" men whoſe exploits many have diſplayed, and all in ho-
" nourable terms. Titus Livius, one of our moſt famous writers
" both for eloquence and veracity, beſtowed ſuch high en-
" comiums upon Pompey that Auguſtus ſtyled him a Pompeian;
" nor did this in the leaſt prejudice their friendſhip. He no-
" where calls Scipio, Afranius, nor even this Caſſius, this Brutus,
" thieves and parricides, as they are now-a-days commonly
" termed, but often mentions them as worthy and famous men.
" The writings of Aſinius Pollio have conveyed down to us
" the memory of the ſame men under honourable characters.
" Meſſala Corvinus was proud of having had Caſſius for his
" general; and for all this both thoſe writers flouriſhed both
" in wealth and honours under Auguſtus. M. Cicero extolled
" Cato to the ſkies; and nevertheleſs Cæſar the dictator con-
" tented himſelf with anſwering it in the ſame ſtyle, as if he
" had been before his judges. The letters of Marc Antony,
" the ſpeeches of Brutus, are full of reproaches againſt Au-
" guſtus, falſe indeed and groundleſs, but urged with great
" bitterneſs. The poems of Bibaculus and Catullus, though
" ſtuffed with ſatirical and virulent reflections upon the Cæſars,
" are ſtill read. The deified Julius, the deified Auguſtus, bore
" theſe invectives, and winked at them, whether with great-
" er moderation or wiſdom, I cannot eaſily ſay. For things
" of that nature, if neglected, are but ſhortlived; whereas they
" argue, when reſented, a guilty conſcience. I forbear menti-
" oning the Greeks, among whom, not only the freedom, but
" even the licentiouſneſs, of ſpeech is unpuniſhed; or if any
" correction is returned, it is only by revenging words with
" words. It has been ever allowed, and at no time thought
" matter of reproach, to paſs our judgment upon thoſe whom
" death hath exempted from hatred and favour. Do I with
" ſeditious harangues inflame the people to civil wars, or ex-
" hort them to join Caſſius and Brutus, now in arms and maſ-
" ters of the fields of Philippi? Brutus and Caſſius, now above
" ſeventy years ſlain, are ſtill known in their ſtatues, which
" even the conqueror did not deſtroy: why then may not an
" hiſtorian preſerve their memories in his writings? Impartial
" poſterity does every one juſtice; and if my death is deter-
" mined, there will not be wanting ſome, who will not only
" maintain the memory of Brutus and Caſſius but mine too."

Notwithſtanding this noble defence, the hiſtorian, not doubting, but he would have been condemned by the ſervile ſenate, returned

many ages after: whence our hiſtorian takes occaſion to deride the ſtupidity of thoſe, who imagine they can by their preſent power conceal the tranſactions of their times from future ages; whereas it happens quite otherwiſe; for the puniſhment of writers gains credit to their writings, and kings reap no other fruit from it, than infamy to themſelves and glory to thoſe whom they thus perſecute [d]. But time has done what the emperor could not effect with all his authority; only ſome few fragments of Cremutius Cordus's hiſtory have been tranſmitted to us by Seneca [e], the reſt having been long ſince loſt. For this whole year accuſations were purſued with ſuch warmth, that even during the feſtival of the Feriæ Latinæ, while Druſus, probably the ſon of Germanicus, who had been appointed governor of Rome, was aſcending the tribunal to take poſſeſſion of his new employment, Calpurnius Salvianus accoſted him with a charge againſt Sextus Marius, which Tiberius highly reſented,

[d] Tacit. c. 34. Dio, l. lvii. p. 619. Senec. ad Marc. c. 22. Caſſiod. Chr. Alex. p. 492. [e] Vide Senec. in ſuaſ. de mort. Cic.

turned home and ended his life by abſtinence. What Cordus ſays here of the ſtatues of Caſſius and Brutus is confirmed by other writers, namely by Plutarch who tells us, that Auguſtus took care, that all the honours which had been paid to the two heads of the republican party in their life-time, ſhould be preſerved inviolable to them after their death, and relates to this purpoſe the following ſtory: As Auguſtus was paſſing thro' the city of Mediolanum in Ciſalpine Gaul, he obſerved a ſtatue of Brutus, which was of excellent workmanſhip, and ſtrongly reſembled the original. Upon this he halted, and, in the preſence of many who attended him, called the magiſtrates before him, and told them, that their town had broken the league and honoured one of his enemies. At firſt the magiſtrates denied the fact, and, not knowing what he drove at, ſtared upon one another, as men under an inexpreſſible ſurpriſe. Then Auguſtus, pointing to the ſtatue aſked them with a frown, "Is not that my enemy, whom you have received into the very "heart of your city?" At theſe words the magiſtrates, ſtill more aſtoniſhed, were ſtruck dumb. Whereupon Auguſtus ſmiling commended them for their conſtancy to their friends, though in adverſity; and left orders, that the ſtatue ſhould remain ſtanding as he found it (16).

(16) Plut. in Bruto.

fented, publicly rebuking the informer, who was thereupon immediately baniſhed by the ſenate. The inhabitants of Cyzicum were this year accuſed of neglecting the worſhip of the deified Auguſtus, which they had eſtabliſhed in their city, and of committing violences upon ſome Roman citizens (B). They were therefore deprived of their liberty, which had been formerly granted them by the Roman people, in conſideration of their gallant behaviour during the Mithridatic war [f], as we have related elſewhere. Fonteius Capito, formerly proconſul of Aſia, was accuſed at the ſame time, but acquitted, it plainly appearing, that the crimes, laid to his charge by Vibius Serenus, were forged. And yet Serenus eſcaped unpuniſhed; nay the public hatred he had incurred, by falſely arraigning perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, rendered him the more ſecure: for, as our hiſtorian obſerves, the more miſchievous an accuſer was, the ſafer he was, thoſe only of the tribe being ſurrendered to puniſhment, who were incapable of doing great miſchief [g].

The inhabitants of Cyzicum deprived of their liberties.

ABOUT this time embaſſadors arrived in Rome from the Farther Spain, to beg leave of the ſenate to erect a temple, after the example of Aſia, to Tiberius and his mother. When they were introduced to the ſenate, the emperor laid hold of that occaſion to confute thoſe who had taxed him with ambition,

[f] Tacit. c. 36. Suet. in Tib. c. 37. Dio, l. lvii. p. 619.
[g] Tacit. ibid.

(B) The Cyzicenians had begun to build a temple in honour of Auguſtus, but neglected to finiſh it, and beſides had committed violence upon ſome Roman citizens (17). Of the latter fault they had been guilty alſo in the reign of Auguſtus, who thereupon deprived them of their liberties, which, however, he reſtored to them ſoon after (18). In the Mithridatic war they ſuſtained a ſiege, as we have related in our hiſtory of Pontus, with incredible bravery, and repulſed the king. But now, without any regard to their former ſervices, they are ſtript of thoſe privileges, which they had purchaſed by a moſt gallant behaviour and at the expence of their blood (19). We do not find, that their liberties were ever after reſtored to them; whence we conclude, that Strabo was either dead, or had put the laſt hand to his work before this year, the eleventh of Tiberius's reign, ſince he writes, that in his time the city of Cyzicum was free (20).

(17) Suet. in Tib. c. 37. (18) Dio, l. liv. (19) Tacit. c. 36, Dio, l. lvii. p. 619. (20) Strab. l. xii.

ambition, for having allowed the Aſiatics to pay him divine honours, and ſpoke in the following manner: "I know, conſcript fathers, that I am generally blamed, and taxed with inconſtancy, for not oppoſing the cities of Aſia, when they petitioned for this very thing. I ſhall therefore now acquaint you with the motives of my former ſilence, and at the ſame time with the rules I propoſe to follow for the future. As the deified Auguſtus did not oppoſe the founding of a temple at Pergamus to himſelf and the city of Rome (C), I, with whom all his

Tiberius's wiſe reaſoning againſt admitting divine honours.

(C) Though in Auguſtus's time temples were built even in honour of the proconſuls and governors of provinces, yet that prince, as Suetonius informs us, would ſuffer no temples to be erected to him alone, but jointly to him and the city of Rome. Thus the temple mentioned here by Tiberius was built at Pergamus by the communities of Aſia, and conſecrated to Rome and Auguſtus. The repreſentation of this temple is to be ſeen on ſeveral coins which have reached our times, with this legend; "Com. Aſiae. Rom. et. Aug." that is, "The communities of "Aſia to Rome and Auguſtus (21)." The Smyrneans firſt erected a temple to Rome in the year of the city 558 (22): their example was followed about twenty four years after by the inhabitants of Alabanda, a city of Caria (23). In proceſs of time, a temple was erected in the city itſelf to Rome and Venus. Of this temple Prudentius ſpeaks in the following lines:

"——colitur nam ſanguine & ipſa
"More deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur:
"Æque urbis Veneriſque pari ſe culmine tollunt
"Templa, ſimul geminis adolentur thura deabus."

The ſame poet addreſſes elſewhere Rome as a goddeſs, thus:

"Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi,
"Inter ſydereos Roma recepta polos."

Claudian places this temple on mount Palatine:

"Conveniunt ad tecta deæ, quæ candida lucent
"Monte Palatino, &c."

Says that poet, ſpeaking of the temple conſecrated to Rome (24).

(21) Vide Dion, l. li. ad. annum 735. (22) Tacit. c. 56.
(23) Liv. xliii. (24) Claudian. de laud. Stilic. l. ii.

" actions and ſayings have the force of laws, followed a " precedent already approved the more willingly, becauſe to " the worſhip beſtowed upon me was annexed that of " the ſenate. But as the accepting of that honour in one " inſtance deſerves pardon, ſo to be adored in every province, " under the ſacred repreſentations of the deities, favours of " pride and ambition: beſides, the rendering common, and " in a manner proſtituting, this honour would be detract- " ing from the glory of Auguſtus. For myſelf, conſcript " fathers, I acknowledge to you, and will have poſterity " to know, that I am a mortal man, and ſubject, like " others, to the common functions of nature. It is enough " for me to hold the chief place among you, and poſteri- " ty will ſufficiently honour my memory, if they believe " me to have been worthy of my anceſtors, careful of your " affairs, unmoved in dangers, fearleſs of private hatred for " the public welfare. Theſe are the temples which I would " raiſe in your breaſts, theſe the beſt and moſt laſting images. " As for temples and ſtatues of ſtone, if thoſe who are " worſhipped in them come to be condemned by the judg- " ment of poſterity, they are deſpiſed as their ſepulchres. I " therefore here implore our allies and citizens, all the gods " and goddeſſes, beſeeching the latter to grant me, to the " end of my life, a mind undiſturbed and a thorough know- " ledge of the laws human and divine, and the former to " celebrate my actions, whenever my diſſolution comes, with " a kind remembrance." Thus ſpoke Tiberius; but his reaſoning, however judicious and wiſe, was variouſly conſtrued, ſome aſcribing his thus rejecting divine honours to modeſty, others to diffidence, and many to a meanneſs of ſpirit unbecoming a prince. But whatever was his motive, he thenceforth continued to ſlight upon all occaſions, and even in private converſation, divine honours [g].

Sejanus aſks young Livia in marriage.

And now Sejanus, intoxicated with his exceſſive power, and beſides egged on by the importunity of Livia, the widow of Druſus, who was continually reminding him of his promiſe, preſented a memorial to the emperor, begging, that if an huſband were ſought for Livia, he would remember his friend, to whom he had already given innumerable inſtances of his affection and benevolence. He added, that Auguſtus, in the diſpoſal of his daughter, had not been without thoughts of ſome Roman knight; that he had nothing in view but the glory of ſuch an affinity and the ſafety of his children, ſince their alliance with the imperial family would ſufficient-

ly

[g] Idem, c. 37, 38.

ly ſcreen them againſt the wrath and malice of Agrippina; for himſelf, he ſaid, he cared to live no longer, than he could be ſerviceable to ſo gracious and benevolent a prince. Tiberius for a preſent anſwer commended the fidelity of Sejanus, curſorily recapitulated his own favours towards him, and demanded time to examine his requeſt with more maturity. At length he returned this anſwer: "That princes "were not, like other men, guided in their purſuits by the "notions of conveniency, but were in their actions chiefly to conſider the applauſe and approbation of the public; and therefore, that he would not put Sejanus off with "this obvious and plauſible anſwer, that Livia could herſelf determine whether ſhe would marry again or no, or "that ſhe had a mother and grandmother, with whom, "as nearer relations, ſhe might adviſe; but would deal "more candidly with him: And in the firſt place, as to the "enmity of Agrippina, it would become more outrageous, "if by the marriage of Livia the houſe of the Cæſars were "rent, as it were, into two oppoſite parties; that even "as things ſtood, great emulation reigned among the women, "which occaſioned a mutual miſunderſtanding in his grandſons. What would be the conſequence, if by ſuch a "marriage the conteſt and diſagreement were heightened? For you are deceived, Sejanus, ſaid he, if you think "to continue then in the ſame rank you are now in. Can "you imagine, that Livia, who was firſt married to Caius "Cæſar, and afterwards to Druſus, will be ſatisfied to grow "old with a perſon only of the equeſtrian rank? If I ſhould "ſuffer you after your marriage to remain in the ſame "ſtation, do you think, that thoſe would ſuffer it, who "have ſeen her brother, her father, and her anceſtors, ſhining in the firſt dignities? You propoſe continuing in your "preſent rank; but thoſe very magiſtrates and great men, "who in all affairs affect to conſult you, openly complain, "that you are already lifted up above the rank of a knight, "that you ſurpaſs in power all my father's friends, and there"fore out of hatred to you cenſure me. Auguſtus, you "ſay, had ſome thoughts of giving his daughter in mar"riage to a Roman knight. What wonder, if diſtracted "with innumerable cares, and well appriſed to what a "great height he raiſed the perſon whom he diſtinguiſhed "with that match, he talked of Proculeius (D) and ſome "others

Tiberius's anſwer to him.

(D) Caius Proculeius was brother to Varro Muræna, who conſpired

" others of the ſame rank, remarkable for the retiredneſs of
" their lives, and no ways engaged in affairs of ſtate? But
" if we are moved by the heſitation of Auguſtus, how much
" more ought we to be influenced by the reſolution he took
" in the end of giving his daughter firſt to Agrippa, and af-
" terwards to me? Theſe conſiderations I have out of friend-
" ſhip ſuggeſted to you; however, I will not oppoſe your
" inclinations, or thoſe of Livia. What I am now medi-
" tating with myſelf in your favour, by what ties I am con-
" triving to bind you to me, I will forbear at preſent to re-
" late. Thus much only I will ſay, that there is nothing ſo
" high, but your abilities and zeal for me may juſtly claim.
" Theſe my ſentiments, I will, on a proper occaſion, de-
" clare, either in the ſenate, or the aſſembly of the people."
Sejanus was alarmed at this anſwer, as being well acquainted with the emperor's obſcure and diſtruſtful temper: laying therefore aſide all thoughts of marrying Livia, he earneſtly entreated him not to give ear to the ſlanderous reports of his enemies, nor hearken to the malicious inſinuations of ſuch as hated him, only on account of his unſhaken fidelity. The more he reflected on Tiberius's anſwer, the more apprehenſive he grew of giving him any umbrage. He was chiefly at a loſs how to comport himſelf with reſpect to the crowds of perſons of all ranks, who daily frequented his houſe to court his favour. To refuſe them admittance would be impairing his power, and the encouraging of them might, as he juſtly apprehended, furniſh a handle for criminal accuſations. In this perplexity he came at length to the following reſolution, viz. to urge the emperor to leave Rome, and retire to ſome pleaſant place remote from the noiſe and hurry of the city. From this counſel he promiſed himſelf great advantages; there could be no acceſs to the prince, but by him; all letters and expreſſes, as they were conveyed, according to the cuſtom which then obtained, by ſoldiers, who were at his devotion,

Sejanus urges the emperor to leave Rome, and his views in this.

would

ſpired againſt Auguſtus. Their ſiſter was married to Mecænas (25). His two brothers, Scipo and Muræna, having loſt their eſtates in the civil wars, he reſerved only one-third of his eſtate for himſelf, and gave the reſt to them, for which generoſity he is deſervedly celebrated by Horace in the following lines:

" Vivet extento Proculeius ævo
" Notus in fratres animi paterni."

(25) Dio,

would pass through his hands; the emperor, declining in age, and growing slothful and effeminate through the solitude of the place, would more easily transfer upon him the whole charge of the empire; finally, he himself should be removed from the crowds of such as to make their court attended him at Rome, which would stop one source of envy. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of business at Rome, cunningly insinuating to Tiberius the great and enormous inconveniencies of the city, the constant trouble of attending the senate, the discontented and seditious temper of the people, highly extolling at the same time a quiet and solitary retirement, a life without anguish of mind, free from envy and ill-will, and therefore more fit to dispatch important and weighty matters. A trial, which happened about this time, gave no small weight to the cunning insinuations of Sejanus. One Votienus Montanus (E), a man of great wit, was charged with contumelious speeches against the emperor. Æmilius the witness, a rough and unthinking soldier, to make good his evidence, repeated word for word what he had heard. The fathers endeavoured with their clamours to stop his mouth; but to no purpose, Æmilius obstinately persisting in the odious detail, and rehearsing with a loud voice all the reproaches he had ever heard uttered against the prince, who was so affected with them, that he could not forbear crying out, that he would instantly clear himself, either in their presence, or before an assembly of the people: Votienus was condemned, and, according to Eusebius [h], confined to the Balearic islands. At the same time, was condemned to banishment Aquila, a woman of distinction, for adultery, and Apidius Merula expelled the senate for not having sworn upon the acts of Augustus [i]. Next were heard embassadors from the Lacedæmonians and Messenians about the right each people claimed to a temple of Diana, which the senate, after hearing the parties, adjudged to the latter [k]. The citizens likewise

Votienus Montanus accused and condemned.

Embassadors from the Lacedæmonians and Messenians.

[h] Eusеb. in chron. [i] Tacit. c. 41, 42. [k] Idem, c. 43.

(E) Votienus Montanus is commended by Seneca as an orator of great fame (26), and by Ovid as a poet of no mean character:

"Quique vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
"Sufficis, & gemino carmine nomen habes.

(26) Senec, l. v. controver, 7.

likewiſe of Segeſtum in Sicily ſent deputies to Rome, begging that the temple of Venus Erycina, fallen through age, might be rebuilt. This charge Tiberius readily took upon himſelf, becauſe the Segeſtani were ſuppoſed to be likewiſe deſcended from the Trojans. Then a petition was heard from the inhabitants of Marſeilles, claiming the eſtate of one Volcatius Moſchus, who, being baniſhed from Rome and by them admitted a citizen, had left to their republic, as to his country, his whole fortune. Their claim was approved, and the eſtate of Moſchus ſurrendered to them. This year died three Romans of great diſtinction, viz, Cneius Lentulus, Lucius Domitius, and Lucius Antonius. Lentulus had been conſul, and rewarded for his victories over the Getuli with the enſigns of triumph: he had long borne private poverty with great patience, and afterwards with equal modeſty enjoyed great wealth virtuouſly acquired. Domitius was the ſon of Lucius Domitius, who being condemned by the Pedian law as privy to the murder of Julius Cæſar, though he was no way acceſſory to it, betook himſelf to Brutus and Caſſius, who were his kinſmen, and continued with them till their death; after which he retained the command of the fleet, which they had given him long before, and conſiderably augmented it in ſpite of all his diſaſters. At length, when the republican party was irrecoverably ruined, he ſurrendered the fleet under his command to Marc Antony, and was the only perſon, condemned by the Pedian law, who was allowed to return to his native country, where he was advanced to the higheſt honours. Upon the breaking out of the civil war between Antony and Octavianus, the former appointed him his lieutenant; but he not approving of Antony's conduct, and ſome offering to confer the ſupreme command upon him, he retired to Auguſtus, and died a few days after[l]. His ſon, mentioned here by Tacitus, led a Roman army beyond the Elb, and advanced farther into Germany than any had done before him; whence he was honoured with the enſigns of triumph. He married Antonia the younger, or, as Suetonius has it, the elder[m], and had by her Cneius Domitius, the father of the emperor Nero. Lucius Antonius, who likewiſe died at this time, was the ſon of Julius Antonius, whom Auguſtus put to death on account of his criminal converſation with Julia. Upon the death of the father the emperor removed the ſon, then a child, to Marſeilles, where, under pretence of purſuing his ſtudies, he was long kept in an honourable exile. However, as he was the grandſon of Octavia

The deaths of ſome illuſtrious Romans.

[l] Suet. in Ner. c. 3. [m] Idem ibid. c. 5.

Octavia, Auguſtus's ſiſter, by his mother Marcella, he was honoured with a public funeral, and his bones were, by a decree of the ſenate, repoſited in the tomb of the Octavian family [n].

During the adminiſtration of the ſame conſuls, Lucius Piſo, governor of the Hither Spain, as he travelled through the province unguarded, was attacked unawares by a peaſant and diſpatched with one blow. The aſſaſſin, by the fleetneſs of his horſe, eſcaped to a neighbouring foreſt and there quitted him. But the horſe being taken, the owner was ſoon diſcovered, ſeized, and put to the rack, which he bore with incredible conſtancy and reſolution, declaring in the language of his country, that his accomplices might ſafely ſtand by; for no torture or pain, however exquiſite, ſhould extort from him a diſcovery. The next day as they were dragging him again to the rack, he broke from his keepers, and daſhed his head with ſuch violence againſt a ſtone, that he immediately expired [o].

Lucius Piſo governor of Hither Spain killed by a peaſant.

The following year, Lentulus Getulicus, the ſon of Cneius Lentulus mentioned above, and Caius Calviſius Sabinus being conſuls, Poppæus Sabinus was honoured with the enſigns of triumph for his ſucceſsful exploits againſt the wild Thracians, who had taken arms, and endeavoured to drive the Romans out of their country, on account of their raiſing recruits amongſt them and conveying their ſtouteſt youths out of the country. They were, after a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, utterly defeated by Sabinus, and forced to ſubmit. This year, diſcord began to reign in the imperial family, which we ſhall ſee end at laſt in the deſtruction of Agrippina. Claudia Pulchra, her couſin, being accuſed by Domitius Afer of adultery with one Furnius, and likewiſe of employing magical charms and preparing poiſon for the emperor, ſhe flew to Tiberius; and finding him by chance ſacrificing to Auguſtus, as ſhe was, notwithſtanding her great virtue, of a violent temper, ſhe took occaſion from the ſacrifice he was offering to upbraid him, and tell him, that it ill became the ſame man to offer victims to the deified Auguſtus, and proſecute his poſterity; that his divine ſpirit was not transfuſed into dumb ſtatues and images; that the genuine images of Auguſtus were his deſcendents, of whom ſhe herſelf was one, in great diſtreſs and in the ſtate of a ſuppliant. She added, that other crimes were in vain alledged againſt Pulchra, when the only cauſe of her intended ruin was, that ſhe had unadviſedly loved Agrippina, even to adoration, not remembering the fate of Soſia, whoſe condemnation and misfortunes were owing to the

Poppæus Sabinus defeats the Thracians.

Agrippina's juſt reproach upon Tiberius.

[n] Tacit. c. 44. [o] Idem, c. 45, 46.

the ſame crime, the like unſeaſonable affection. Theſe bitter words highly provoked Tiberius; but nevertheleſs, as he had a perfect command of his temper, he only rebuked her, by telling her in a Greek verſe, which he quoted out of an antient tragedy, "If you do not reign, you think yourſelf "injured;" and then diſmiſſed her, without vouchſafing her any further anſwer. Pulchra and Furnius, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations and remonſtrances of Agrippina, were both condemned. Some time after, Agrippina falling ſick, the emperor went to pay her a viſit, when ſhe, after many tears and long ſilence, at length entreated him to give her an huſband, in whom ſhe and the children of Germanicus might find a faithful protector againſt the malicious deſigns of their enemies. But Tiberius, well appriſed to what an height of power in the ſtate the perſon would be raiſed, who married the grand-daugher of Auguſtus, and, on the other hand, not caring openly to withſtand ſo reaſonable a requeſt, leſt it ſhould betray jealouſy or fear in him, inſtantly left her, though very preſſing with him, without returning her any anſwer. This behaviour was highly reſented by Agrippina, and Sejanus, to enflame her ſtill more, and by that means haſten her ruin, employed his ſecret agents to warn her, under colour of friendſhip, that poiſon was prepared for her, and that ſhe ought to avoid eating at her father-in-law's table. As Agrippina was a ſtranger to all diſſimulation, ſhe followed their advice; and though ſhe ſat near the emperor, touched no part of the meat; which Tiberius obſerving, to be the better convinced of her ſuſpicions, after having praiſed the apples that ſtood before him, preſented ſome of them to her with his own hand. This only encreaſed the ſuſpicion of Agrippina, who, without ſo much as offering to taſte them, delivered them to the waiters. However, Tiberius, always dark and reſerved, ſpoke not a word openly; but turning to his mother, "No wonder," ſaid he, "that I "ſhould uſe ſeverity with her, ſince ſhe charges me with "a deſign of poiſoning her." Hence a rumour was immediately ſpread abroad, that her ruin was reſolved upon; but that the emperor, not daring to attempt it openly, had choſe to diſpatch her by ſome ſecret means. Tiberius, to ſuppreſs that report, by diverting the public talk upon other topics, attended the ſenate with great aſſiduity, and gave audience to ſeveral embaſſadors from Aſia, contending in what city the temple lately decreed to Tiberius ſhould be built. For this honour eleven cities ſtrove; but when the votes of the ſenators were collected, the pretenſions of Smyrna were pre-

She deſires a ſecond huſband.

She is deceived by the ſecret arguments of Sejanus.

ferred

ferred (F). It was alſo moved by Vibius Marſus, that Lentulus, to whom had fallen the province of Aſia, ſhould have a legate extraordinary appointed to ſuperviſe the building of the temple. The motion was approved, and Lentulus empowered to chuſe whom he pleaſed; but he through modeſty declining to name one, Valerius Naſo was drawn by lot from among thoſe who had been prætors[p].

[p] Idem, c. 53---57.

(F) For this honour eleven cities ſtrove with equal ambition, urging their antiquity and diſtinguiſhed zeal for the Roman people, during their ſeveral wars with Perſes, Ariſtonicus, and other kings. But the Hypæpenians, Trallians, Laodiceans, and Magneſians were diſmiſſed at once, as not ſufficient for the charge. The Ilienſes or Trojans repreſented, that Troy was the mother of Rome; but had no advantage above the reſt, beſides the glory of antiquity. The Halicarnaſſians urged, that for twelve hundred years their city had not been ſhaken by earthquakes, and promiſed to lay the foundations of the temple on a ſolid rock. The ſame plea was brought by the inhabitants of Pergamus; but as a temple was already erected in their city to Auguſtus, that diſtinction was judged ſufficient for them. The cities of Epheſus and Miletus were thought already ſufficiently taken up with the ceremonies of their peculiar deities, the former with thoſe of Diana, the latter with thoſe of Apollo. Thus the diſpute was confined to Sardes and Smyrna. The former urged their antiquity, power and opulence; they recited a decree of the Hetrurians, acknowledging them for kinſmen. For they pretended to derive their original from Atys, the ſon of Hercules by Omphale, who, as we have related in the hiſtory of Lydia, is ſuppoſed to have had two ſons, Lydus, and Tyrrhenus; the former remained in his native country, which from him was called Lydia, and the latter ſettled in Hetruria, where his followers were from him named Tyrrhenians. They likewiſe enlarged on the opulence of the antient Lydians, on the colonies ſent under Pelops into Greece, which from him took the name of Peloponneſus; their league with Rome during the war with Macedon, &c. The account they give here of their original does not entirely agree with what we read of it in Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus and Velleius Paterculus (27) The Smyrneans likewiſe diſplayed the glory of their antiquity and founders, of whom we have ſpoken at length in our hiſtory of Aſia; but inſiſted chiefly on their early friendſhip with Rome, and kindly offices to the Roman people, whom they aſſiſted, not only in their foreign wars, but in thoſe which were waged in the very bowels of Italy. They deſired the fathers to remember, that they had,

(27) Vide Dion. Halicar. l. i. & Vell. Patercul. l. i.

Tiberius abandons Rome. Year after the flood, 3025. Of Chriſt 26. Of Rome, 774.

THIS year at length, the twelfth of his reign, Tiberius put in excution the deſign, which he had long meditated and from time to time deferred, of leaving Rome. At his departure he gave out, that he was going into Campania only to dedicate a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to Auguſtus; but in truth determined never to return to Rome. Moſt hiſtorians, who wrote before Tacitus, aſcribe this his reſolution to the artful inſinuations of Sejanus; but, as he continued in his retirement ſix years after the diſgrace and execution of Sejanus, that writer thinks he was influenced by ſome other more powerful motive, namely, that of concealing in the darkneſs of a retired and ſolitary place his natural inclination to cruelty, lewdneſs, and debauchery (G). Some believed, that in his old age he was aſhamed

had, before any other people whatſoever, erected a temple to Rome, when the power of the Roman people was indeed great, but not yet raiſed to its greateſt height, ſince Carthage was ſtill ſtanding, and Aſia governed by mighty kings; they laid great ſtreſs on their generoſity to Sylla, the miſerable condition of whoſe army, ready to periſh in a ſevere winter for want of cloaths, was no ſooner related to the citizens of Smyrna, at that time by chance aſſembled, than they all ſtript themſelves of their own garments and ſent them to the naked legions. This ſignal inſtance of their great fidelity and ſincere attachment to the Roman people made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the whole aſſembly, that the honour, for which ſo many cities contended, was by a great majority conferred upon them (28).

(G) As to his debauchery, Suetonius tells us, that in his youth he was much given to drinking, that inſtead of Tiberius Claudius Nero, he was nicknamed Biberius Caldius Mero. Afterwards being raiſed to the ſovereign power, continues the ſame writer, at the very time he was reforming the manners of the people, he ſpent one night and two days in carouſing with Pomponius Flaccus and L. Piſo, to one of whom he gave immediately the province of Syria, and to the other the government of Rome, ſtyling them in his letters, "jucundiſſimos & omnium horarum amicos". Being invited to ſupper by Sextius Gallus, an old debauchee, who had been noted with infamy by Auguſtus and ſeverely reprimanded by himſelf in the ſenate, he accepted the invitation, upon condition, that he altered nothing of his old way, and that they were ſerved at table by naked virgins. He preferred a man of a mean extraction, who ſtood for the quæſtorſhip, to ſeveral competitors of great diſtinction, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had drank with him

(28) Tacit. c. 55, 56.

aſhamed of the figure of his perſon; for he was very thin, tall, and ſtooped; his head was bald, his face full of ulcers, and for the moſt part beſmeared with ointments (H). During his retirement at Rhodes, he uſed to avoid, as much as he could, appearing in public, and to conceal his debaucheries in the receſs of a ſolitary life; whence many concluded, that he had been prevailed upon, not ſo much by the plauſible perſuaſions of Sejanus, as by his own natural inclinations, to retire from the city. Some gave out, that he was driven from Rome by the reſtleſs and inſupportable ambition of his mother, whom on one hand he ſcorned to admit as a partner

him an incredible quantity of wine at one meal. He preſented Aſellius Sabinus with two hundred thouſand ſeſterces for a dialogue he wrote between the muſhroom, the beccafico, or figpecker, the oyſter, and the thruſh, which were all his favourite diſhes (29). As to his lewdneſs, exceſſes ſo deteſtably infamous are related of him by the ſame writer, that they ſeem almoſt incredible. We ſhall not defile our hiſtory with the infamous detail he gives us of them, but only relate one inſtance out of the many which that author produces. He tells us, that a very ſcandalous picture, done by the famous Parrhaſius, and repreſenting Atalanta and Meleager, being left to the emperor as a legacy, upon condition, that if he liked not that piece, he ſhould have a million of ſeſterces paid him immediately in its ſtead, he not only preferred it to the ſaid ſum, but cauſed it to be hung up in his room (30).

(H) Suetonius deſcribes his perſon thus: he was, ſays he, of a ſtrong well-ſet body, ſomewhat exceeding the common ſize; broad in the breaſt and ſhoulders, in the reſt of his limbs from head to foot well proportioned. He uſed for the moſt part his left hand, in the joints of which he had ſuch ſtrength, that he could run his fingers through a green apple, however ſound, and ſtun a man with a fillip. His complexion was fair; his hair long behind, ſo as to cover his neck, which was peculiar to the Claudian family. His countenance was graceful, though covered with ſmall pimples: he had large eyes, and could ſee in the dark, but only for a ſhort time, and when he firſt awaked. He ſtooped, eſpecially when he walked, and ſhewed always a great deal of ſeverity in his ſtern looks. He was ſlow of ſpeech, and in private converſation continually moving his fingers, in a manner which no ways became him. All theſe imperfections, ſays the ſame writer, and indications of arrogance Auguſtus obſerved in him, and frequently endeavoured to excuſe to the ſenate and people, repreſenting to them, that they were defects in nature, but no imperfections in his mind. He was very healthy, and ſcarce ever out of order the whole time he was

(29) Suet. ibid. c. 42. (30) Idem ibid.

What prompted him to retire.

partner in the ſovereignty, but on the other could not entirely exclude, ſince the ſovereignty itſelf was her gift (I). Whatever was his motive, though he removed to ſeveral places, he never returned once to the city during the remaining part of his reign. He departed with a ſmall attendance, having with him but one ſenator, Cocceius Nerva, formerly conſul, and well verſed in the knowledge of the laws, one Roman knight, beſides Sejanus, by name Curtius Atticus (K), and ſome men of letters, chiefly Greeks, with whoſe converſation he was pleaſed and amuſed [q]. Suetonius tells us, he left orders, that during his abſence no one ſhould come near him, and that on his journey he declined all communication [r]. Upon his departure the aſtrologers gave out, that he left Rome under ſuch a conjunction of the planets, that he would never return thither, and that his end was at hand. That he was never to return to Rome proved true; but the conjectures, publiſhed by the aſtrologers concerning his death, ought to have convinced the world of the

[q] Tacit. c. 57, 58. [r] Suet. ibid. c. 40.

was emperor, though from the thirtieth year of his age he lived as he pleaſed, without hearkening to his phyſicians (31).

(I) Livia having preſſed him very earneſtly, as we read in Suetonius, to advance a perſon, whom he had admitted citizen of Rome, into the number of the decuries, he abſolutely refuſed to do it, unleſs ſhe would allow it to be inſerted in the regiſter; "That it "was extorted from him by his mother." This Livia took greatly amiſs, and immediately produced certain letters which Auguſtus had formerly written to her, complaining of his ſtubborn temper and the intolerable perverſeneſs of his manners, and cauſed them to be publicly read. This inſpired him with ſuch an averſion to the empreſs, who had ſo long preſerved, and ſo maliciouſly produced, theſe letters, that being no longer able to bear the ſight of her, he was thought by ſome to have withdrawn from Rome, that he might have no farther intercourſe or communication with her (32). Tacitus makes no mention of theſe letters, but only ſays, that Livia, who knew he was indebted to her alone for the empire, ſince ſhe had prevailed upon Auguſtus to adopt, contrary to his inclination, Tiberius, and exclude Germanicus, imperiouſly reclaimed the power which ſhe had procured him.

(K) Curtius Atticus was in high favour with Tiberius, which was the cauſe of his ruin, Sejanus, who was jealous of his power, having by falſe inſinuations brought him into diſgrace. To him Ovid inſcribed two elegies viz. the fourth and ſeventh of his ſecond book "de Ponto".

(31) Idem ibid. c. 68. (32) Idem ibid. c. 51.

the falſhood of that art, ſince it proved fatal to its profeſſors, of whom many were for their predictions either put to death, or involved in endleſs calamities, which with all their knowledge of the ſtars they had not foreſeen [s]; whereas Tiberius lived eleven years after his retreat. However, their conjectures touching his death were very near being fulfilled ſoon after his departure; for as he was ſupping in a cave of one of his villas, called thence Spelunca (B), its mouth fell ſuddenly in, and buried under it ſome of his attendants; which ſo frightened the reſt, that, abandoning the emperor, they all fled, except Sejanus, who, covering the emperor's body with his own, and, ſtooping upon his knees and hands, received all the ſtones that fell from the roof; ſo that Tiberius eſcaped quite unhurt. From this time the emperor, looking upon him as one quite regardleſs of his own ſafety and only ſolicitous about his, repoſed an entire confidence in him, blindly following all his counſels, however bloody and deſtructive. This confidence the wicked miniſter abuſed to the deſtruction of the family of Germanicus, which alone could thwart his ambitious deſigns. He attacked

Sejanus expoſes his perſon for Tiberius.

[s] Tacit. ibid.

(B) Seneca tells us, that the Romans generally ſpeaking, choſe to build their country ſeats near ſome cave, to which they frequently reſorted, eſpecially in the ſummer. He gives us a very particular deſcription of two grottos or caves adjoining to the country ſeat of Vatia. The cave ſpoken of here lay, according to our hiſtorian, between the Amyclean ſea and the mountains of Fundi, or, as it is now called, Fondi, that is, between Caieta and Tarracina; for between theſe two places ſtood Amyclæ, which gave its name to the neighbouring ſea. Pliny (33) and Solinus (34) tell us, that the territory of Amyclæ was ſo infeſted with ſerpents and vipers, that the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their dwellings and ſettle elſewhere. Amyclæ is mentioned by Virgil:

——————— " ditiſſimus agri
" Qui fuit Auſonidum, & tacitis regnavit Amyclis,

ſays that poet (35). He gives the epithet of " tacitus, ſilent", to Amyclæ, either becauſe it was built by the Lacedæmonians, who, as they followed the doctrine of Pythagoras, always inculcating ſilence, were thence called " taciti," or becauſe of a law which obtained in this place, forbidding under ſevere penalties any one to

(33) Plin. l. iii. c. 5. (34) Sol. de Italia, c. 2. (35) Virg. Æneid. 10. v. 564.

tacked first Nero, Germanicus's eldeſt ſon, and conſequently next in ſucceſſion, ſuborning perſons to miſrepreſent all his actions to Tiberius. Nero was a young prince no ways ambitious, but unmindful of that circumſpection which his preſent ſituation required. He was alſo miſled and ill-adviſed by his freedmen and followers, who, deſirous of having the power in their own hands, were continually animating him to exert the courage and reſolution becoming a perſon in his ſtation; that both the people and ſoldiery longed to ſee him ſhare the government with his grandfather; and that as to Sejanus, he would not dare to oppoſe him, though he now equally inſulted the tameneſs of an old man and the ſloth of a youth. As the young prince gave ear to ſuch ſuggeſtions, ſome unguarded expreſſions eſcaped, which were immediately catched up by the ſpies placed upon him, and with aggravations carried to the emperor, who would not ſo much as allow him the privilege of clearing himſelf. He was even betrayed by his wife Julia, the daughter of Druſus and Livia, who acquainted her mother and by her means Sejanus, not only with the words, but even with the ſigns and dreams, of her huſband. His brother Druſus was likewiſe drawn into the combination, with the hopes of immediately ſucceeding Tiberius, if his elder brother, already in diſgrace, were effectually ſet aſide (C). The emperor

He brings Nero into diſgrace with Tiberius.

to mention the approach of an enemy. Theſe are the conjectures of Servius in his comments upon this place. He adds, that before this law was made the city was daily alarmed by falſe reports, as if the enemy had been already at the gates, from which terrors and uneaſineſs the above-mentioned law indeed delivered them; but in the end it proved their ruin; for no one venturing to tranſgreſs it, even when the enemy appeared unexpectedly under the walls, the city was taken and deſtroyed. To this Silius alluded in the following words.

——— " quaſque evertere ſilentia, Amyclæ (36);

and Lucilius, as quoted by Servius, " I muſt ſpeak, for by " ſilence the city of Amyclæ was deſtroyed." Amyclæ was built by a colony from another city of the ſame name in Laconia, (37).

(C) Druſus was prompted to combine againſt his brother, not only by a paſſion for power, and by the uſual and too common competition among brothers, but alſo by the partiality of Agrippina, who was fond of Nero, and ſhewed no great affection for him (38).

(36) Sil. l. viii. v. 529. (37) Sol. in ibid. (38) Tacit. c. 60.

emperor, thus prejudiced againſt him, even by his neareſt relations and thoſe who were thought to be his beſt friends, always received him with a ſtern countenance; if the youth ſpoke, there were crimes in his words; and crimes in his ſilence, if he ſpoke nothing. Sejanus, having by theſe baſe arts ſet Tiberius againſt Nero, began to conſult with his creatures how he might inflame him at the ſame time againſt Druſus and Agrippina, that the whole family of Germanicus might be involved in the ſame ruins [s]. We ſhall ſoon ſee what ſteps he took towards the compaſſing of that deſign. In the end of this year, died Aſinius Agrippa, deſcended of a family renowned rather than antient (D), himſelf not unworthy of his anceſtors; and Quintus Haterius of a ſenatorial family, and famous for eloquence while he lived, though the orations he left behind him were not much eſteemed, the harmony of his voice, as our hiſtorian obſerves, which charmed the ears of his hearers, dying with him [t] (E). This year Pontius Pilate was appointed by Tiberius governor of Judæa in the room of Valerius Gratus [u]. How he behaved during his ten years adminiſtration, appears from Philo [w], and from what we have ſaid in our hiſtory of the Jews [x].

Conſults how to deſtroy the whole family of Germanicus.

THE following year, M. Licinius Craſſus and Lucius Calpurnius Piſo being conſuls, Atilius, one of the race of freedmen, having built an amphitheatre at Fidenæ, in order to exhibit in it a ſhew of gladiators, vaſt crowds flocked thither from Rome, eager for ſuch ſhews, as during the reign of Tiberius they were debarred from diverſions at home.

Fifty thouſand perſons deſtroyed or maimed by the fall of an amphitheatre.

But,

[s] Tacit. c. 60. [t] Idem, c. 61. [u] Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [w] Philo, legat. ad Caium. [x] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. X. p. 413. Note (Z).

(D) Aſinius Agrippa was the ſon of Aſinius Gallus, of whom we have ſpoke above, and grandſon of the famous Aſinius Pollio, one of Auguſtus's chief favourites, by whom he was raiſed to great honours, though the Aſinian family had made no figure till his time; and hence Tacitus ſays, that Aſinius Agrippa was of anceſtors more illuſtrious than antient.

(E) Quintus Haterius is mentioned alſo by Seneca, who names him among the orators more applauded for their delivery than their compoſitions. Euſebius calls him a ready and popular orator, and adds, that he lived in great honours, and died in the ninetieth year of his age (39).

(39) Euſeb. in chron.

But, as the ſpectators were intent upon the gladiators, the amphitheatre, which was but ſlightly built and overcharged with the multitude, fell down, and with its fall deſtroyed or maimed fifty thouſand perſons [y]. Suetonius ſays, that twenty thouſand ſouls periſhed by this ſad ſtroke [z]. On this occaſion the great men of Rome threw open their doors to receive ſuch as had been hurt, ſupplied them with medicines, and took all poſſible care of them till they recovered. Thus, to the great ſatisfaction of the city, was revived at this juncture the public ſpirit of the antient Romans, who after great battles conſtantly relieved the wounded, ſuſtained them by their bounties, and reſtored them with care. Suetonius tells us, that Tiberius, upon the news of this dreadful calamity, immediately left Capreæ, paſſed over to the continent, and allowed perſons of all ranks to come to him; but, according to Tacitus, he had not yet withdrawn to that iſland, but was either at Capua or Nola. Atilius, who had built the amphitheatre only for gain, and therefore employed bad materials and unſkilful workmen, was baniſhed; and it was provided for the future, by a decree of the ſenate, that no man, who was not worth four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, ſhould exhibit the ſhew of gladiators [a]. The public affliction from this terrible blow was yet freſh, when another ſupervened. A fire breaking out on mount Cœlius burnt with ſuch rage and violence, that it utterly conſumed all the houſes in that quarter of the city. On this occaſion Tiberius gave proofs of a generoſity truly worthy of a great prince. For at his own expence he made good the loſs of every ſufferer, ſeeking out, of his own accord, the unknown, and, without any ambitious views, without the application of friends, relieving them by his bounty. For this the ſenate returned him thanks, and decreed, that mount Cœlius ſhould for the future be ſtyled Mount Auguſtus, ſince the ſtatue of Tiberius, which ſtood there in the houſe of Junius the ſenator was ſpared by the flames, though every thing round it was conſumed (F).

Mons Cœlius conſumed by fire.

Tiberius's generoſity on that occaſion.

As

[y] Tacit. c. 62. [z] Suet. ibid. c. 40. [a] Tacit. c. 63.

(F) Suetonius diſagreeing, as he often does, with Tacitus, tells us, that Tiberius exerted on this occaſion his generoſity, and made good to the ſufferers all the loſſes they had ſuſtained; but that he did it with ſo much affectation of his own liberality, that he cauſed mount Cœlius to be called thenceforth mount Auguſtus,

As the univerſal zeal of the great men in Rome and the generous bounty of the prince adminiſtered great relief in the preſent misfortunes, ſo the fury and rage of the informers, which grew daily more dreadful, involved without alleviation the moſt illuſtrious citizens in endleſs calamities. Quintilius Varus, a man of great wealth and related to the emperor (G), was accuſed by Domitius Afer, the ſame who had arraigned his mother Claudia Pulchra. The informer had, it ſeems, ſquandered away what he had earned by procuring the condemnation of Claudia; and therefore in hopes of a more ample reward had marked out and doomed to deſtruction Varus, one of the moſt wealthy men in Rome. The city was ſurpriſed to ſee Publius Dolabella, a man of an illuſtrious family and nearly related to Varus, join a perſon of ſuch an infamous character as Afer, againſt his kinſman. The ſenate was ſo ſhocked with it, that they refuſed to hear the charge, and voted, that the trial ſhould be poſtponed till the return of the emperor [b].

Informers become more dreadful.

In the mean time, Tiberius, having dedicated the temples in Campania, though he had by an edict warned the public not to diſturb him, and poſted ſoldiers on all the roads to prevent the concourſe of people to the towns where he reſided, nevertheleſs hating all towns and every place on the continent, retired at length to Capreæ, an iſland ſeparated from the cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. The air is mild there in the winter, the cold winds being intercepted by a mountain, and refreſhed in the ſummer by gales from the weſt. The ſea, open all round it, makes a delightful view: from thence was ſeen then one of the moſt beautiful coaſts

Tiberius retires to Capreæ.

[b] Idem, c. 66.

guſtus, with a view of perpetuating the memory of his liberality. Tiberius was, as evidently appears from innumerable inſtances, an utter enemy to all flattery, pomp, and oſtentation, which inclines us to prefer the authority of Tacitus to that of Suetonius.

(G) Quintilius Varus was probably ſon to the commander of that name, who was with the Roman legions cut off in Germany in the manner we have related above. He married one of Germanicus's daughters, as we read in Seneca (40). Beſides, he was the ſon of Claudia Pulchra, whom Tacitus calls Agrippina's couſin, and by that means too related to the reigning family.

(40) Senec. l. i. controverſ. 3.

in the world; but which was afterwards greatly damaged by the eruptions of mount Veſuvius. The iſland was ſurrounded on all ſides with inacceſſible rocks, and a profound and almoſt bottomleſs ſea, which was void of havens, and had but few ſtations for the ſmaller veſſels, and thoſe very difficult of acceſs; ſo that none could put in unperceived by the guards (H); and this, as is commonly believed, was what chiefly took Tiberius, who confined himſelf to twelve ſtately villas on the iſland, ſome of which were probably built by Auguſtus, who, liking the ſolitude and mild air of the place, purchaſed it, according to Dion Caſſius [c], of the Neapolitans. There Tiberius ſpent the laſt ten years of his life, giving himſelf entirely up to the moſt infamous lewdneſs and debaucheries, which for us ſhall be buried in oblivion, who think the detail Suetonius has publiſhed of them equally ſcandalous and unworthy of an hiſtorian. In that dark receſs he threw off all concern for the commonwealth, though he had been to that time very aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and wholly intent upon public cares. But nevertheleſs he retained his old inclination to ſuſpicions, and gave more credit than ever to informers, Sejanus enflaming his jealouſies and fomenting his diſtruſts for the private views of his ambition. Secret ſpies and informers were employed in all parts of the city, which cauſed daily diſturbances and the ruin of many worthy citizens. If a perſon of merit teſtified any zeal for the glory of the empire, Tiberius immediately ſuſpected it was from a ſecret deſign of gaining it. If another had an innocent remembrance of liberty, he was looked upon as a dangerous perſon, and one who aimed at re-eſtabliſhing the commonwealth. To praiſe any of the antient Romans was a capital crime; to bewail Auguſtus was complaining of Tiberius, &c. Every action became liable to forced interpretations; the moſt innocent diſcourſes expreſſed evil deſigns; a diſcreet ſilence concealed miſchievous intentions; joy betrayed hopes of the prince's

Gives himſelf there up to all manner of wickedneſs.

The effects of his ſuſpicions.

[c] Dio, l. lii. p. 495.

(H) Suetonius tells us, that a few days after his arrival in the iſland of Capreæ, a fiſherman brought him a mullet of an extraordinary ſize; but that the emperor, inſtead of rewarding him, cauſed him to be uſed moſt barbarouſly, being frightened with the conſideration, that he had made his way to him through places which he thought unfrequented and inacceſſible (41).

(41) Suet. ibid. c. 60.

prince's death, melancholly envy of his proſperity, and fear the juſt apprehenſions of a guilty conſcience. So that to ſpeak, to be ſilent, to be glad, to be grieved, to be fearful, or aſſured, were all crimes, and frequently puniſhed with death. But Sejanus's pernicious practices and wicked devices were chiefly levelled againſt Agrippina and her ſon Nero. As there was now no acceſs to Tiberius, but by him, he made no longer his attempts upon them a ſecret, but openly placed guards about them to obſerve the meſſages they ſent, the viſits and company they received, their behaviour in public, their private converſation, &c. Beſides, he ſuborned ſome of their friends, to adviſe them, as they were thus diſtreſſed, either to fly to the armies in Germany, or, embracing the ſtatue of Auguſtus in the forum, to implore the aid and protection of the ſenate and Roman people. Theſe counſels, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge, as if they had intended to put them in execution [d].

THE following year, when Appius Junius Silanus and P. Silius Nerva were conſuls, began tragically. Titius Sabinus, an illuſtrious Roman knight, was hurried to priſon, for no other crime but his ſteady and faithful adherence to the family of Germanicus, being circumvented by the blackeſt treachery. One Latinius Latiaris, having inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip with a deſign to betray him, firſt bewailed the caſe of Agrippina and her ſon Nero; and then, as Sabinus burſt into tears, inveighed bitterly againſt Sejanus's pride and cruelty, not ſparing the emperor himſelf. Sabinus, not aware of the ſnare, approved all he ſaid; and being ſoftened with compaſſion for the misfortunes of the unhappy family of his friend Germanicus, he added many, but ſevere, reflections of his own upon the cruelty of Tiberius, and imperious conduct of his favourite miniſter. And now the traytor, wanting only witneſſes to compaſs the ruin of one who repoſed in him an entire confidence, placed three ſenators, who had combined with him againſt Sabinus, between the roof of his room and the cieling, a place no leſs unbecoming men of their rank, than the treachery, which made them thus degrade themſelves, was execrable. The ſenators, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opſius, who, having been all prætors, aſpired at the conſulſhip, to which there was no acceſs but by Sejanus, and his favour was to be purchaſed only by iniquity, having thruſt themſelves into the above-mentioned lurking-place, Latiaris went

Titius Sabinus how circumvented.

[d] Idem, c. 67.

abroad to find out Sabinus, whom he eaſily drew home and into his chamber, under pretence of relating to him ſome late diſcoveries. Then he began his former complaints, ſpeaking mighty things of Germanicus, and exclaiming againſt the cruelties of Tiberius and Sejanus. Sabinus, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, readily joined him, and, reſuming his former detail of the calamities they had already undergone, and were likely to undergo, inveighing with great bitterneſs againſt the authors of them, Sejanus and Tiberius. This was enough; the three ſenators, who had been liſtening the whole time with their ears cloſe to holes and chinks, diſpatched forthwith a memorial to the emperor, acquainting him with what had paſſed, though they could not well do it, without diſcovering to him at the ſame time their own deteſtable infamy. Tiberius immediately wrote to the ſenate, and after having charged in his letter Sabinus with treaſon, required the conſcript fathers in plain terms to take vengeance of a traytor, who had aimed at his life. Hereupon the ſuppoſed criminal was immediately ſentenced to death, and the ſame day, the firſt of the new year, which was a great feſtival among the Romans, executed, without being allowed time to make his defence (I). The city was never

He is condemned and executed.

(I) Sabinus, ſays Tacitus, was dragged away to immediate death, with his head muffled in his robe and a rope about his neck: but nevertheleſs, exerting his voice as far as he could, he cried out, "With theſe ſolemnities the year begins; theſe are "the victims which Sejanus offers;" for on the firſt day of the new year victims were ſlain in all the temples. Such a diſmal ſight occaſioned univerſal terror, flight, and ſolitude, where-ever the unhappy victim appeared, the people, to avoid betraying any marks of grief or compaſſion, fled, and withdrew in the utmoſt conſternation; ſo that all along, as he paſſed, the ſtreets were empty, and the public places deſerted. Some, however, who had fled, returned, and ſhewed themſelves again, dreading, that their having diſcovered dread might prove fatal to them. The law, which had been enacted a few years before, granting to every condemned perſon ten days reſpite, was, it ſeems, neglected on this occaſion; for Tacitus tells us that the unfortunate Sabinus, was immediately after condemnation hurried away and executed without being impriſoned. The fidelity of Sabinus's dog made his death be more ſpoken of; for he conſtantly kept cloſe to him, followed his body while it was dragged through the ſtreets, and threw himſelf after it into the Tiber, where he periſhed (42).

Pliny

(42) Dio, l. lviii. p. 621.

never ſeized with greater dread; one relation feared another; a general diſtruſt reigned among men of all ranks; ſtrangers and acquaintance were equally avoided; nay, even dumb and inanimate things, roofs and walls, occaſioned dread and circumſpection. The emperor no ſooner heard of the execution of Sabinus, than he wrote to the ſenate, thanking them for having puniſhed an enemy to the commonwealth. He added in his letter, that he led a life full of fear and anxiety, and that he was under continual apprehenſions of the ſnares of his enemies: though he named none, yet it was no ways doubted but he meant Agrippina and Nero, againſt whom he was conſtantly incenſed by Sejanus and his creatures. Juſt vengeance ſoon overtook the authors and contrivers of ſuch a black piece of treachery; for ſome of them periſhed miſerably under the emperor Caius, and ſome under Tiberius himſelf, who, though he would not ſuffer the miniſters of his tyranny to be cruſhed by others, yet, ſurfeited with their infamy, he often ſacrificed them himſelf to the public vengeance, to make room for new ones, who were daily offering the ſame vile ſervices [e].

His accuſers meet their juſt doom.

When Tiberius's letter was read in the ſenate, Aſinius Gallus moved, that the prince ſhould be deſired to explain his fears, and ſuffer the ſenate to remove the cauſe of them. This the emperor highly reſented, thinking that Aſinius was appriſed of his diſſimulation; but, however, ſmothered his wrath for the preſent, Sejanus ſtriving to appeaſe him, not out of any kindneſs to Gallus, but becauſe he knew the more his anger was reſtrained, the more tragical it would prove at laſt. This year the Friſians, no longer able to bear with the tyranny of the Romans ſent to govern them, ſhook off the yoke, and defeated L. Apronius, who was diſpatched againſt them with a conſiderable force (K). But Tiberius

The Friſians revolt and defeat L. Apronius.

[e] Idem, c. 68---70. Dio, l. lviii. p. 621.

Pliny relates this ſtory at length, and aſſures us, that it was preſerved in the public regiſters of the city (43).

(K) The Friſians, ſays Tacitus, rebelled, rather provoked at the avarice of their governors, than impatient of the Roman yoke. Druſus laid a tribute upon them ſuited to their poverty, obliging them only to furniſh certain hides for the uſes of the ſoldiers, without inſiſting upon any particular ſize or thickneſs. But Olennius, whom Tiberius appointed to govern them, having procured the large hides of ſome wild bulls, inſiſted upon their paying

(43) Plin. l. viii. c. 40.

choſe rather to diſſemble the loſs the empire had ſuſtained, than

ing the tribute according to that meaſure. As their domeſtic cattle were but ſmall, this proved a very hard taſk upon them: at length, not being able to pay yearly the required tribute, they parted with their herds, next reſigned their lands, and laſtly ſurrendered their wives and children to bondage. Their miſeries and complaints made no impreſſion on their hard-hearted governor, which ſo provoked them, that in the end they reſolved to ſeek relief from war. Accordingly, they fell unexpectedly upon the ſoldiers, who were gathering the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets. Olennius had the good luck to make his eſcape to a neighbouring caſtle, which was defended by a numerous garriſon both of Romans and auxiliaries. Lucius Apronius, governor of Lower Germany, upon the firſt intelligence of this diſturbance, drew together ſome companies of the legions, and a choſen body of auxiliaries both horſe and foot, which he carried down the Rhine, and made a deſcent on the country of the Friſians. The enemy, who had inveſted Olennius in his caſtle, no ſooner heard of the arrival of Apronius, than they raiſed the ſiege, and marched with all their forces to meet him. Apronius, ſeeing them approach in order of battle, ordered his auxiliaries, ſupported by ſome legionary horſe, to charge them. The Friſians not only ſtood their ground, but repulſed firſt the auxiliaries, and afterwards five cohorts, ſent ſucceſſively to their relief. Hereupon Apronius ordered the whole cavalry of the legions to advance; but that body being put into diſorder by thoſe who fled, before they could charge the enemy, Cethegus Labeo, legate of the fifth legion, was ordered to fall upon the Friſians at the head of the reſt of the auxiliaries. He was attended with no better ſucceſs; for his men, being ſoon put into diſorder, would have given ground, had not the whole army, and firſt of all the fifth legion, haſtened to their relief. Then the Friſians retired in good order, the Roman general not thinking it adviſeable to purſue them: nay, he did not deem it ſafe to remain on the field of battle, till he had buried the dead, tho' many officers of diſtinction were ſlain. Beſides thoſe who fell on the ſide of the Romans in the engagement, a body of nine hundred men, who had ſeparated from the reſt, were all cut off, after having defended themſelves the whole night in a grove called Baduhenna. Another band of four hundred men, having poſſeſſed themſelves of a country-ſeat of a petty prince, named Cruptorix, once a tributary to Rome, and fearing they ſhould be delivered up to the enemy, choſe rather to fall by the hands of one another. This diſgrace Tiberius diſſembled, not daring to truſt any experienced commander with the conduct of the war. So

that

than truſt any able general with the command of the army. The ſenate indeed met on this occaſion; but, inſtead of deliberating about an affair of ſuch importance, they only decreed ſtatues to Tiberius and Sejanus, being no ways affected with the loſſes ſuſtained on the extremities of the empire, but wholly intent on ſecuring themſelves, by the moſt ſhameful flattery, againſt the evils that threatened them at home. They importuned both the prince and his favourite with repeated ſolicitations, that they would be pleaſed only to ſhew themſelves in Rome. But to no purpoſe; they could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to approach the city, thinking it ſufficient condeſcenſion to quit their iſland for a few days, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen on the coaſt of Campania. Thither crowded ſenators, knights, and great part of the people, all eager to be ſeen by Sejanus, who was more difficult of acceſs than the emperor himſelf, and admitted ſuch only as were either his creatures, or by his creatures recommended to him. His thus ſeeing the greateſt men of the empire crouching, with the meanneſs of ſlaves, before him, heightened his arrogance; nay, perſons of the firſt rank were not aſhamed to cringe to his ſlaves, to court the favour of his porters, and bear their inſults with incredible patience. Many, after having continued ſeveral days and nights in the open fields, in hopes of being admitted at laſt to his preſence, were in the end ordered to depart without the ſatisfaction of ſeeing him. Theſe returned trembling, and ſeized with dread and terror; whereas ſuch as he had deigned to receive were filled with joy, not knowing how fatal his friendſhip would ſoon prove to them. As for Tiberius, having here betrothed Agrippina, his grand-daughter by Germanicus, to Cneius Domitius (L), and ordered the

Tiberius returns for a few days to the continent.

Sejanus's arrogance.

that the Friſians enjoyed their antient liberties unmoleſted till the ſucceeding reign (44).

(L) Cn. Domitius was deſcended of a very antient family, and beſides was nearly related to the Cæſars: for he was the ſon of L. Domitius, of whom we have ſpoken above, and Antonia Major, the daughter of Octavia and Marc Antony; ſo that Auguſtus was his great uncle. By Agrippina he had the emperor Nero, and was, as Suetonius obſerves, worthy to be the father of ſuch a prince, being in every part of his life deteſtable. In his youth he attended Caius Cæſar into the Levant, and there ſlew one of his freedmen, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he refuſed to drink

(44) Tacit. annal. l. iv. c. 72, 73.

the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome, he quitted the continent and returned to his iſland [f]. This year died Julia, granddaughter to Auguſtus, by whom, after her marriage with Æmilius Paulus, ſhe had been on account of her looſe and ſcandalous behaviour baniſhed to the iſland of Trimetus, where ſhe died after twenty years of exile.

The death and character of Livia.

THE following year, L. Rubellius Geminus and Caius Fuſius Geminus (M) being conſuls, died Livia, the mother of Tiberius, commonly ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions Julia Auguſta, becauſe adopted by Auguſtus in his laſt will into the Julian family. We have already ſpoken of her deſcent and marriage with Auguſtus, by whom ſhe had no iſſue; but by the marriage of Germanicus and Agrippina, her blood came to be mixed with that of Auguſtus in their great grandchildren. She had an abſolute ſway over Auguſtus, which ſhe acquired and maintained, ſays Dion Caſſius, by a ready acquieſcence to his will, without ever betraying the leaſt deſire to know what he concealed from her, or any jealouſy or diſſatisfaction on account of his intrigues with other women [g]. In her were united the wiſdom of her huſband and

[f] Tacit. c. 71---75. [g] Dio, l. lvii. p. 619.

drink as much as he commanded him. On his return to Rome he drove his chariot over a boy on purpoſe, and trod him to death: in the midſt of the forum he pulled out the eye of a Roman knight, for reprehending him with more than ordinary liberty. While he was prætor, he defrauded the victors in the chariot races of their prizes. About the latter end of Tiberius's reign he was accuſed of treaſon, of adultery, and inceſt with his ſiſter Lepida; but Tiberius dying, he eſcaped the puniſhment due to his crimes. He died under the emperor Caius of a dropſy, leaving behind him Nero by Agrippina. We are told, that being congratulated by his friends upon the birth of his ſon Nero, he anſwered, that nothing could proceed from Agrippina and him, but what was deteſtable, and would prove pernicious to the commonwealth (45).

(M) The conſulate of the two Gemini is famous in the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, many of the antient chriſtian writers having held, that our Saviour was crucified during their adminiſtration, which opinion is now followed by very few. Aulus Plautius, famous for his wars in Britain under Claudius, and L. Nonius Aſprenas were ſubſtituted to the two Gemini the fifteenth day of July, as we gather from Gruter's inſcriptions (46), and cardinal Noris's "epiſtola conſularis," printed at Bologna in 1682 (47).

(45) Suet. in Ner. c. 5. & 6. (46) Grut. inſcript. p. 1087. (47) Nor. ep. con. p. 10.

and the diſſimulation of her ſon. She was ſo paſſionate for the grandeur of her children, that ſhe was not without good grounds ſuſpected of having purchaſed it with the deſtruction of her huſband's family. For ſhe was charged with the death of Marcellus, of Caius and Lucius Cæſars, of Agrippa Poſthumus, nay, and of Auguſtus himſelf, which ſhe was ſuppoſed by ſome to have haſtened. She was an irreconcileable enemy to Julia the daughter of Auguſtus, and never ceaſed perſecuting her whole offspring. She challenged an equal ſhare with her ſon in the power which ſhe had procured him. This Tiberius was not of a temper to bear; and hence the miſunderſtanding between them, which gave occaſion to the ſatirical verſes, we have related above. He frequently warned her not to meddle with ſtate affairs, which he ſaid were above the ſphere of a woman. He avoided her converſation, eſpecially in private, as much as he decently could, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be governed by her counſels. Being informed, that on occaſion of a fire ſhe had run immediately among the people, encouraging both them and the ſoldiers to ſtop the rage of the flames, as ſhe uſed to do in the time of Auguſtus, he reprimanded her with ſome acrimony [h]. We are told, that by degrees he arrived at ſuch a height of iniquity, as to hate and deteſt her [i]. At leaſt it is certain, that during the three years ſhe lived after his retirement, he never ſaw her but once, and then for a very ſhort time. In her laſt malady, he never came near her, though he conſtantly gave out that he deſigned to pay his laſt offices to her; inſomuch, that her body was kept, in continual expectation of his arrival, till it began to putrify, and could be no longer borne. Afterwards he excuſed himſelf by a letter to the ſenate, pleading the multitude of public affairs. He would not ſuffer any divine honours to be paid to her memory, pretending her expreſs command to the contrary. Nay, in his letter to the ſenate, he reflected on thoſe who courted the friendſhip of women, alluding to the conſul Fuſius, who was a great favourite of the ſex, in high eſteem with Livia, but hated by Tiberius, whom, as he was a man of wit, he uſed to play upon with biting ſarcaſms [k]. We are told, that he proſecuted all her friends, above all, thoſe to whom ſhe had committed the care of her funeral; that of the many honours decreed her, he admitted but very few, and that he ſuppreſſed her laſt will, which was not executed till

Tiberius's ingratitude to her.

[h] Suet. ibid. c. 50. [i] Idem, c. 51. Dio, l. lvii. p. 603.
[k] Tacit. annal. l. v. c. 1.

till after his death under his ſucceſſor Caius, who cauſed divine worſhip to be appointed her [l]. She died, according to Pliny [m], in the eighty-ſecond, according to Dion Caſſius, in the eighty-ſixth, year of her age.

He becomes more cruel after her death.

THOUGH Tiberius allowed his mother no great power, nevertheleſs, as he was indebted to her for the empire, he avoided openly oppoſing her; ſo that by her means many innocent perſons were ſaved from ruin, Sejanus not daring to arrogate an authority ſuperior to that of a parent. But after her death, both the prince and his favourite, being let looſe from all reſtraint, ſet no bounds to their unbridled fury. Letters were immediately diſpatched to the ſenate againſt Agrippina and Nero, which were thought to have been written before, and ſuppreſſed by Livia. They were couched in terms remarkably bitter, and yet they charged Nero with no crimes againſt the ſtate, but only with unnatural luſt and other impure pleaſures. Agrippina's known virtue ſcreened her from any imputations of this nature; her haughty looks therefore, and her violent, imperious, and ungoverna-

Writes to the ſenate againſt Agrippina and Nero.

ble temper, were alledged againſt her. Theſe letters, when read in the ſenate, ſtruck the whole aſſembly with terror. The fathers continued long ſilent, looking with ſurpriſe at one another, till at length, ſome, deſirous of currying favour with Sejanus and Tiberius, demanded that they ſhould proceed upon the emperor's letters. The magiſtrates and leading men were at a loſs how to behave on ſo nice and critical a ſubject; for though the expreſſions in the letter were very bitter, yet all the reſt was left ambiguous. At length they concurred with Junius Ruſticus, whom they thought well acquainted with the emperor's intentions, ſince by him he had been appointed to keep a journal of their proceedings. Ruſticus had never before ſhewn the leaſt inſtance of generoſity, but nevertheleſs either by ſome ſecret impulſe, or becauſe unmindful of preſent dangers, he dreaded leſs Tiberius than the children of Agrippina, he oppoſed Cotta Meſſalinus's cruel motion, and exhorted the conſuls to ſuſpend their deliberations, and allow the old man time to change his wrath into repentance, ſince one moment might give a new turn to affairs. At the ſame time, the people, carrying with them the images of Agrippina and Nero, ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, and, wiſhing happineſs and proſperity to Tiberius, cried out inceſſantly, that the letters were counterfeit,

[l] Suet. ibid. & Lipſ. in Tacit. annal. 5. not. 5. [m] Plin. l. xiv. c. 16. [n] Dio, l. lviii. p. 621.

terfeit, and that the ruin of the prince's family was purſued againſt his will, and without his privity. Nothing was therefore concluded that day. In the mean time, ſeveral ſpeeches were diſperſed about the city, ſaid to have been uttered in the ſenate againſt Sejanus by the conſulars; but all feigned, and filled with moſt bitter and ſatirical reflections, as the authors of them were not known. This fired Sejanus, who immediately wrote to the ſenate, upbraiding them in the ſharpeſt terms with deſpiſing the reſentments of the prince, with liſtening to popular and diſaffected harangues, with paſſing new and unprecedented acts, &c. He concluded, that nothing wanted to complete their rebellion, but to take arms, and place at their head thoſe, whoſe images they had already choſen for their enſigns. Tiberius likewiſe wrote a ſecond letter to the ſenate, repeating his reproaches againſt his grandſon and daughter-in-law, and complaining of Ruſticus, the ſenate, and the people, for inſulting his authority, and making no account of his reſentment; but at the ſame time he reſerved to himſelf the final deciſion of the whole affair. The ſenate heſitated no longer, but inſtantly declared, that they were ready to inflict the deſerved puniſhments on ſuch as had by their crimes provoked his diſpleaſure, provided he would allow them on ſo juſt an occaſion to exert their authority [o]. We are ſorry we cannot give ſuch an account as the reader may expect of the further proceedings of the emperor and the ſenate againſt the unhappy Agrippina and her children, being deſtitute in this place of our faithful guide Tacitus, in whoſe excellent hiſtory begins here a chaſm for almoſt three years, by which we have loſt the detail of the moſt material tranſactions of Tiberius's reign, namely of the condemnation and baniſhment of Agrippina and her two children, Nero and Druſus, of the diſgrace and execution of Sejanus, of the further wickedneſs and death of Livilla, the widow of Druſus and daughter-in-law to Tiberius, &c. In ſhort, time has robbed us of the flower, we may ſay, of Tacitus's incomparable annals; ſo that we muſt, for the tranſactions of this year and the two following, recur to other writers, and be ſatisfied with their accounts, however imperfect. As for Agrippina, ſhe was condemned and baniſhed to the iſland of Pandataria, now known by the name of Santa Maria, over-againſt Tarracina and Gaeta. We are told, that, as ſhe could not forbear reproaching Tiberius with cruelty, and bitterly inveighing againſt him, the centurion, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed,

Sejanus's letter to the ſenate.

Agrippina and Nero condemned.

[o] Tacit. annal. l. v. c. 2.—5.

mitted, gave her ſo many blows on the face, that he ſtruck out one of her eyes [p]. Nero her eldeſt ſon, was likewiſe condemned and baniſhed to the iſland of Pontia, now Ponza, near that of Pandataria; and Druſus, her ſecond ſon, by the ſame vile arts of Sejanus, declared an enemy to the ſtate, and kept under cloſe confinement in the lower part of the palace. Nero died ſoon after in the place of his exile, ſome ſay for want of neceſſaries, while others tell us, that the young prince, frightened at the ſight of the executioner, who entered his room with the inſtruments of death in his hand, as if he had been ſent by the ſenate, choſe to put an end to his life by voluntary abſtinence [q]. Agrippina and Druſus lived four years in exile, that is, to the year of Chriſt 33, when we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of their tragical end. Cn. Lentulus Getulicus was this year appointed commander of the legions in Upper Germany, in which employment he was continued for the ſpace of ten years [r].

Extraordinary honours decreed to Sejanus.

THE next conſuls were L. Caſſius Longinus and M. Vinicius (N). This year the ſenate decreed many extraordinary honours to Sejanus; among the reſt, it was ordained, that his birth-day ſhould be yearly celebrated; that his ſtatues, which were ſet up in every quarter of the city, ſhould be adored; that vows and ſacrifices ſhould be offered for his ſafety, &c. In ſhort, he became, after the diſgrace and condemnation of Agrippina and her children, ſo powerful and formidable, that he was more reſpected and dreaded than Tiberius himſelf. As there was no acceſs to honours but through his favour, the ſoldiers, the ſenators, and all the great men of the empire, were entirely at his devotion; ſo that by their means he was immediately informed of all the actions of the prince, while no one dared to diſcover to the emperor

[p] Suet. ibid. c. 54. [q] Idem, c. 53. [r] Dio, l. liii. p. 657.

(N) Both theſe conſuls were choſen two years after by Tiberius for huſbands to two of Germanicus's daughters. Vinicius married Julia, and Caſſius Druſilla, who became ſo famous, or rather infamous, in the reign of her brother Caius, who took her by force from her huſband (48). C. Caſſius Longinus and L. Nævius Surdinus were ſubſtituted to them in the conſulate (49). In an antient inſcription quoted by Spon, Vinicius is called Venicius (50).

(48) Suet. in Calig. c. 24. (49) Noris ibid. (50) Spon. p. 34.

emperor the ambitious designs and views of his minister, though they were all well apprised of them [s]. However, he began to suspect him at last. Josephus tells us, that Antonia, the widow of his brother Drusus, having received private intelligence of the deep designs and secret practices of Sejanus, wrote a detail of them to the emperor, sending the letter to Capreæ by Pallas, one of her most trusty domestics, the same who afterwards became so famous under the emperor Claudius [t]. The emperor, thus warned of his danger, and recovering from his fatal blindness, began to consider with himself how he might thwart the ambitious views of his over-powerful minister, and deliver himself from the impending ruin. The prætorian cohorts were more addicted to the minister than to the sovereign, being filled with his creatures; the senate was entirely at his devotion; even those whom the emperor had about him were so many spies in the pay of Sejanus; so that Tiberius was kept in a kind of captivity, from which it was no easy matter to disengage himself. But he surmounted all difficulties with incredible address, which he thought it more adviseable to employ than open force, lest Sejanus, finding himself discovered, and thence driven to despair, should make a bold push and attempt the empire. The first step he took was to remove him from Capreæ, and in order to this, he declared his intention of taking upon him the consulate the next year, and named Sejanus for his collegue. This the haughty minister, not suspecting any snare, looked upon as the greatest mark of distinction the emperor could confer upon him. It is not to be doubted, but he created him at the same time senator; for Sejanus five years before, when the emperor removed from Rome, was but a knight, and we have not in the whole Roman history an instance of a knight being raised to the consular dignity. In the end of the year, Tiberius dispatched Sejanus to Rome to take possession of his new dignity there on the calends of January, which he did accordingly; but the emperor did not remove from his island, where he entered upon his fifth consulship, and held it to the fifteenth of May, when he resigned the fasces to Faustus Cornelius Sylla [u] (O). As Tiberius continued to shew the same affection

Tiberius begins to suspect him.

He names him his colleague in the consulship.

[s] Idem. l. lviii. p. 653. [t] Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8. [u] Suet. ibid. c. 26. Noris ep. cons. p. 13. Grut. inscript. p. 1087.

(O) As the name of Sejanus was razed out of the consular tables, several writers of chronicles mark the name of Tiberius alone

New honours conferred on Sejanus.

tion to Sejanus, the ſenate was for the greateſt part of the year wholly taken up in decreeing him new honours. His name was added to that of Tiberius in all inſcriptions; new ſtatues were erected to him, and victims ſlain before them: a decree paſſed confirming the conſulate to him and Tiberius for the term of five years; his houſe was crowded from morning to night with perſons of all ranks; nay, the greateſt men in Rome were not aſhamed to court, with the meaneſt ſubmiſſions, the favour of his ſlaves and freedmen. In ſhort, one would have taken Tiberius, as Dion Caſſius obſerves, for the prince of his ſmall iſland, and Sejanus for the ſovereign of Rome. However, ſeveral prodigies are ſaid to have happened at this time, which ſeemed to forbode the downfall of the favourite miniſter; but if any deity, ſays our hiſtorian, had revealed what happened ſoon after, no one would have believed him [w]. In the mean time, Tiberius, to ſound the diſpoſition of the ſenate and people, and diſcover the partizans of Sejanus, wrote frequent letters, acquainting the fathers at one time, that he was greatly indiſpoſed; at another, that he was perfectly recovered, and deſigned in a ſhort time to return to Rome: in ſome of his letters he blamed, in others he commended, Sejanus. This conduct ſurpriſed the miniſter and his friends, who inſenſibly began to abandon him, ſeeing his authority with the prince ſomewhat diminiſhed. The ſenate, however, conferred on him the proconſular power on his reſigning the conſulſhip; which he did, according to ſome, on the eighth, according to others, on the fifteenth, of May, to Sextidius Catullinus. At the ſame time Tiberius honoured both him and his ſon with a place amongſt the pontiffs; but could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to give him permiſſion to return to Capreæ. The pretence Sejanus alledged for ſuch a permiſſion was, ſays Dion Caſſius, to viſit his future ſpouſe, probably Livilla the widow of Druſus, who was indiſpoſed;

Is forſaken by ſome of his friends.

[w] Dio, ibid. p. 623, 624.

alone this year. Both he and Sejanus reſigned the faſces, before the conſular year expired, the one to Fauſtus Cornelius Sylla, the other to Sextidius Catullinus (51). L. Fulcinius Trio and L. Pomponius Secundus were ſubſtituted to them; the former held the conſulate to the end of the year, but Pomponius reſigned it on the calends of October to P. Maximus Regulus (52).

(51) Grut. p. 1087. (52) Vide Pagi, an 30.

ndiſpoſed; but his real deſign was, to ſecure the perſon of he prince, whoſe guards were all at his devotion. Ti- berius, to keep both him and the ſenate in ſuſpenſe, re- urned no other anſwer to his earneſt and repeated entrea- ies, than that he deſigned to come himſelf very ſoon to Rome [x].

Tiberius refuſes him leave to return to Capreæ.

In the mean time, he began to heap honours on Caius, ſurnamed Caligula, the only ſurviving ſon of Germanicus and Agrippina. He had accompanied his grandfather to Capreæ, and artfully concealed under a deceitful appearance of modeſty his ſavage and inhuman temper. He had ſo well learnt to hide his heart, that when his mother and both his brothers were condemned, not a word, not a groan, eſcaped him, though all arts were uſed to draw words and reſentment from him. Young as he was, he ſmothered with the deepeſt diſſimulation all ſymptoms of tenderneſs and ſorrow. He was ſo obſervant of Tiberius, that he made it his whole buſineſs to ſtudy the bent of his temper, and to ſecond it in all things. He imitated his looks, affected his words and manner of expreſſion, and conformed even to the change and faſhion of his dreſs. Hence the obſervation of the orator Paſſienus, that "never lived a better ſlave, nor a worſe maſter." Tiberius made him this year augur, in the room of his brother Druſus, and raiſed him, before he had entered upon that office, to the dignity of pontiff of Auguſtus, beſtowing upon him the higheſt encomiums, as if he deſigned to appoint him his heir and ſucceſſor. This awaked the rage and jealouſy of Sejanus, who now could not forgive himſelf his paſt indolence. In the tranſports of his paſſion he condemned himſelf for not having taken arms, and openly revolted, when he was veſted with the conſular authority: he reflected with the utmoſt anguiſh on the many favourable opportunities he had neglected, to ſecure the perſon of the prince, and ſeize the empire; but the great joy the people teſtified at the preferments of Caius, deterred him at preſent from any attempts of that nature. At the ſame time, he had the mortification to ſee ſome of his friends turned out of their employments, and his enemies placed in their room. But nothing mortified him ſo much as a letter from Tiberius to the ſenate concerning the death of Nero; wherein he named Sejanus, without the uſual encomiums and commendations which he beſtowed on him in all his letters. Neither did he doubt, but the emperor had him chiefly in view, when he wrote to the ſenate, deſiring

The character of Caius Caligula.

Honours beſtowed on him by Tiberius.

The power of Sejanus inſenſibly leſſened.

[x] Idem, ibid. 625.

deſiring them to renew and put in execution the decree, forbidding divine worſhip to be paid to any mortal man; for vows were every-where made, and victims ſlain, before the ſtatues of Sejanus; nay, he was arrived at ſuch a height of arrogance, that he joined his adorers, and with an impudence hardly to be matched, offered ſacrifices to himſelf[y]. After ſo many tokens of coolneſs in the emperor towards his favourite miniſter, many, who had profeſſed an inviolable friendſhip for him, began to withdraw through fear of being involved in the calamities, which they apprehended would ſoon overtake them, if they did not, by abandoning him, in time conſult their own ſafety. The crouds, which daily frequented his houſe, inſenſibly diminiſhed: few perſons, and thoſe not of the firſt quality, attended him abroad; no farther mention was made of him in the ſenate &c. This encouraged Tiberius, who had hitherto doubted of the diſpoſition of the ſenate and people, to come to a final reſolution; which was to ſecure himſelf, without further delay, againſt the dangers that threatened him, by the utter deſtruction of Sejanus and his friends. However, to proceed in ſo nice an affair with all poſſible caution, and to prevent Sejanus from putting himſelf upon his defence, or taking any deſperate meaſures, he gave out, that he deſigned to inveſt him with the tribunitial power. But, in the mean time, he privately gave the command of the prætorian guards to Nervius Sertorius Macro, one in whom he knew he could confide; and diſpatched him to Rome with a letter to the ſenate, after having communicated to him the contents of it, and carefully inſtructed him how to behave, with reſpect both to Sejanus and the ſenate. Macro entered Rome late in the night, and immediately imparted his orders to the conſul P. Memmius Regulus, who had been ſubſtituted to L. Pomponius Secundus; for the other conſul L. Fulcinius Trio, was a friend to Sejanus. Regulus early next morning ſummoned the ſenate to aſſemble in the palace, whither Sejanus conveyed himſelf, attended, according to his cuſtom, by a detachment of the prætorian guards. As he was entering the palace, he was greatly ſurprized to ſee Macro, the more, becauſe he had brought no letters for him from the emperor; but Macro accoſting him, whiſpered him in the ear, that he had brought letters to the ſenate, wherein the emperor beſought them to confer upon him the tribunitial power. Sejanus, overjoyed at this news, entered the palace, and there took his place in the temple of Apollo, where moſt of the fathers were already met.

Tiberius reſolves upon his deſtruction.

He writes to the ſenate.

[y] Idem, p. 625, 626.

met. In the mean time, Macro, having firſt ſhewn to the ſoldiers of the prætorian guard his commiſſion from the emperor, appointing him to command them in the room of Sejanus, and aſſured them, that Tiberius had ordered a very conſiderable ſum to be diſtributed among them, took poſſeſſion of his new office, by remanding them to their camp without the walls of the city. In their ſtead Gracinus Laco, who was privy to the ſecret and commanded the vigiles, that is, the troops appointed to watch all night and prevent diſturbances, placed a ſtrong detachment of his men at the gates of the temple. And now the fathers being aſſembled, Macro appeared before them with the emperor's letter in his hand; which he had no ſooner preſented to the conſuls, than he withdrew, haſtening to the camp in order to prevent any diſturbance that might happen there. In the mean time, Regulus read aloud the emperor's letter, which was very long, and wrote with great craft and addreſs. For, after a long preamble upon other matters, came ſome complaints againſt Sejanus, which were immediately interrupted by quite different affairs: then followed other complaints, but without any bitterneſs of expreſſion; ſo that Sejanus hitherto betrayed no great concern. But when at length the emperor's orders were read touching the execution of two of his moſt intimate friends, who were privy to his ambitious and treacherous deſigns, he was ſtruck with ſuch terror, that he could not utter a ſingle word in their favour. Before he recovered from the conſternation, into which thoſe fatal orders had thrown him, he heard to his great ſurpriſe another article relating to himſelf, wherein the emperor, in an angry ſtyle, enjoined the fathers to ſecure his perſon. Hereupon the tribunes and prætors, quitting their ſeats, placed themſelves by him, to prevent him from making his eſcape and raiſing diſturbances [z]. Suetonius tells us, that in this letter Tiberius betrayed a meanneſs of ſpirit altogether unworthy of a prince, begging, amongſt other things, of the ſenate, that they would ſend one of the conſuls with a convoy of ſoldiers to conduct to Rome a poor old man forſaken by all. The ſame author adds, that he was under ſuch apprehenſions, that he had given private orders to Macro to ſet Druſus, in caſe of any diſturbance, at liberty, to preſent him to the ſenate and people, and even to declare him emperor. He had ſeveral ſhips ready to put to ſea, and convey him to ſome of his legions, if his affairs at Rome ſhould not take a good turn. He kept himſelf the whole time upon the top

The caution uſed by Tiberius on this occaſion.

Tiberius orders him to be ſecured.

[z] Idem, p. 626, 627. Juvenal. ſatyr. 10. v. 71. 95.

top of a high rock, to know, by certain ſignals agreed on, what paſſed in the capital, fearing the meſſengers might betray him, or not bring him the news with the neceſſary expedition [a]. Seneca tells us, that while the conſul was reading the emperor's letter, a huge globe of fire appeared in the air, and ſoon after vaniſhed [b]; a true ſymbol of what paſſed in the ſenate. For the ſenators at firſt, not doubting but the emperor demanded in his letter the tribunitial power for Sejanus, crouded round him, each ſtriving to be the foremoſt in congratulating him with flattering ſpeeches upon his new dignity. But they no ſooner learnt the real contents of the fatal letter, than they all to a man forſook him, not one perſon in ſo numerous an aſſembly daring to utter one word in his favour. Even thoſe who happened to ſit by him, abandoning their places, ſeated themſelves elſewhere, fearing they might be looked upon as his friends, if they continued near him. The laſt article was no ſooner read, than the whole temple reſounded with curſes and moſt bitter invectives, againſt the very perſon, on whom they had a few minutes before beſtowed the higheſt commendations. Some inveighed againſt him out of the hatred they bore him, and others through fear of being reckoned amongſt his friends. Though all the ſenators declared againſt him, nevertheleſs, as he had many friends and relations among them, the conſul Regulus thought it adviſeable not to propoſe condemning him to death, nor even to gather the ſuffrages of the whole aſſembly. He therefore only aſked the opinions of ſome, whom he looked upon as the moſt impartial and unprejudiced; and finding they were for committing him to priſon, he conducted him thither himſelf, atttended by Gracinus Laco and all the magiſtrates. A memorable inſtance this of the viciſſitude of fortune, and the inſtability of all human grandeur! How different was Sejanus ruling the univerſe with an abſolute ſway, raiſing to the higheſt honours, or dooming to death whom he pleaſed, from himſelf loaded with chains, and dragged like a common malefactor to the public priſon! Had he ſucceeded in his attempts, and entailed the Roman empire upon his race, there would not have been wanting flattering poets and hiſtorians, who would have echoed his praiſes, his liberality, his politics, with all the other topics which are urged in commendation of Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus. But Sejanus failed, and is owned to have been a traytor; Cæſar's iniquity and that of Auguſtus were triumphant, and ſo were their names. Iniquity unproſperous or puniſhed

He is abandoned by all;

And committed to priſon.

[a] Suet. ibid. c. 65. [b] Senec. nat. quæſtion. l. i. c. 1.

niſhed no man praiſes; but ſucceſsful iniquity never wants flatterers. But to return to Sejanus; he was followed from the palace to the priſon by immenſe crouds, the populace all the way loading him with curſes, upbraiding him with the many murders he had committed, and inſulting him with bitter ſarcaſms upon his tribunitial power. His confuſion was ſo great that, not able to bear it, he threw his robe over his head, in order to cover his face; but the guards, who attended him, obliged him to ſhew himſelf to the multitude, eager to ſee him humbled, and to inſult one who had ſo long rid upon their necks. At the ſame time, the populace in a ſudden tranſport overturned and broke in pieces all his ſtatues, thoſe very ſtatues which a few hours before they had adored. The ſame day, the ſenate aſſembled the ſecond time in the temple of Concord, near the priſon, when the fathers, finding all quiet in the city, by the care and vigilance of Macro, Gracinus, and the conſul Regulus, pronounced, without heſitation, no one daring to ſpeak in favour of the criminal, ſentence of death againſt Ælius Sejanus, accuſed and found guilty of high treaſon. The ſentence was put in execution the ſame day, that is, the ſeventeenth of October, notwithſtanding the late law, indulging ten days reſpite to every criminal after condemnation. His body was expoſed like thoſe of other malefactors, on the ſcalæ Gemoniæ, and afterwards abandoned to the rage of the populace, who dragged it for three days together through the ſtreets of Rome, and mangled it to ſuch a degree that the executioner could ſcarce find a limb entire to throw, according to cuſtom, into the Tiber [d]. (P).

Inſulted by the people.

Condemned and executed.

THE death of Sejanus was followed by a general ſlaughter of all his friends and relations. Tiberius, after having for a courſe of years deſtroyed every man who was obnoxious to this execrable favourite of his, deſtroyed every man who had been well with his favourite. He ſpared none who were accuſed of any intelligence with Sejanus, and any thing upon earth, the moſt fortuitous, the moſt ſlight or fooliſh, ſerved for proof of ſuch intelligence. All the ſtreets of Rome were covered with ſingle carcaſſes, or filled with carcaſſes

The general ſlaughter of Sejanus's friends.

[d] Dio, ibid. p.627, 629. Senec. de tranq. c. 11. Juvenal. ſatyr. 10.

(P) The mighty power of Sejanus, his diſgrace and downfal, the inconſtancy of the multitude, and inſtability of all human grandeur, are, with great elegance and no leſs humour, deſcribed by Juvenal in his tenth ſatire, to which we refer the reader.

in piles; perſons of all ranks, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were promiſcuouſly butchered, and their bodies caſt into the public ſtreets; neither their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or bewail them, nor even at laſt to behold them: ſpies were placed every-where to watch countenances and the ſigns of ſorrow; and when they putrified, and became noiſome, and were thrown into the Tiber, whether they floated in the ſtream, or were caſt upon the banks, no one ventured to touch them, no one dared to bury or burn them. Among the many who periſhed on this occaſion, Junius Blæſus, uncle to Sejanus, of whom we have often ſpoken above, ſeems not to have eſcaped the common ſlaughter, being loaded with many odious imputations [e]. Publius Vitellius being charged with offering the public treaſure, which was committed to his care, towards compaſſing a revolution, was nevertheleſs only delivered into the hands of his brother Lucius, father to Aulus Vitellius, who was afterwards emperor. Publius being ſoon weary of his confinement, and finding his trial put off from day to day, called for a penknife under pretence of writing, and pricked his veins with it, but timorouſly and without effect. However, he died, before his trial, of grief, and by his death ſaved both his eſtate and the reputation of his family [f]. He left it ſeems ſome writings behind him; for we find him quoted by Tertullian [g]. Pomponius Secundus, who had a little before reſigned the faſces to P. Memmius Regulus, was likewiſe accuſed of treaſon, becauſe Ælius Gallus, who was a friend to Sejanus, had, after the execution of that traytor, fled to the gardens of Pomponius, as to a place of ſafety. However, he was not committed to the public priſon, but conſigned to the cuſtody of his brother Quintus Pomponius, who generouſly became his ſurety. As Pomponius was a man of a gay temper, he bore his diſgrace with great conſtancy and reſolution; ſo that he outlived Tiberius, and was ſet at liberty by his ſucceſſor Caius. This is the ſame Pomponius, according to Voſſius, whoſe victories over the Catti we ſhall ſee in the following reign honoured with a triumph. If Pomponius was kept confined ſo long as Tiberius lived after the death of Sejanus, that is, ſeven years, only for ſome ſigns, not ſhewn by him neither, of friendſhip between him and a friend of Sejanus, we may judge

Junius Blæſus put to death.

Publius Vitellius arraigned;

And Pomponius Secundus.

[e] Tacit. annal. v. c. 7. [f] Tacit ibid. c. 8. Suet. in Vitell. c. 2. and 3. [g] Tertull. in apologet.

judge from thence with how much ſeverity his relations were treated, and his avowed partizans, who had been privy to his ambitious deſigns [h].

AND now the chief friends and favourites of Sejanus, who could give any umbrage, being all to a man maſſacred, the ſenate ordered the two remaining children of the wicked miniſter to be executed, in order to cut off the whole family root and branch. Sejanus had three children, of whom the eldeſt ſon was already put to death as Tacitus ſeems to inſinuate; but we are quite in the dark as to the circumſtances of his execution, by reaſon of the lamentable chaſm in Tacitus's annals, which has robbed us of the detail of many remarkable incidents. There ſtill remained of that unhappy and generally abhorred family a ſon and a daughter, who were by a decree of the ſenate both ſentenced to death, notwithſtanding the tenderneſs of their age, and carried to priſon; the boy, ſenſible of his impending death, but the girl ſo ignorant of it, that ſhe often aſked whither they dragged her, and for what fault? adding, that if ſhe had done any thing amiſs, they might take the rod and whip her, and that ſhe would do ſo no more. But the ſenate having no regard either to her age or her innocence, ſhe was by the common executioner ſtrangled in priſon with her brother, and the tender bodies of both firſt expoſed on the ſcalæ Gemoniæ, and thence dragged with an iron hook through the city, and thrown into the Tiber. We are told by ſome writers of that time, that as it was a thing unheard-of to puniſh a virgin with death, the executioner deflowered her juſt before he tied the rope [i] (Q).

The execution of Sejanus's children.

EVERY one hoped, that, after the execution of Sejanus and his accomplices, the reign of Tiberius would prove more mild,

Tiberius more cruel than ever.

[h] Tacit. ibid. & Dio. l. lix. p. 644. [i] Idem ibid. c. 9.

(Q) The word virgo, in the law forbidding a virgin to be put to death, ſignified a girl, or a young woman under ſuch an age, whether ſhe was a virgin or no; but the grave ſenators with a chicane worthy only of ſuch mean, crouching ſlaves, took it in a ſenſe quite different from that of the law, which they pretended to obſerve, by cauſing the innocent girl to be deflowered by the executioner before ſhe was put to death. With a like cavil the triumvirs, as we read in Dion Caſſius, that they might not ſeem to tranſgreſs the law forbidding children to be put to death, cauſed one, whom they had condemned, to put on the manly robe before he was executed (53).

(53) Dio, l. xlvii.

mild, ſince to that powerful and cruel favourite they chiefly imputed the many executions, which had occaſioned ſuch a dreadful havock of their beſt citizens. But, when they expected ſome alleviation of their evils, they found themſelves involved in greater calamities than ever, the emperor waxing daily more cruel, and from this time commencing, as it were, an open enemy to his people, and delivering himſelf up to cruelty without reſtraint, and to every abomination, even to rapaciouſneſs and plunder, a vice to which he hitherto ſeemed to have no biaſs. No perſon, however virtuous and cautious, could be ſafe; for it was not enough for them to be upon their guard againſt the ſnares of the accuſers, and the falſe reports of informers; but they were liable to be ſacrificed to the jealouſy and conjectures of the emperor, when they thought themſelves ſecure by the innocence, not only of their actions, but even of their thoughts. He was under perpetual apprehenſions of the great lords of the ſenate, and making daily victims of them: their wealth and race, nay, their poverty, names, and quality, gave him umbrage: he was almoſt equally jealous of friends and enemies. Thoſe who adviſed him in council, thoſe who diverted him at his leiſure hours, fell all at length victims to his furious and diſtruſtful temper. He was ſo afraid of conſiderable men, and ſo unwilling to give them employments that made them ſo, that ſome who were appointed governors of provinces, were never allowed to go thither; inſomuch, that great provinces for a courſe of years were left deſtitute of their governors, and abandoned to the mercy of barbarous nations, Tiberius chuſing rather to ſuffer the inſults and invaſion of the enemy, than truſt any one with the power of avenging the ſtate and repulſing the public foe. This year Apicata, whom Sejanus had divorced, as we have related above, in hopes of marrying Livia or Livilla the widow of Druſus, ſeeing the bodies of her children publicly expoſed among thoſe of the other criminals, wrote a letter to Tiberius, acquainting him with the manner of his ſon Druſus's death, with no other view but to torment him, and then laid violent hands on herſelf. Tiberius, who had aſcribed his ſon's death to his own intemperance and irregular life, was ſo tranſported with rage, when he underſtood he had been poiſoned by a conſpiracy of Livilla and Sejanus, that he reſolved to exterminate all thoſe who had ever ſhewn the leaſt token of friendſhip to either [k]. Suetonius tells us, that he applied himſelf to the examination of that affair

Spares nobody.

Is informed of the ſecret of Druſus's death.

[k] Dio, ibid. p. 628.

affair ſo ſeriouſly, that word being brought him, while he was receiving the depoſitions of ſome witneſſes, that an inhabitant of Rhodes was arrived, at whoſe houſe he had lodged, and whom he had invited by many kind letters, he immediately ordered him to be put to the rack, having at that time nothing in his thoughts, but blood, torments, and revenge. The ſame writer adds, that afterwards, when he came to himſelf, and was ſenſible of his miſtake, he commanded the innocent Rhodian to be privately murdered, leſt he ſhould divulge the injury he had received [l]. Such as he condemned in the iſland of Capreæ were from a rock thrown headlong into the ſea, where numbers of ſeamen were diſpoſed beforehand with their oars and long poles to diſpatch them. He ſuffered none to be executed, till they had undergone the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent: for he looked upon death as ſo ſlight a puniſhment, that when he heard one of his priſon[illegible], named Carnulius, had laid violent hands on himſelf, he cried out, "Carnulius has eſcaped me." One of his priſoners begging him to haſten his execution, No, anſwered Tiberius, "You "and I are not yet ſo good friends [m]." But notwithſtanding the ſeverity with which he puniſhed others, Dion Caſſius tells us, that he was inclined to pardon Livilla his daughter-in-law, in regard of her mother Antonia; but that Antonia herſelf oppoſed ſuch an unſeaſonable inſtance of mercy; ſo that Livilla was this year by Tiberius's orders ſtarved to death [n].

Various inſtances of his cruelty.

Livilla put to death.

[l] Suet. ibid. c. 62. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Dio, ibid. p. 621.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,
And other TABLES.

VOL. XIV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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AN

AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. XVII.

The Hiſtory of Rome from the perfect ſettlement of the Roman empire to the death of Nero, the laſt of the family of the Cœſars continued.

THE following year, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Furius Camillus Scribonianus being conſuls (R), furious orders

(R) Domitius, the ſame who married Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus, continued in the conſulſhip the whole year; Aulus Vitellius, uncle to the emperor of the ſame name, was

Several flattering motions in the ſenate.

orders were paſſed againſt the ſtatues and memory of Livilla, and likewiſe a decree of the ſenate, commanding the effects of Sejanus to be taken out of the public treaſury, and placed in that of the emperor. This was the motion of Scipio, Silanus, and Caſſius, the principal men in the ſenate, who all urged it almoſt in the ſame words, and with great zeal and eagerneſs. Tagonius Gallus moved, that Tiberius ſhould chuſe twenty ſenators to wait upon him under arms, and defend his perſon as often as he entered the ſenate. The emperor, who was too wiſe to allow the ſenators arms, returned them thanks for ſuch an inſtance of affection; but rejected, and even turned into ridicule, the motion, as well as the author of it, adding in his letter, that he did not think his life of ſuch importance to have it thus protracted. Junius Gallio moved, that the prætorian ſoldiers, after their term of ſervice, ſhould have the privilege of ſitting in the theatre among the Roman knights. This propoſal was highly reſented by Tiberius, who in his letter to the ſenate fell upon Gallio with great warmth, demanding, as if he had been preſent, what buſineſs had Gallio with the ſoldiers, whoſe duty it was to obſerve only the orders of the emperor, and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards? Gallio indeed meant to flatter, but Tiberius highly reſenting that motion, which he ſaid tended to corrupt the military diſcipline and debauch the minds of the ſoldiers, he was inſtantly expelled the ſenate, and baniſhed Italy. He choſe the iſland of Leſbos for the place of his baniſhment; but the ſenate, thinking his exile would be too eaſy there, recalled him, and put him under cloſe confinement in the houſe of a magiſtrate.

The motion of Gallio reſented by Tiberius.

his collegue from the firſt of July to his death; for Vitellius died in his conſulate (54). We find the name of Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus in an antient inſcription quoted by Gruter, (55), where he is ſaid to have been conſul the year after the fifth conſulſhip of Tiberius; but the name of his collegue is razed both out of this, and out of another made this year at Terni, which inclines us to believe that he was the ſame Furius Camillus, who afterwards rebelled againſt the emperor Claudius, as we read in Suetonius (56).

(54) Suet. in vit. c. 2. Noris. ep. con. p. 15. (55) Gruter. p. 2087. (56) Suet. in Claud. c. 13.

magiſtrate. Such was the reward of his ſtudied flattery. In the ſame letter the emperor demanded the death of Sextus Paconianus, who had conſpired with Sejanus to compaſs the ruin of Caligula; but he eſcaped for the preſent by making an ample diſcovery of the plot, and naming all who were concerned in it. Among theſe was Latinius Latiaris, of whoſe deteſtable character we have ſpoken above. He was one of the moſt miſchievous informers in Rome, and had procured the deſtruction of many illuſtrious citizens; but now met with his juſt doom, being to the great joy of the whole city condemned and executed. The next accuſed was Cotta Meſſalinus, the moſt forward man in the ſenate to gratify on all occaſions the cruelty of Tiberius, and therefore univerſally hated. He was charged with having ſpoken contemptuouſly of Caligula, Livia Auguſta, and of Tiberius himſelf (S); and the charge was proved by men of the firſt rank in Rome. But Cotta appealing to Tiberius, a letter was ſoon after brought from him in behalf of the criminal, wherein, after relating the beginning of his friendſhip with Cotta, and his many good ſervices to himſelf, he beſought the fathers not to wreſt into crimes words perverſely conſtrued, and humorous tales told at an entertainment (T). Hereupon the fathers not only

How his flattery was rewarded.

Cotta Meſſalinus accuſed and by the favour of Tiberius diſcharged.

(S) He had traduced Caligula as guilty of the moſt ſcandalous debaucheries, as a pathic, as one deſtitute of all ſhame and modeſty; in celebrating among the prieſts the birth-day of Livia, the emperor's mother, he had ſpoken of her with diſreſpect without ſparing Tiberius himſelf: in complaining of the great ſway which Manius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, with whom he had a ſuit about money, bore in the ſenate, he had ſaid, "They indeed will be ſupported by the ſenate, but I by my little Tiberius." Theſe were the crimes alledged againſt him; and to any other the charge would have proved fatal; but as he ſtudied in every thing to gratify the cruel temper of Tiberius, and was the author, as our hiſtorian tells us, of every moſt bloody counſel, the emperor took him under his protection, and ſhewed that mercy to him, which he would have denied the moſt worthy man in the ſenate.

(T) The beginning of his letter was very remarkable; for he introduced it with the following words. What to write to you, conſcript fathers, or in what manner to write to you at this time, if I know, may all the gods doom me to greater agonies, than thoſe under which I feel myſelf daily periſhing. Such were the

only diſcharged Cotta, but inflicted on Cæcilianus the ſenator, who was the chief evidence againſt him, the ſame puniſhment which had been formerly decreed againſt the accuſers of Lucius Arruntius, one of the moſt virtuous men in Rome; but what this puniſhment was, we find no-where recorded. Afterwards, Quintus Servæus and Minutius Thermus were arraigned, Tiberius charging them as principals in the treaſon of Sejanus, and ordering Caius Ceſtius, a ſenator, to report to the ſenate what he had written to him. Thus Ceſtius undertook the accuſation; for in thoſe calamitous times the moſt illuſtrious chiefs of the ſenate were not aſhamed, as Tacitus obſerves, to degrade themſelves to the mean office of informers, ſome openly, ſome ſecretly, but both without regard to the ties of blood or friendſhip; no diſtinction of kinſmen from ſtrangers; for words ſpoken in the forum, or in private converſation, upon what ſubject ſoever ſpoken, thoſe who uttered them were accuſed, every one ſtriving to get the ſtart of another, ſome for their own ſafety, others as it were infected with the common contagion of informing. Minutius and Servæus were condemned, but ſaved themſelves by becoming evidence againſt others, namely, Julius Africanus and Seius Quadratus. While all men elſe were affecting to renounce the character of friends to Sejanus, a Roman knight, by name Marcus Terentius,

Other perſons of diſtinction arraigned.

the horrors that haunted him even among the rocks of Capreæ; though hardly acceſſible to men, yet they could not keep off the avenging furies that purſued him, nor inſure his tranquillity. This great prince, this ſovereign of Rome, with his numerous armies, with his prætorian bands, and his unlimited power, was in hourly fear of ſecret aſſaſſins, inceſſantly racked by his own apprehenſions; and conſequently with all the eclat of empire, the moſt miſerable being in his dominions. His power indeed was unlimited; but ſo was his miſery: the more he made others ſuffer, the faſter he multiplied his own torments. All the pleaſures and debaucheries in which he wallowed without controul, had not ſufficient charms to allay or mitigate his dreadful apprehenſions, and the anguiſh under which he felt himſelf daily periſhing. Private perſons, however obnoxious and threatened, had but ſome things and ſome perſons to fear; whereas Tiberius dreaded all men, and every thing but to do evil, which yet was the ſole cauſe of his fears. Such was his ſituation and life, and ſuch are the natural conſequences of the abuſe of power.

Terentius, being accuſed on this very account, owned the charge before the ſenate in the following ſpeech, which well deſerves to be recorded: "It would perhaps be "more wiſe in me, conſcript fathers, to deny than to "acknowledge the crime with which I am charged. But "whatever be the reſult, I cannot, I will not, deny it. "I therefore own, and publicly declare, that I was one "of Sejanus's friends, that I courted and ſought his friend-"ſhip, that I gloried in it, after I had gained it. And "what wonder that I did ſo? I ſaw Sejanus joined with "his father in the command of the prætorian guards, "and next governing the ſtate and the ſoldiery, both as a "miniſter and general: his kinſmen and friends were "raiſed to the firſt employments; as every man was in "credit with Sejanus, he was favoured by Tiberius; ſuch "on the contrary as incurred his diſpleaſure, were perſe-"cuted without mercy. Of this I need give no inſtances. "Sejanus therefore the Vulſinian was not the man "we courted; but Sejanus ingrafted by alliance into the "Claudian and Julian families; Sejanus, your ſon-in-law, "O Cæſar, your collegue in the conſulſhip, your favour-"ite, and under you charged with the adminiſtration of "the empire. It does not belong to us to judge who he "is, whom you think fit to raiſe above the reſt, or on "what conſiderations you have raiſed him. To you the "gods have left the ſupreme diſpoſal of all things, and "to us the glory of obedience. We only behold the out-"ward appearance of things; we perceive upon whom "you beſtow wealth and honours, to whom you truſt "the greateſt power of relieving or oppreſſing us, which "no man can deny Sejanus to have had. But to pry into "the ſecret thoughts of the prince, and the deſigns which "he induſtriouſly conceals, is both unlawful and dan-"gerous. Let us not, conſcript fathers, fix our thoughts "on the laſt day of Sejanus; but remember him for "the ſpace of ſixteen years, during which time we adored "ſuch of his retainers as Satrius and Pomponius, and "reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with his por-"ters and freedmen. I ſpeak here of thoſe only who "were guiltleſs of his laſt deſigns. Let thoſe be puniſhed "who conſpired with him againſt the ſtate, who were "privy to his wicked attempts upon the life of the prince; "nothing can be more juſt. But as for us, who are charged "only with offices of friendſhip and inſtances of benevolence

The noble defence of Marcus Terentius.

" towards Sejanus, you cannot condemn us, O Cæſar, " without condemning at the ſame time yourſelf." The liberty of this ſpeech, and the joy that one was at laſt found who had courage enough to ſpeak aloud what they all thought in their hearts, had ſuch a powerful effect upon the minds of the fathers, that Terentius was abſolved, and his accuſers, for this and other crimes, condemned, ſome to baniſhment, others to death [o]. Tiberius himſelf approved of the proceedings of the ſenate on this occaſion, probably not daring to oppoſe a truth ſpoken with ſuch liberty, and generally applauded. But what induced him to diſſemble an affront offered him at this time by L. Sejanus the prætor, probably one of the diſgraced miniſter's kinſmen, 'tis no eaſy matter to gueſs. For the prætor in the ſhews, which he exhibited in virtue of his office, employed ſuch only as were bald, and diſpoſed five thouſand boys all ſhaved with torches in their hands to light the ſpectators home. No-body doubted, but this was done to deride Tiberius, who was bald; but neverthe leſs, he took no more notice of it, than if he had never known it [p].

Who is abſolved.

NEXT came letters from Tiberius againſt Sextus Veſtilius, formerly prætor, one whom Tiberius had long ſince admitted into the number of his friends in regard of his brother Druſus, to whom Veſtilius was exceeding dear. He was accuſed of having compoſed a ſatyr againſt Caligula, reproaching him with the lewdneſs of his life. Tiberius forbad him his table, which ſo grieved him, that he reſolved to lay violent hands on himſelf. Accordingly, having with a trembling and feeble hand, as he was very old, opened his veins, he bound them up, and wrote a letter to the prince, imploring his mercy, but Tiberius returning him an angry anſwer, he opened them again, and died. Not even women eſcaped the fury of accuſers: as they could not be charged with deſigns of uſurping the ſovereign power, their tears were made treaſonable; and Vitia, the mother of C. Fuſius Geminus conſul three years before, was condemned and executed in her old age, for bewailing the death of her ſon condemned by the ſenate. Neither did Tiberius ſpare his own friends; for by him were this year doomed to die Veſcularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus, two of his oldeſt friends, who had followed him to Rhodes, and not forſaken him at Capreæ. The former had acted a chief part in the trial and condemnation of Libo Druſus, and the latter had been employed by Sejanus to procure the ruin

Tiberius ſacrifices his own friends.

[o] Tacit. ibid. c. 7. 8. [p] Dio. l. lviii. p. 633.

ruin of Curtius Atticus, of whom we have ſpoken above. This year died Lucius Piſo, who being ſubſtituted to Taurus Statilius in the government of Rome, diſcharged that important office with ſuch credit, that by a decree of the ſenate he was diſtinguiſhed with a public funeral. He had obtained for his warlike exploits in Thrace a triumph, was univerſally eſteemed and beloved, and nevertheleſs died in the eightieth year of his age by the courſe of nature, a rare thing, as our hiſtorian obſerves, in a man of great parts and of ſuch an illuſtrious deſcent q (U). A motion was afterwards made in the ſenate by Quinctilianus, tribune of the people, concerning a book of the Sibyl, which Caninius Gallus, one of the college of fifteen, had begged might be received by a decree amongſt the reſt of that propheteſs. The decree paſſed without oppoſition; but Tiberius in a letter to the ſenate deſired, that the book might firſt be examined by the quindecemvirs (W). Lucius Piſo dies.

THIS

q Idem. c. 10, 11.

(U) We read in Tacitus, that Piſo governed Rome twenty years: if ſo, he muſt have been raiſed to that dignity by Auguſtus; for he died in the eighteenth year of Tiberius's reign. But, on the other hand both Pliny (57) and Suetonius (58) tell us in expreſs terms, that he was created governor of Rome by Tiberius, for having continued drinking with him a night and two days, or two days and two nights, as Pliny will have it, after he was emperor. We therefore conclude with Lipſius, that ſome miſtake has crept into the text of Tacitus. That writer thinks that we ought to read ten inſtead of twenty, becauſe Pomponius Flaccus, who was with Piſo at that famous debauch, was on that ſcore raiſed to the government of Syria, which at the time of Piſo's death he had held ten years (59).

(W) In his letter he gently chid Quinctilianus as young, and therefore not well acquainted with the antient cuſtoms; but fell upon Gallus with ſome bitterneſs, for propoſing to a thin ſenate the receiving of a book, whereof the author was unknown, among the prophetic books of the Sibyl: he told him, that he who was ſo well ſkilled in the ſcience of ſacred ceremonies, ought not to have taken ſuch a ſtep without hearing the opinion of his own college, and without the uſual reading and deliberation with the other prieſts. He alſo put the ſenators in mind of the conduct of Auguſtus, who, to ſuppreſs the many fictitious predictions, every-where publiſhed under the name of the Sibyl

(57) Plin. l. xiv. (58) Suet. ibid. c. 42. (59) Vide Lipſ. in hunc locum. Tacit.

This year the dearth of corn occaſioned ſome diſturbances in the city, the people urging their wants in the theatre with great freedom, or rather licentiouſneſs. Tiberius, alarmed at their boldneſs, cenſured in his letter to the ſenate both them and the magiſtrates, for not quelling by their authority the mutinous populace. This encouraged the fathers to paſs a ſevere edict againſt rioters and ſuch as diſturbed the public tranquillity, which reſtored peace and quiet to the city. In the end of the year, Geminus, Pompeius, and Julius Celſus, all Roman knights, were arraigned of treaſon and condemned. Geminus was indeed one of Sejanus's friends, but had never been truſted by him with his private deſigns. However, he was executed with Pompeius; but Celſus, by ſtretching his chain over his head, and ſtraining with great violence againſt it, broke his neck and eſcaped the infamy of a public execution [r]. This year Tiberius having croſſed the channel between Capreæ and Surrentum, ſailed along the coaſt of Campania, and entering the Tiber, as if he deſigned to proceed to Rome, came as far as the gardens on that river, having firſt poſted guards all along the banks to keep off the multitude. But he advanced no farther, being aſhamed of his cruelties and abominable luſts, and impatient to return to his gloomy rocks, and beloved ſolitude, where he rioted without check or controul in the moſt infamous and unnatural debaucheries [s].

Other arraignments and executions.

The

[r] Idem, c. 13. 14. [s] Idem annal. 6. c. 1. Suet. in Tib. c. 72.

Sibyl, had ordered that within a fixed day they ſhould be carried to the prætor and declared it unlawful for any private perſon to keep them. Upon the receipt of this letter, the ſenate, notwithſtanding their decree, ordered the book to be examined by the college of the quindecemvirs. Whether the book was admitted amongſt the authentic prophecies of the Sibyl, we are no-where told. Auguſtus, as we have obſerved in his reign, having gathered together a great number of prophecies and books of predictions written by unknown authors, whether in Greek or Latin, he cauſed them all to be burnt, to the number of two thouſand and upwards, reſerving only ſome ſelect pieces, which he depoſited under the pedeſtal of Apollo Palatinus (60).

(60) Vide Suet. in Aug. c. 31.

THE next conſuls were Servius Sulpicius Galba (X) and L. Cornelius Sylla Felix. This year Tiberius diſpoſed of his two grand-daughters, who were now of age, beſtowing Druſilla on Lucius Caſſius, and Julia on Marcus Vinicius, as we have related above. On this occaſion he wrote to the ſenate with a ſhort commendation of the young men; then touching upon the cauſe of his abſence, and the hatred and ill-will he had drawn upon himſelf by his zeal for the republic, he deſired that Macro, commander of the prætorian guards, with ſome few tribunes and centurions, might always attend him into the ſenate. The fathers readily granted him his requeſt, without any limitation either to the number or condition of the guards who were to accompany him [t]: nay, they paſſed a decree, ordering, that whenever the prince came to the ſenate, all the ſenators ſhould be ſearched to prevent their carrying arms under their robes [u]. But for all this, Tiberius never appeared in the ſenate, nor entered the walls of Rome, though he came ſometimes to the very gates, for the moſt part by ſolitary and by-ways, and flying back with great precipitation. This year great diſturbances being raiſed by the debtors, the emperor, to adminiſter ſome relief, declared, that he would lend an hundred thouſand great ſeſterces for the term of three years without intereſt, provided each borrower mortgaged in land double the value of what he borrowed. But this generoſity did not in the leaſt allay the public hatred which the emperor drew upon himſelf with his cruelties, many illuſtrious perſons being this year condemned and executed, and many others baniſhed upon the moſt groundleſs ſuſpicions.

The daughters of Druſus married.

Tiberius demands a guard.

Among

[t] Tacit. c. 15. [u] Dio, l. lviii. p. 633.

(X) Servius Sulpicius Galba was afterwards raiſed to the empire: Suetonius obſerves, that he ſucceeded in the conſulſhip Cn. Domitius the father of Nero, and was ſucceeded by Salvius Otho, the father of the emperor of the ſame name. As the name of Otho is not marked in the conſular tables, Onuphrius, Caſſiodorus, and the learned cardinal Noris conclude, that he was ſubſtituted to Galba. Lucius Vitellius, one of the following year's conſuls, was father to Aulus Vitellius, who was likewiſe emperor, and ſucceeded Otho. Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius having ſent for Galba, during his conſulſhip, and ſifted him upon ſeveral ſubjects, he at laſt told him in Greek, that one day he ſhould taſte of empire, ſignifying thereby his ſhort ſovereignty (61).

(61) Tacit. c. 20.

Among theſe, Conſidius Proculus, while, void of all apprehenſion, he was celebrating his birth-day, was ſuddenly accuſed of treaſon, hurried to the ſenate, condemned and executed. Pompeia Macrina was ſentenced to exile; her huſband and his father, two men of great diſtinction among the Greeks, were both executed; but her father, an illuſtrious Roman knight, and her brother, once prætor, prevented their execution by a voluntary death. The crime laid to their charge was, that Macrina's huſband being deſcended from Theophanes, who had been one of the confidents of Pompey the Great, they had all paid divine honours to that illuſtrious Greek. The death of Sextus Marius, the moſt wealthy man in Spain, reflected great diſgrace upon Tiberius; for though he was accuſed of inceſt with his daughter, and for that crime, as was pretended, thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, yet it was commonly believed, that his immenſe riches had occaſioned his ruin; and indeed, not without good grounds; Tiberius having, after his condemnation, appropriated to himſelf his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public. So many bloody executions, inſtead of ſatiating, ſerved only to whet and inflame, Tiberius's cruelty. For this year he commanded all thoſe to be put to death without diſtinction of ſex or age, who were kept in priſon under accuſation of any attachment to Sejanus [w]. Inſomuch, that twenty were executed on one day, and among them ſeveral women and children; their bodies were expoſed on the ſcalæ Gemoniæ, from thence with iron hooks dragged through the city, and then thrown into the Tiber. The butchery, ſays Tacitus, was dreadful and general; expoſed to the ſun lay the carcaſſes of the noble and ignoble; thoſe of every ſex and age ſcattered up and down, or ignominiouſly thrown together in heaps: their ſurviving friends were not allowed to approach them, to bewail them, or even behold them; but round the dead, guards were placed to watch countenances, and obſerve the ſigns of ſorrow: when the bodies began to putrify, they were dragged to the Tiber, where they floated, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn or touch them, the force of fear having cut off all intercourſe of humanity, and baniſhed every ſymptom of pity and tenderneſs. Among the reſt periſhed this year three of the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the empire, Aſinius Gallus, Druſus the ſon of Germanicus,

Further inſtances of his cruelty.

A general maſſacre of Sejanus's friends.

[w] Idem, c. 19.

manicus, and the celebrated Agrippina. Of Aſinius Gallus we have ſpoken above [x] (Y). He was the ſon of the famous Aſinius Pollio, one of Auguſtus's chief favourites, and married Vipſania the daughter of Agrippa, after Tiberius had divorced her to marry Julia: ſo that his children were brothers to Druſus, whom Tiberius had by Vipſania, nephews to Agrippina, and nearly related to the Cæſars. Tiberius had long hated him on account of his marrying Vipſania, but with his uſual diſſimulation conceal- Tiberius's
ed his hatred all this year, when Gallus being, we know diſſimulation.
not about what buſineſs, diſpatched to him by the ſenate, he received him in the moſt obliging manner, but at the ſame time wrote to the ſenate, requiring his condemnation; ſo that the very day he was entertained as a familiar friend at the emperor's table in Capreæ, he was condemned as a traytor in Rome, and a prætor was ſent to ſee the ſentence put in execution. However, the inhuman tyrant would not allow him to be immediately diſpatched; but cauſed him to be kept under cloſe confinement, no one being ſuffered to come near him, except ſuch as were charged to watch, leſt he ſhould by a voluntary death put an end to his miſeries. He periſhed at length, after three The death of
years painful confinement, through famine; but whether Aſinius Gal-
of his own accord, or ſtarved by Tiberius's orders, was lus.
never known. The pleaſure of the emperor being conſulted, whether he would ſuffer him to be buried, he was not aſhamed to reckon his allowing the laſt offices to be paid to him as a particular favour [y]. As for Druſus, he was con- The death of
demned by the emperor to be ſtarved; but protracted his Druſus.
life nine days by feeding, for want of other ſuſtenance, on the flocks of his bed. The inhuman monſter, not ſatiated with the death of his grandſon, purſued him even be- The mean
and ſcandalous behaviyond
our of Tiberius towards him.

[x] See the laſt not. N. but one of the former volume. [y] Tacit. c. 23. Dio. l. lviii. p. 622.

(Y) Lipſius takes this Aſinius Gallus to be the ſon of Aſinius Pollio, who was ſirnamed Saloninus, and upon whoſe birth Virgil compoſed the famous eclogue Sicelides Muſæ, &c. He owns, that no hiſtorian gives Aſinius the ſirname of Saloninus, but founds his opinion entirely upon the authority of Servius; which is very ſurpriſing in ſo wary a critic, ſince Servius tells us in expreſs terms, that Saloninus died ſoon after he was born; nam ipſum puerum inter ipſa primordia periiſſe manifeſtum eſt, ſays that commentator.

yond the grave with cruel invectives, and in a letter to the ſenate charged him with many heinous crimes, ordering at the ſame time the minutes of his words and actions to be read, which had long and daily been regiſtered by perſons expreſsly appointed to obſerve his looks, to watch all his actions, and note down every word, every complaint he uttered. The recital of this journal filled all who heard it with horror; and indeed, that a grand-father ſhould appoint perſons to watch all the actions, ſhould have all the weakneſſes or crimes of his grand-ſon regiſtered by ſecret ſpies, and thus expoſed to the world, ſeems ſuch a ſeries of treachery and meanneſs, as would hardly be credited, were it not atteſted by the moſt eminent writers of antiquity. Tacitus quotes the letter of Actius the centurion and Didymus the freedman, declaring particularly the names of the ſlaves ſet purpoſely to abuſe and provoke Druſus, with the ſeveral parts they acted, in order to draw from him complaints againſt Tiberius. The centurion, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, being introduced to the ſenate, repeated in the preſence of the fathers, as matter of glory, his outrageous language to the young prince, with the words uttered by him under the agonies of hunger. He told them, that Druſus at firſt pretending to be diſtracted, vented in the ſtyle of a madman diſmal imprecations againſt Tiberius; but afterwards, finding his doom inevitable, he invoked with great deliberation and ſedateneſs the vengeance of the gods, beſeeching them, that as Tiberius had ſlaughtered his daughter-in-law, his nephew, his grandchildren, and filled with ſlaughters his whole houſe, ſo they would in juſtice to the anceſtors of the ſlain, in juſtice to their poſterity, avenge on this man of blood ſo many cruel and barbarous murders. The ſenators, in hearing the centurion, raiſed a mighty noiſe, as if they deteſted thoſe imprecations; but they were ſtruck with amazement in hearing the detail of the barbarities practiſed by the emperor's orders upon his grandſon [z]. The death of the ſon was followed by that of the mother, which happened on the ſeventeenth of October. Agrippina had been confined before the diſgrace of Sejanus, upon whoſe execution ſhe hoped Tiberius would uſe her and her ſon Druſus with more humanity. But finding him no leſs implacable than before, ſhe put an end to her miſeries by abſtaining from all food. Suetonius tells us, that after ſhe had taken a reſo-

His imprecations againſt Tiberius.

The death of Agrippina.

[z] Idem, c. 23, 24.

a reſolution to ſtarve herſelf, Tiberius cauſed her mouth to be opened, and nouriſhment crammed down her throat by force [a]. But Tacitus queſtions whether ſhe abſtained voluntarily from all food, or was denied it by Tiberius's orders; and a report was afterwards ſpread, that death had been her own choice. Be that as it will, her death did not put an end to the malice and cruelty of the outrageous tyrant, who charged her with ſeveral abominable crimes, eſpecially with adultery, as if ſhe had maintained a criminal correſpondence with Aſinius Gallus, and upon his death become weary of life. But Agrippina's character and known chaſtity ſufficiently cleared her from all imputations of that nature; for ſhe had ſacrificed, as Tacitus obſerves, to a manly ambition all the paſſions and vices of her ſex. The emperor in his letter to the ſenate obſerved, that ſhe died the ſame day on which Sejanus had been executed two years before, adding, that ſuch a day ought to be particularly diſtinguiſhed; nay, he boaſted of his clemency, ſince he had not cauſed her to be ſtrangled, and her body to be expoſed on the ſcalæ Gemoniæ, and thence dragged to the Tiber. For this inſtance of mock-mercy the ſenate ſolemnly thanked him, and decreed, that on the ſeventeenth of October, the day of the death of Agrippina and Sejanus, a yearly offering ſhould be conſecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus for ever [b]. The death of Agrippina procured that of her declared enemy Plancina, the widow of Cnieus Piſo. She was guilty of many other crimes, beſides that which was laid to her charge of poiſoning Germanicus. When her huſband fell, ſhe was protected by the ſolicitations of Livia, and alſo by the animoſity of Agrippina, whom the ſpiteful Tiberius, could not find in his heart to gratify with the death of a perſon, whom ſhe abhorred. But as there was now no farther room for favour or hatred, juſtice prevailed; and Plancina, being accuſed of crimes long ſince ſufficiently proved, executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too late than too ſevere. Notwithſtanding the pleaſure Tiberius took in deſtroying the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome, yet he was ſenſibly affected with the death of Cocceius Nerva, though it was entirely owing to his cruelty. He was one of the moſt learned civilians in Rome, had been conſul twelve

Tiberius endeavours to blacken her reputation.

Plancina lays violent hands on herſelf.

The death of Cocceius Nerva.

[a] Suet. ibid. c. 53.

[b] Tacit. c. 25. 26. Suet. ibid. c. 53.

twelve years before, had attended Tiberius to Capreæ, and was in high favour with him, ſo that he had no reaſon to be weary of life. But though thus in full proſperity of fortune, in perfect vigor of body, he reſolved to die, and accordingly refuſed all nouriſhment. Tiberius having learnt his deſign, did all that lay in his power to diſſuade him from putting it in execution; examined his motives, and deſcended even to entreaties, declaring, that it would be a great affliction to him, that it would reflect diſgrace upon him, and tarniſh his reputation, if one of his moſt intimate friends, his inſeparable companion, ſhould thus ſhew himſelf weary of life. But notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and reaſoning of Tiberius, Nerva perſiſted in his purpoſe, and ended his life by abſtinence. Towards the end of this year died three illuſtrious citizens, Ælius Lamia, Manius Lepidus, and Pomponius Flaccus. Lamia had for ſeveral years held the government of Syria, but had never been allowed to viſit his province. Upon the death of L. Piſo, which happened the preceding year, Tiberius diſcharged him from the mock-adminiſtration of Syria, and appointed him governor of Rome. A public funeral was decreed him by the ſenate [c]. He was ſucceeded in his laſt employment by C. Coſſus, who, though a famous drunkard, was never known, as Seneca informs us [d], to diſcloſe a ſecret; whence Tiberius truſted him with his moſt private counſels. Lepidus was one of the moſt worthy men in Rome; we have already given various inſtances of his wiſdom and moderation: as to his abilities, he was in the opinion of Auguſtus, as we have obſerved in the beginning of this reign, well qualified for the ſovereign power, but not fond of it. Pomponius Flaccus was by Tiberius firſt raiſed to the government of Mœſia, where he betrayed and ſeized Rheſcuporis, as we have related above. He was afterwards made proprætor of Syria, either for this piece of treachery, or upon the merit of his famous debauch with L. Piſo and Tiberius. This year, Claudia daughter to Marcus Silanus, a ſenator diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious birth and great eloquence, was married to Caius Caligula, the only ſurviving ſon of Germanicus. The people were no leſs pleaſed with this match, than diſſatisfied with that of Julia, the daughter of Druſus and widow of Nero, who debaſed herſelf to marry Rubellius Blandus, whoſe

Of Ælius Lamia, M. Lepidus, &c.

[c] Idem, c. 27. [d] Senec. epiſt. 87.

whoſe grandfather was a native of Tybur, and only a Roman knight [c].

THIS year, the thirty-third of the common æra and nineteenth of Tiberius's reign, our Saviour was crucified, according to the opinion of the beſt chronologers; Phlegon, the emperor Adrian's freedman, who wrote ſixteen books of the olympiads, ſeems to ſpeak of the darkneſs which happened at his death: his words are; there happened the greateſt and moſt remarkable eclipſe that ever had been known; at the ſixth hour the day was ſuddenly turned into night, inſomuch, that the ſtars were ſeen: at the ſame time, an earthquake in Bithynia overturned many houſes in the city of Nice. This darkneſs, which Phlegon calls an eclipſe, happened, according to him, in the fourth year of the two hundred and ſecond olympiad, which ended about the middle of the preſent year [f]. Chriſt crucified.

THE following year, when Paulus Fabius Perſicus, or, as ſome call him, Priſius, and L. Vitellius were conſuls, many eminent perſons fell, either by their own hands, or thoſe of the public executioner, among the reſt Pomponius Labeo and Marcus Æmilius Scaurus; the former, once governor of Mœſia, being charged with male-adminiſtration, and other crimes, prevented condemnation by opening his veins, his wife Paxea following his example. The latter, a noble orator, a man of an illuſtrious deſcent, but a profeſſed debauchee, was accuſed by Servilius and Cornelius of adultery with Livia the widow of Druſus, and of offering magical ſacrifices; but his true crime was the hatred Macro bore him; for Macro, who was at this time as much in favour with Tiberius, and no leſs miſchievous than Sejanus had ever been, prejudiced the emperor againſt him, by perſuading him, that Scaurus, in a tragedy which he had compoſed, deſcribed him, and diſplayed his cruelties under the name of Atreus. But the pretended criminal, before ſentence was awarded againſt him, laid violent hands on himſelf, being encouraged thereto by his wife, who died with him [g]. Servilius and Cornelius, his accuſers, were ſoon after baniſhed into ſeveral iſlands for accepting a bribe to drop the proſecution, which they had begun againſt Varius Ligur. Abudius Several perſons arraigned.

Ruſo

[e] Tacit. c. 27. [f] Orig. contra Celſum, p. 89, & 99. edit. Græc. [g] Tacit. c. 29.

Ruſo likewiſe, once ædile, was himſelf condemned and driven out of Rome, while he attempted to get Lentulus Getulicus, under whom he had commanded a legion, condemned, becauſe he had eſpouſed his daughter to a ſon of Sejanus. Getulicus was at this time commander of the legions in Upper Germany, and by them extremely beloved on account of his great mildneſs and clemency. He was likewiſe acceptable to the legions of Lower Germany in conſideration of their general Apronius, his father-in-law. Hence he was generally believed to have written to Tiberius, that not by his own inclination, but by his advice, he had ſought the alliance of Sejanus; that he had been as liable to be deceived as Tiberius, and that it was not reaſonable a fault common to both ſhould paſs unblamed in one, and be puniſhed in another: he added, that he had hitherto inviolably maintained the alliance he owed him, and that he would continue unſhaken in his fidelity to the laſt, provided no dark plots were framed againſt him; but that he would look upon a ſucceſſor as the meſſenger of death; and therefore, they they ſhould, as it were, ſtrike upon an agreement between them, by which the prince ſhould enjoy the reſt of the empire, and he always retain his province. This proceeding, however ſurprizing, was believed, becauſe of all thoſe who were allied to Sejanus, Getulicus alone eſcaped unhurt, and continued in high favour to the laſt. Tiberius, ſenſible that he was univerſally hated, and that his authority was ſupported more by reputation than by force, did not care to attack a man, who had both ſufficient power and courage to defend himſelf[f]. This year, as Dion Caſſius will have it, or four years before, while Druſus was yet living, as Tacitus relates it, a young man gave out, that he was Druſus the ſon of Germanicus. He was firſt ſeen in the Cyclades, and ſoon after on the continent, attended by ſome of the emperor's freed-men, and by great crouds of people, who flocked to him from all parts. But in the mean time, Poppæus Sabinus, governor of Greece and alſo of Macedon, where he was at that time, hearing the ſtory, haſtened to Nicopolis, a Roman colony, to obviate the evil conſequences of ſuch a report. There he learnt, that this counterfeit Druſus, being artfully examined, had declared himſelf

Lentulus Getulicus accuſed.

His bold letter to Tiberius.

A counterfeit Druſus.

[f] Idem, c. 30.

himſelf to be the ſon of Marcus Silanus, and that many of his followers falling off, he had embarqued, as if he deſigned to ſail to Italy. Further than this, ſays Tacitus, we have found nothing concerning the origin or iſſue of that affair [g]. But Dion Caſſius adds, that the impoſtor being received by many cities, and ſtrengthened with vaſt numbers of followers, would have reached Syria, and probably been acknowledged there by the armies of his pretended father, had he not been diſcovered by ſome who knew, ſeized, and ſent him to Tiberius [h]. The ſame writer tells us, that this year, the twentieth of Tiberius's reign, ending on the nineteenth of Auguſt, the conſuls ſolemnized it with public vows and ſacrifices; which the emperor highly reſenting, as if they had taken upon them to confirm to him the ſovereign power for a further term of ten years, cauſed them both to be arraigned, condemned, and executed [i]. What Dion ſays of the conſuls of this year is not to be underſtood of thoſe we have named, but of others, who were ſubſtituted in their room, it being evident both from Tacitus and Suetonius, that L. Vitellius, the father of the emperor Aulus Vitellius, was ſent the year following into Syria to govern that province. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention him in the following reign (Z).

Two conſuls of this year put to death.

[g] Tacit. annal. 5. c. 10. [h] Dio. l. lviii. c. 637. [i] Idem, ibid. p. 656.

(Z) Tacitus tells us, that in the conſulſhip of Fabius and Vitellius, after many ages the phœnix appeared in Egypt, and furniſhed the learned, both of that country and of Greece, with matter for various obſervations concerning that miraculous bird. On this occaſion he acquaints us with the opinions of ſuch as have written on that ſubject, and tells, that they all agree in this, viz. that it is a creature ſacred to the ſun, and that as to its beak and feathers it differs from all other birds; but as to the length of its life relations vary: the common opinion is, ſays our hiſtorian, that it lives five hundred years; but there are not wanting ſome who extend its life to 1461, and affirm, that the three former phœnixes appeared in reigns greatly diſtant, the firſt under Seſoſtris, the next under Amaſis, and that the laſt was ſeen under Ptolemy, the third king of the Macedonian race, and flew to the city of Heliopolis, accompanied by a vaſt number of other

In the following conſulſhip of Ceſtius Gallus and M. Servilius Noniānus, the domeſtic evils continued, Tiberius, though now three years ſince the execution of Sejanus, being no ways appeaſed, either by time or the innumerable victims he had already ſacrificed to his jealouſy. He ſtill purſued with freſh rage ſtale and dubious imputations, puniſhing them as recent, heinous, and proved crimes. The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons, who periſhed this year, were Fulcinius Trio, Granius Martianus, Tatius Gratianus, Trebellienus Rufus, and Sextius Paconiānus. Trio, who was conſul the year Sejanus was executed, being accuſed of having been privy to the treacherous deſigns of that miniſter, made his laſt will, in which he compiled a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives againſt Macro and the emperor's chief freedmen, not ſparing the prince himſelf, whom he ſtyled an old dotard, and, on account of his long abſence, a deſpicable exile. Theſe invectives were ſuppreſſed by the heirs of Trio; but Tiberius, not aſhamed to publiſh his own infamy, ordered them to be read in the ſenate, either to ſhew that he could bear ſuch liberties, or becauſe he was willing, ſince he had been ſo long ignorant of the black enormities of Sejanus, that whatever was ſaid, and however ſaid, concerning him and his adminiſtration, ſhould be divulged; that he might at leaſt learn from the reproaches uttered againſt him, the truths which flattery ſtudied to diſguiſe. Granicus

The deaths of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

other birds wondering at her ſtrange ſhape. But the accounts of antiquity, ſays Tacitus, are obſcure: between Ptolemy and Tiberius, ſcarce paſſed two hundred and fifty years; whence ſome thought that this was no true phœnix, nor come from Arabia, and that it had nothing of the inſtinct which antient tradition aſcribes to the genuine; according to which tradition the true phœnix, having completed a certain courſe of years, builds juſt before its death a neſt in its native land, upon which it ſheds a generative power, whence ſprings up a young one, whoſe firſt care, when grown up, is to bury its father: this it does not undertake unadviſedly; but firſt tries its ſtrength by gathering and carrying a great way loads of myrrh: when it finds itſelf equal to the burden, and fit for a long flight, it takes upon its back its father's body, carries it to the altar of the ſun, and there burns it (62). Such were the opinions of the antients, touching this miraculous, or rather fabulous, bird.

(62) Tacit. c. 28.

nicus Martianus, the ſenator, being charged with treaſon by Caius Gracchus, laid violent hands on himſelf (A). Tatius Gratianus, who had been prætor, was for the ſame charge ſentenced to death; and alſo Trebellienus Rufus, who had been likewiſe prætor, and formerly appointed by the ſenate guardian to the ſons of Cotys, king of Thrace; but he prevented condemnation by a voluntary death. Paconianus, who had been choſen by Sejanus to plot the overthrow of Caligula, as we have related above, was, after three years confinement, ſtrangled in priſon for verſes made there againſt Tiberius [k]. In the end of the year, died Poppæus Sabinus, who had been conſul under Auguſtus, had acquired triumphal honours, and governed for the ſpace of twenty-four years the two Mæſias, to which Tiberius had added in the ſecond year of his reign Macedon and Achaia [l]. Tacitus tells us, that he was not diſtinguiſhed either by his birth or abilities; but was nevertheleſs raiſed and favoured by the princes, becauſe he had talents equal to the employments given him, and not above them [m]. He was ſucceeded in the government of the above-mentioned provinces by C. Memmius Regulus [n]. As for the diſturbances which happened this year in Armenia, Parthia, and Cilicia, the reader will find them deſcribed by us at length in the hiſtories of thoſe kingdoms.

The following year, Q. Plautius and Sextus Papinius Allenius being conſuls, the ſame courſe of ſlaughter continued unrelenting. Lycius Aruſeius and ſeveral others

[k] Idem, c. 38, 39. Dio. p. 626. [l] Tacit. ibid. Dio. p. 637. [m] Tacit. ibid. [n] Dio, ibid.

(A) No wonder, that voluntary deaths ſhould be ſo common at Rome, not yet illuminated with the light of the goſpel. For thoſe, who fell by the hand of the executioner, forfeited their eſtates with their lives, and were debarred the honour of burial. Their bodies were publicly expoſed to the inſults of the populace, dragged through the ſtreets with iron hooks, and thrown into the Tiber. No criminal, of what rank ſoever, nay not even women, were exempted from this baſe treatment. On the other hand, the bodies of ſuch, as by a voluntary death prevented condemnation, were interred; their wills remained in force, and their eſtates devolved to their children (63).

(63) Tacit. c. 29. Dio, l. lviii. p. 630. Suet. in Tib. 3, 53.

were condemned and executed. Such executions were now become ſo frequent and familiar, that they were hardly taken notice of; but that of Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman knight, ſtruck all with terror and amazement. After his accuſers had finiſhed their pleadings againſt him, he pulled out poiſon, which he had concealed under his gown, and ſwallowed it in open ſenate. He immediately fell, ſo potent was the poiſon; but nevertheleſs was haſtily dragged by the lictors to the dungeon, where though ready to expire, he was ſtrangled by the common executioner [o]. Caius Galba, a conſular and brother to the emperor of this name, with the two Blæſi, fell by their own hands; Galba, upon the receipt of a letter from the emperor, forbidding him to caſt lots for the government of a province; and the Blæſi, becauſe Tiberius beſtowed their prieſthoods, as vacant dignities, upon others; this they took as a ſignal of death, and obeyed it. Tigranes, grandſon to Herod king of Judæa by his father Alexander, and to Archelaus king of Cappadocia by his mother Glaphyra [p], and who had himſelf reigned ſome time in Armenia, was accuſed like a private citizen,

Tigranes put to death.

and, without any regard to the royal dignity, condemned and executed with the other pretended criminals [q]. This prince and his elder brother Alexander had renounced the Jewiſh, and embraced the Pagan religion out of complaiſance to their grandfather Archelaus. Agrippa their couſin-german was in the month of September dragged to priſon loaded with chains, and kept there under cloſe confinement till the death of Tiberius, as we have related in the hiſtory of the Jews. The ſame year, the city ſuffered greatly by an inundation of the Tiber [r], and by fire, which burnt down that part of the circus which was contiguous to mount Aventine, and all the buildings on the mount itſelf.

The generoſity of Tiberius on occaſion of a fire.

This misfortune turned to the glory of the prince, for he paid the value of the houſes deſtroyed, and expended in this bounty an hundred thouſand great ſeſterces; which proved the more acceptable to the people, ſays Tacitus, as he had ever been ſparing in private buildings (B). To make an eſtimate

[o] Tacit. c. 40. Dio, p. 634. Suet. in Tib. c. 61. [p] Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. [q] Tacit. c. 40. [r] Dio, p. 638.

(B) Tacitus tells us, that this bounty proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever ſparing in private buildings; and adds

eſtimate of every man's loſs, he appointed his four ſons-in-law, Cneius Domitius, Caſſius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus, aſſiſted by Publius Petronius, nominated by the conſuls [r]. The eccleſiaſtic writers tell us, that in this or the preceding year, Pontius Pilate wrote to Tiberius an account of the paſſion, reſurrection, and miracles of our Saviour, adding, that the number of his followers daily encreaſed, and that he was accounted a God. Hereupon the emperor, ſay they, made a report of the whole matter to the ſenate, with this favourable ſuffrage, that Chriſt might be reckoned among the gods: the ſenate oppoſed this motion, and even by an edict commanded all chriſtians to be baniſhed the city. But Tiberius by another edict threatening their accuſers with death, the perſecution ceaſed, and the number of the believers daily encreaſed both in Judæa and at Rome [s]. Whether this account is conſiſtent with the ſervile ſpirit of the ſenate, and the dread they were all under of oppoſing any motion made by the emperor, is what we refer to the judgment of every impartial reader.

THE next conſuls, and the laſt under Tiberius, were Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius Nigrinus, or, as Suetonius calls him, Niger. The emperor was now in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, without having been ever once indiſpoſed ſince he came to the empire, though he neglected,

[r] Tacit. c. 45. [s] Tertull. in apol: c. 5. & 21. Euſeb. in chron. & hiſt. eccleſ. l. ii. c. 2. Gildas.

adds, that his public works never exceeded two, viz. the temple of Auguſtus, and the ſcene of Pompey's theatre: nor, when he had finiſhed both, did he conſecrate either; whether prevented by old age, or deſpiſing popularity, is uncertain. Thus Tacitus (64), with whom Suetonius does not entirely agree. During the whole time he was emperor, ſays that writer, he built nothing that was great and magnificent: the temple of Auguſtus, and the reparation of Pompey's theatre, the only public works he ever undertook, he left unfiniſhed after ſo many years (65). And in the life of Caligula, he finiſhed the temple of Auguſtus, ſays he, and the amphitheatre of Pompey, which Tiberius had begun, but not completed (66). So that, according to Tacitus, he finiſhed theſe buildings; but left them imperfect according to Suetonius.

(64) Tacit. c. 45. (65) Suet. ibid. c. 47. (66) Idem in Calig. c. 21.

and was even wont to ridicule, the rules and preſcriptions of phyſicians, and ſuch as after the age of thirty wanted to be informed by them, what helped or hurt their conſtitutions. At length he was taken ill at Aſtura between Antium and Circei, as he was returning to Capreæ from the neighbourhood of Rome (C). However, he went forward, and reached Circei, where, to diſſemble his indiſpoſition, he not only aſſiſted at the military games exhibited there, but threw darts himſelf at a boar, and killed him. From Circei he advanced to Miſenum, and finding his ſtrength began to fail him, he ſettled in the villa near the promontory, which once belonged to the celebrated Lucullus. Already his ſtrength, already his ſpirits failed him; but his diſſimulation failed him not. To hide his declenſion now very viſible, he exerted the ſame vigour of mind, the ſame energy in his diſcourſe, and even affected ſometimes to be gay. In the mean time, the courſe of executions was not interrupted at Rome by the emperor's illneſs. Acutia, once the wife of Publius Vitellius, being charged with treaſon by Lælius Balbus, was condemned. Afterwards Albucilla, who had been married to Satrius Secundus, and was infamous for her amours and debaucheries, was accuſed of deviſing charms againſt the life of Tiberius. In the ſame charge were involved, as her accomplices and adulterers, Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marſus, and Lucius Arruntius, all three perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth and employments. But as the minutes tranſmitted to the ſenate imported, that Macro had preſided in the examination of the witneſſes, and torture of the ſlaves, and the minutes were

Tiberius is taken ill.

Lucius Arruntius accuſed.

(C) About the end of the preceding year, Tiberius, leaving his iſland, approached Rome, and having ſtaid ſome time at Tuſculum, he came within ſix miles of the city, and thence beheld his metropolis floating, as it were, in blood. On his return to Campania, he was taken ill at Aſtura. Suetonius tells us, that he removed from the neighbourhood of Rome, being frightened with a kind of prodigy: for being wont to feed with his own hand a dragon, in which he took great pleaſure, he found it one morning killed and half devoured by a ſwarm of ants. Hereupon, being warned by the ſoothſayers to avoid the multitude, he haſtened back to Campania. We find no accounts of this nature in Tacitus, who only tells us, that Tiberius, after much ſhifting of places, ſettled in the end at the promontory of Miſenum in a villa, which once belonged to Lucullus.

were not accompanied by any letter from Tiberius againſt the accuſed, the fathers ſuſpected, that while he was ill, the accuſations were in great meaſure forged, perhaps without his privacy, by Macro, an irreconcileable enemy to Arruntius. However, that brave Roman choſe to die, and to his friends attempting to divert him from that reſolution, by repreſenting to him, that news of the emperor's death, which would deliver him from the preſent danger, was daily expected, he anſwered in the following manner. "The "ſame meaſures are not alike honourable to all men: I "have lived long enough, and have not wherewithal to re- "proach myſelf, ſave that I have ſubmitted to bear thus "far an old age expoſed to ſo many dangers, long hated "as I was by Sejanus, and am now by Macro, always ob- "noxious to ſome reigning miniſter, through no fault of mine, "but becauſe I am irreconcileable to the wicked. 'Tis true, I "may outlive, and eſcape, the few and laſt days of Tiberius: "but how ſhall I eſcape the young prince, his heir? If Tiberi- "us, at ſuch an age, and after ſo long experience, has been "entirely changed by the ſpirit of an uncontrouled power, "is it to be hoped, that Caligula, who is yet ſcarce out of "his childhood, unexperienced in affairs, and brought up "in the worſt of principles, will purſue a better courſe, "having Macro for his guide? that Macro, who, being "choſen to oppreſs Sejanus as the more wicked of the "two, has ſince afflicted the republic with more miſchiefs "and cruelties. I foreſee a ſervitude yet more dreadful, "and therefore will fly both from the preſent and impend- "ing calamities". Having uttered theſe words, as if he had been inſpired by the gods, he opened his veins, and bled to death [h]. Such was the end of Lucius Arruntius, a man of a moſt illuſtrious deſcent, of great fortune, and extraordinary accompliſhments, for which he was accounted by Auguſtus, as we have obſerved in the beginning of this reign, equal to the ſovereignty. Domitius, by pretending to prepare for his defence, and Marſus, by ſeeming reſolved to end his life by abſtinence, outlived Tiberius, and eſcaped the preſent danger. As for Albucilla, ſhe attempted to lay violent hands on herſelf; but the blow proving ineffectual, ſhe was by order of the ſenate dragged to priſon and there executed. Againſt the accomplices of her debaucheries,

His fine and affecting reaſoning.

His death.

[h] Idem, c. 48.

baucheries, it was decreed, that Graſidius Sacerdos, formerly prætor, ſhould be baniſhed into an iſland; and that Pontius Fregellanus and Lælius Balbus, both ſenators ſhould be degraded. About the ſame time, Sextus Papinius, of a conſular family, probably the ſon of Sextus Papinius, who was conſul the foregoing year, ended his life by throwing himſelf headlong from a high-place, to avoid the impure ſolicitations of his own mother, who was thereupon accuſed, but only baniſhed Rome for ten years, till her younger ſon had paſſed the dangers of youth [i].

In the mean time, Tiberius having read in the journal of the ſenate, that ſome priſoners had been diſcharged, becauſe he had only writ that informations were lodged againſt them without mentioning witneſſes, tranſported with rage, reſolved to return at all adventures to Capreæ, and there, as in a place of ſafety, revenge the affront offered him; but the bad weather and his diſtemper kept him a-

His indiſpoſition prevents his return to Capreæ.

gainſt his will at Miſenum [k]. However, he ſtill hoped to overcome his preſent indiſpoſition, depending upon the predictions of Thraſyllus, which he eſteemed as ſo many oracles (D), that famous aſtrologer having aſſured him, that he was to live ten years longer, either deceived himſelf

[i] Idem. c. 49. [k] Suet. in Tib. 73.

(D) Tiberius, during his retirement at Rhodes, applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology under the direction of Thraſyllus whoſe ſkill in that art he proved by the following trial. He led him to an houſe built on the top of a ſteep rock by the ſea-ſide, and there minutely conſulted him about various events. Thraſyllus gave ſatisfactory anſwers to all his queſtions, aſſured him, that he ſhould be ſoon raiſed to the empire, and foretold many revolutions, which afterwards happened as they had been predicted. Tiberius, ſtruck with amazement, aſked him, whether he had calculated his own nativity, and could thence foreſee what was to befal him in the ſame year, nay, that very day? The reader is to know, that the way to the abovementioned houſe lay croſs ſolitary rocks and dreadful precipices; and that Tiberius, if he ſuſpected the predictions of the aſtrologer, whoſe art he meant to try, to be vain, uſed on his return to caſt him headlong into the ſea. This had been the fate of ſeveral, who, unſkilled in the art they profeſſed, had attempted to impoſe upon him with falſe predictions. Thraſyllus therefore, when the above-mentioned queſtion was put to him, ſurveying the poſition of the ſtars and calculating their aſpects, began at firſt to heſitate, then to tremble, and the more he meditated, the more he appeared diſmayed with wonder and dread; at laſt he cried out,

elf, or with a design to deceive Tiberius, that he might not haſten the execution of thoſe who were in priſon. However that be, many were indebted to Thraſyllus's prediction for their lives [l]. Tiberius, relying upon this, purſued his former courſe of life, without ſo much as relinquiſhing his ſhameful debaucheries, or mentioning his diſtemper to any phyſician. However, Charicles, an eminent man in that profeſſion, who always attended him, as if he were departing upon ſome private affair, under the appearance of kiſſing his hand as he went out of the room, touched his pulſe. Tiberius, ſuſpecting the artifice, inſtantly ordered the entertainment to be ſerved up, perſuaded Charicles to ſit down again, and continued himſelf at table longer than uſual, as if he meant that honour only for a farewel to his friend, but in reality to feign health and hide his weakneſs. When the entertainment was over, he did not forget his old cuſtom; but ſtanding in the middle of the room with an officer by him, he called them all by their names, and took his leave of each of the gueſts in particular, as if he had been in perfect health. But for all this, Charicles aſſured Macro, that the emperor declined apace, and that he could not laſt two days longer. Hence the whole court was filled with cloſe conſultations, and expreſſes were ſent to the generals and armies [m].

Endeavours to hide his diſtemper.

Tiberius had no ſurviving children of his own; he had indeed a grandſon, the ſon of Druſus, named Tiberius Nero, and ſurnamed Gemellus, or the Twin, becauſe born at a birth with another, who died in his infancy. Caius, ſurnamed Caligula, was his grandſon too, but only by adoption, he being the ſon of his nephew Germanicus, whom

[l] Dio. l. lviii. p. 638. [m] Tacit. c. 50. Suet. in Tib. c. 72, 73. Dio. l. lviii. p. 638.

out, that juſt then he was threatened with a danger very near fatal. At theſe words Tiberius embracing him, congratulated him upon his foreſight of dangers and his ſecurity from them; and thenceforth, eſteeming his predictions as ſo many oracles, held him in the rank of his moſt intimate friends (67). Tiberius himſelf is ſaid to have been ſkilled in aſtrology, but nevertheleſs died, if Dion Caſſius is to be credited (68), ten years ſooner than he expected; which diſcovers, to uſe the expreſſion of Tacitus, the ſhort bounds between the art and the falſhood of the art.

(67) Tacit. annal. 6. c. 20. (68) Dio, l. lviii. p. 635.

whom he had adopted by order of Auguſtus. Hence he was at a loſs to which of the two he ſhould bequeath the empire. The ſon of Druſus was nearer in blood, and far more dear to him, but too young to govern ſuch a mighty empire; being at this time but in the ſeventeenth year of his age. Caius was in the flower and vigour of youth, but greatly beloved by the people, which was a ſufficient motive for his grandfather to hate him. In this perplexity the emperor thought even of Claudius, who was his nephew and brother to Germanicus; but the weakneſs of his underſtanding prevented his choice: for he had been hitherto reckoned incapable of any public employment. To ſeek a ſucceſſor out of his own family was diſgracing, and in a manner inſulting, the name of the Cæſars and the memory of Auguſtus. For he had more at heart the grandeur of his race, than the welfare and ſecurity of the Roman ſtate. So that, his mind ſtill wavering and his ſtrength decaying, he left to the deciſion of fate a deliberation to which he was now unequal [n]. Thus Tacitus. But Dion Caſſius tells us, that he bequeathed the empire to Caius, whom he knew to be naturally cruel, arrogant, and tyrannical, hoping that his vices would efface the memory of his own wickedneſs, and that he would complete the deſtruction of the Roman nobility, being often heard to ſay, that Priam was a happy prince, who had the pleaſure to outlive all his ſubjects, and ſee his kingdom with his whole race periſh with him; and that in Caligula he had brought up a ſerpent for the people of Rome, and a Phaeton for the reſt of the world [o]. But with Dion Caſſius's leave, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that ſuch horrible thoughts ſhould have ever entered into the mind even of Tiberius; and if they had, we may boldly affirm, that he was not ſo impolitic as ever to have uttered them. Suetonius aſſures us, that two years before his death he made his will, of which there were three copies, one under his own hand, the other written by one of his freedmen, but both to the ſame purpoſe, and witneſſed by perſons of no rank or diſtinction. By that will he left coheirs, Caius his grandſon by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Druſus, both in equal portions, and ſubſtituting them ſucceſſively [p]. This in the opinion of a modern critic of no mean character [q], did not ſo much regard the emperor's private eſtate, as the empire; for Dion Caſſius

Is puzzled about ſettling the ſucceſſion.

Various opinions of writers about his laſt will.

[n] Tacit. c. 46. [o] Dio, ibid. p. 636. [p] Suet. ibid. c. 76. [q] Caſaubon. p. 433.

Caſſius tells us in expreſs terms, that the prince left his empire by his laſt will to young Tiberius too, that he took care to make this laſt diſpoſition well known, and even cauſed it to be read by Macro in the ſenate[r]. Suetonius likewiſe in his life of Caligula writes, that the ſenate and people unanimouſly declared Caligula ſole emperor, contrary to the expreſs will of Tiberius, who had left him but his coheir with another of his grand-children, who was then under age, and ſtill in his prætexta[s]. Philo likewiſe the Jew aſſures us, that young Tiberius was left coheir of Caius, and his colleague in the ſovereignty; and adds, that Tiberius if he had lived a little longer, would have cut off Caius, and left the empire to his grandſon without either a partner or a rival[t]. Agrippa, who was afterwards king of Judæe, being come to wait on Tiberius, while he ſtill reſided in his iſland, the emperor recommended to him his grandſon Tiberius, and highly reſented his paying more court to Caius than to him; nay, he cauſed him ſix months after to be dragged to priſon, though he had received him on his arrival with the greateſt marks of friendſhip and affection, becauſe in a private converſation with Caius he had wiſhed young Tiberius might ſoon die, and ſurrender the empire to him[u]. Caius therefore, doubting of the inclination of Tiberius, left no ſtone unturned to ſecure the empire by other means. He even debaſed himſelf ſo far as to court the favour of Ennia Nœvia, the wife of Macro, with the promiſe of marriage, as ſoon as he attained the ſovereign power. His view in this was to engage in his intereſt her huſband, whoſe credit with the emperor was known to be great[w]. Tacitus and Dion Caſſius tell us, that after the death of Claudia, who had been eſpouſed to Caligula, Macro himſelf, to make his court to him, obliged his wife to ſacrifice her honour to his ambitious views, and to ſecure the young prince by a promiſe of marriage[x]. But Philo ſays, that Macro was altogether a ſtranger to the infamy of his wife, and ſuſpected nothing diſhonourable in the affection ſhe ſhewed for Caius. The ſame writer adds, that Tiberius, whom no prince ever ſurpaſſed in ſagacity and penetration, looking upon Caius as incapable of the government of ſuch a vaſt empire, and at the ſame time ſuſpecting him an enemy in his heart to the whole race of the Claudii, that is, to

According to ſome Caius and young Tiberius left partners in the empire.

[r] Dio, l. lix. p. 640. [s] Suet. in, Calig. c. 14. [t] Phil. legat p. 1002, 1004. [u] Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. [w] Suet. in Calig. c. 12. [x] Tacit. c. 45. Dio, l. lviii. p. 609

to all relations on the father's ſide, and conſequently to young Tiberius, would have cut him off, inſtead of naming him for his ſucceſſor, had not Macro diverted him from this deſign, by excuſing the faults of the young prince, by aſcribing to modeſty his ſeeming want of parts, and aſſuring the emperor, that he had a great reſpect and affection for his grandſon Tiberius y. Macro's partiality for Caius was not unknown to Tiberius, who upbraided his miniſter with it, telling him, that he neglected the ſetting ſun, and courted the riſing. On ſeveral other occaſions he dropt certain words, which plainly ſhewed, that he foreſaw what would happen after his death (E). As one day Caius ridiculed

Caius ſaved by Macro.

y Philo. legat. c. 4. p. 997, 998.

(E) Joſephus writes, that Tiberius, deſirous to know by ſome prognoſtic to which of his grand-children the gods reſerved the empire, told Evodus, one of his freedmen, that he had a mind to ſee Caius and young Tiberius early next morning. As he was perſuaded, no doubt from his ſkill in aſtrology, that he, who came firſt, ſhould ſucceed him, he charged Tiberius's governor to bring his grandſon to him next morning by break of day, ordering at the ſame time Evodus to introduce to him the young prince, who ſhould arrive firſt. Accordingly as ſoon as day appeared, the freedmen, purſuant to his orders, went to wait at the door of the emperor's chamber the arrival of the princes, not doubting, but Tiberius, upon the warning he had had, would get the ſtart of Caius. But it happened quite otherwiſe; Caius was already there, and immediately introduced by Evodus to the emperor, who in ſeeing him burſt into tears, but ſoon reſtrained them, to acquaint Caius that the gods reſerved the empire for him, and to recommend his grandſon, whom they debarred from the power and authority which was due to him by right of ſucceſſion. Caius made many fine promiſes, though he meant nothing leſs than to perform them; and the emperor, having named him for his ſucceſſor, died a few days after (69). According to this account, which in our opinion ſavours of the fable, Tiberius left the empire to Caius alone; according to Dion Caſſius and Suetonius, to Caius and Tiberius jointly; and according to Tacitus, to neither, but to the deciſion of fate, that is, to the perſon for whom fate or deſtiny reſerved it. The authority of Tacitus is of great weight with us, eſpecially in what he relates here, ſince all authors agree in deſcribing Tiberius as a fataliſt, or one who was perſuaded that all things were governed by fate.

(69) Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.

culed Sylla upon ſome occaſional diſcourſe, Tiberius told him, that he would have all the vices of Sylla, and none of his virtues. At another time, a debate ariſing between the two young princes, the emperor embraced with many tears his little grandſon; and addreſſing himſelf to Caius, who at this demonſtration of kindneſs betrayed great ſternneſs in his countenance, Thou, ſaid he, wilt one day murder him, and another will murder thee [z]. This he foretold, not from his ſkill in aſtrology, as Dion imagines [a], but from his ſagacity and thorough knowledge of mankind. His death foretold by Tiberius.

In the mean time, the emperor's ſtrength failing him more and more, on the ſixteenth of March ſo deep a ſwoon ſeized him, that he was believed to have finiſhed his courſe. Hereupon Caius, quitting in haſte the palace to take poſſeſſion of the empire, ſhewed himſelf abroad in the midſt of a great throng of perſons of all ranks, paying him their congratulations upon his acceſſion to the throne. But in the height of his joy, ſudden notice was brought him, that Tiberius had recovered his ſight and voice, and had called for ſome refreſhment to ſtrengthen his fainting ſpirits. This unexpected news ſtruck all with dread and horror; the croud about Caligula diſperſed in a trice, every one reſuming falſe ſorrow, or pretending ignorance, and the young prince himſelf, trembling, ſpeechleſs, and not able to ſtir from his place, expected there immediate death inſtead of the empire. Macro alone continued undiſturbed, and ordering the apartment to be cleared, cauſed the weak old man to be ſmothered with a weight of coverings under colour of keeping him warm [b]. Seneca, as quoted by Suetonius, tells us, that Tiberius, finding his end approached, pulled off his ring, and held it a conſiderable time in his hand, as if he deſigned to give it to ſome body; that he put it upon his finger again, and that after having continued a long time motionleſs with his left hand ſhut cloſe, all of a ſudden he called one of his attendants, and no one anſwering he roſe up; but his ſtrength failing him, he fell down by the bedſide, and died [c]. Others write, that Caius not only gave him a ſlow working poiſon, which conſumed him by degrees, but that having commanded his ring to be taken off of his finger, and obſerving Tiberius to make ſome reſiſtance, he immediately ſmothered him with a pillow; Is too haſty to take poſſeſſion of the empire. The death of Tiberius. Year after the flood, 3036. Of Chriſt 37. Of Rome 785.

[z] Tacit. c. 46. Dio, l. lviii. 636.
[a] Dio, p. 636,
[b] Tacit. c. 50. Dio, l. lviii. p. 639.
[c] Suet. ibid. c. 73.

low; they add, that this action ſeemed ſo cruel to one of his freedmen, that he could not forbear crying out; which ſo provoked Caius, that he cauſed him to be immediately apprehended and crucified. This does not all ſeem incredible, ſays Suetonius, ſince there are authors, who affirm, that he bragged of having attempted to diſpatch the old emperor on another occaſion, publicly owning, that, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he went with a dagger in his hand into Tiberius's chamber, while he was aſleep; but being touched with compaſſion, he threw away the weapon, and retired, that Tiberius ſaw him, but thought it adviſeable to take no notice of what he had obſerved. This circumſtance inclines us to believe the whole account fabulous, and invented either by Caius himſelf, or by thoſe who relate it. He did not indeed want cruelty for ſuch an attempt, but courage and reſolution, if we may depend upon the character which Tacitus [d] and moſt writers give him. Tiberius died, according to Tacitus and Suetonius [e], on the ſixteenth, according to Dion Caſſius [f], on the twenty-ſixth of March; ſo that he reigned from the death of Auguſtus, twenty-two years, ſix months and twenty-eight days, or ten days more, as Dion will have it. He was at his death in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, which he had entered four months, and nine, or at moſt nineteen, days before [g]. Though he had the preceding year highly obliged the city by a generous bounty on occaſion of a fire, yet the news of his death was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, the populace running up and down the ſtreets in great crouds, and crying, Throw the tyrant into the Tiber, or beſeeching their mother earth and the infernal gods to vouchſafe him no place but among the impious: ſome threatened to drag his vile carcaſs to the Gemoniæ, and there expoſe it to the rage and fury of the multitude, provoked not only by his paſt cruelties, but by a new piece of inhumanity, even after his death. For whereas, by the decree we have ſpoken of above, it was provided, that no criminal whatſoever ſhould be executed till the tenth day after ſentence pronounced, that term happening to expire with reſpect to ſeveral perſons on the ſame day the news of Tiberius's death reached Rome, they earneſtly begged for a farther reprieve, not doubting, but Caius would grant them their lives and liberty. But as he was abſent, and no

The joy of the Roman people at the news of his death.

[d] Tacit. c. 50. [e] Suet. c. 73. [f] Dio, l. viii. p. 639
[g] Tacit. c. 51. Dio, ibid. p. 630.

one elſe at Rome, to whom any petition in their behalf could be addreſſed, the keepers of the priſon ſtrangled them of their own accord, and expoſed their bodies to public view; which cruel action encreaſed the hatred of the people againſt Tiberius, as if his cruelty had out-lived him [k]. Several others, however, were ſaved; for the emperor dying before the term of their reprieve expired, they had time to apply to his ſucceſſor, who ſet them at liberty [l].

His body conveyed to Rome, and there burnt.

The body of the deceaſed emperor was by the ſoldiers, without doubt of the prætorian guards, carried from Miſenum to Rome, where it was burnt with the uſual ſolemnity, Caius, who had never abandoned the body, pronouncing the funeral oration, in which he ſpoke little of Tiberius, but greatly extolled Auguſtus and Germanicus, without forgetting himſelf. He had written to the ſenate before, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and his acceſſion to the empire, and requiring them at the ſame time to decree thoſe honours to Tiberius which they had formerly beſtowed on Auguſtus. But the ſenate not yet acquainted with the humour of the new emperor, poſtponed the affair till his arrival, when he took no farther notice of what he had written; but cauſing the body to be brought into the city in the night-time expoſed it the next day, and then ordered it to be burnt without any extraordinary pomp or honours [m]. As for his character, every reader may draw it to himſelf after the detail we have given of the moſt remarkable actions of his life. However, to what we have already ſaid, we ſhall ſubjoin the words with which Tacitus cloſes the hiſtory of his reign. Tiberius, ſays he, was deſervedly eſteemed by all while he was a private man, or commanded under Auguſtus; with great cunning and addreſs he feigned virtue, while Germanicus and Druſus lived: he bore a mixt character of good and evil till the death of his mother; he did not diſguiſe his execrable cruelty, but concealed his lewdneſs, while he loved and feared Sejanus: at laſt he abandoned himſelf at once to all wickedneſs, being no longer reſtrained either by ſhame or fear, but following

His character from Tacitus.

[k] Suet. ibid. c. 75. [l] Dio, l. lviii. p. 633. [m] Idem, l. lix. p. 642.

lowing the bent of his own diſpoſition and nature [m]. (F). Many

[m] Tacit. c. 51.

(F) We ſhall ſubjoin here ſome obſervations on Tiberius, which we have found in the antients; but for brevity's ſake avoided inſerting in our text. He was, as Suetonius informs us, a great lover of liberal arts: he was an eloquent and ready ſpeaker, and in his writings imitated Meſſala Corvinus, a famous orator; but his too great niceneſs, or rather affectation, rendered his ſtyle perplexed and obſcure; whence he was eſteemed a better ſpeaker without, than upon, premeditation and ſtudy. He wrote a lyric poem, intitled, A complaint on the death of Lucius Cæſar, which was greatly eſteemed; and ſeveral Greek pieces in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius, poets whom he admired above the reſt, and whoſe ſtatues he cauſed to be dedicated in the public libraries amongſt thoſe of the moſt celebrated writers. He took great delight in the fables of the poets, with which he was thoroughly acquainted, and uſed to puzzle the grammarians with the following and ſuch-like queſtions; Who was Hecuba's mother? What was the name of Achilles amongſt the maids at the court of Lycomedes? What ſongs the Sirens were ſaid to ſing? &c. The Greek tongue he ſpoke with great readineſs and eaſe, but uſed it very ſeldom. In his ſpeeches to the ſenate he took care to avoid Greek words; inſomuch, that the Latin tongue ſupplying him with no word to expreſs monopoly, he begged leave to uſe a foreign one. Having read in a decree of the ſenate the word emblema, he deſired the ſenators to alter it, and either put a Latin word in its room, or expreſs the meaning of it by circumlocution (70). He betrayed even from his infancy manifeſt tokens of a cruel, ſavage, and untractable temper; whence Theodorus Gadareus, who taught him the firſt rudiments of learning, uſed to call him, A maſs of clay tempered with blood (71). Moſt of the antients, who ſpeak of him, obſerve, that though he could brook no oppoſition, yet he abhorred flattery, as ſuiting only with the ſpirit of ſlaves, and was even aſhamed of the mean and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſions of the ſenate. He never forgave free ſpeakers, never could endure men of a bold ſpirit, whom firſt or laſt he purſued to deſtruction: but at the ſame time he abominated flattery, when he knew it to be ſo; whence it was dangerous, ſays Tacitus, to practice no flattery, and dangerous to practice too much, adulatione, quæ perinde anceps ſi

(70) Suet. ibid. c. 70. (71) Idem, c. 57.

Many eminent writers flouriſhed in his reign, of whom we ſhall give a ſuccinct account, not to interrupt the thread of our hiſtory, in our notes (G), to which we refer our readers.

As

ſi nulla, & ubi nimia eſt: and elſewhere; libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat. As he was a man of great penetration, and endowed with extraordinary talents both for civil and military employments, he would have made a great figure in the times of the republic, well ſupported the dignity of a ſenator, diſcharged with credit the firſt offices of ſtate, and in all likelihood died in renown, and left behind him a high reputation. But being, unhappily for himſelf and his country, inveſted with an uncontrouled power, he let looſe all his paſſions; ſo that he, who might have proved an excellent and uſeful member of a free ſtate, became a prince altogether mercileſs, nay, a deſtructive and inſupportable tyrant. What is not to be apprehended from power without controul? and who is to be truſted with it, when a man of ſuch great parts and ſo long experience, as Tiberius, was ſo entirely maſtered and intoxicated with it?

(G) Theſe were, Velleius Paterculus, of whoſe hiſtory the far greater part is loſt; what ſtill remains of it comprehends the antient hiſtory of the Greeks and that of the Romans, from the defeat of Perſes to the ſevententh year of Tiberius's reign. He is thought to have written with candor and impartiality till the times of the Cæſars, in whoſe favour he miſerably perverts truth, or utterly ſuppreſſes it. What he writes of Tiberius ought rather to be ſtyled a fulſom panegyric, than an hiſtory. Semper magnæ fortunæ comes eſt adulatio, ſays he; Flattery is a conſtant attendant upon greatneſs: and indeed, he is himſelf a remarkable inſtance of the truth of this ſaying, as muſt evidently appear to every impartial reader, in the peruſal of the account he has left us of Tiberius's reign He accuſes Germanicus of cowardice, while he repreſents others as conſummate heroes, who were no-ways to compare with that brave prince, either in courage or conduct. His chief hero, after Tiberius, was the favourite miniſter Sejanus, on whom he beſtows the higheſt encomiums, not foreſeeing the doom that hung over his head, and ſoon after overtook him. Some writers think, that Velleius himſelf fell with Sejanus, as a friend, if not an accomplice, of the traitor whom he ſo undeſervedly commended. He put the laſt hand to his work in the conſulſhip of M. Vinicius, to whom he inſcribed it; that is, in the ſeventeenth year of Tiberius's reign, as he himſelf informs us (72), and

(72) Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 126.

twenty-ſeven after he had been adopted by Auguſtus. He was of an equeſtrian family, come originally from Campania, and deſcended by the mother from the celebrated Decius Magius, who, being condemned by the ſenate of Capua to be delivered up to Hannibal, for his ſteady adherence to the Roman intereſt, was ſent away for Carthage, but driven by a ſtorm to the dominions of Ptolemy king of Egypt, who took him under his protection. His paternal grandfather was likewiſe a native of Campania, but raiſed to great preferments, firſt by Pompey the great, and afterwards by Brutus, under whom he ſerved. He himſelf ſerved nine years under Tiberius, firſt as military tribune in Thrace and Macedon, and afterwards in quality of commander of the legionary horſe in Germany. As to his civil employments, he was honoured with the quæſtorſhip, the prætorſhip, and, as ſome writers conjecture, with the conſulate; which is not improbable, ſince he was in great favour both with Tiberius and Sejanus (73).

Valerius Maximus, who left behind him a collection of the memorable actions and ſayings of the antients, wrote about the latter end of Tiberius's reign, after the fall of Sejanus, as is manifeſt from his own words, and from thoſe of the antients who quote him. His ſtyle, which has nothing of the purity of the age he is ſuppoſed to have lived in, has prompted ſome to imagine, that his writings are of a much later date. Theſe take it for granted, that all thoſe who wrote in the golden age, wrote well, which others deny. Voſſius takes the work, which paſſes under the name of Valerius Maximus, to be only an abridgment of what he wrote, done by one Julius Paris. In what age the ſuppoſed author of this epitome lived, we are no-where told; but to him is generally aſcribed the treatiſe of Roman names which is ſubjoined to the nine books of Valerius Maximus (74).

Strabo, whoſe ſeventeen books of geography are ſo much and ſo deſervedly admired by the learned, obſerves in his ſixteenth book, that the kingdom of Comagene had been but very lately reduced to a Roman province This happened according to the opinion of the beſt chronologers, the eighteenth year of the chriſtian æra, and the fifth of Tiberius's reign; ſo that we reaſonably ſuppoſe Strabo, who was then very old, to have ended both his work and his life before the death of Tiberius. He wrote other books, but none of them have reached us.

Dionyſius the geographer, who wrote a deſcription of the earth in Greek verſe, died according to Voſſius, in the reign of Tiberius. For that writer takes this to be the Dionyſius who was ſent into the eaſt by Auguſtus, as we read in Pliny (75), to

(73) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. lat. l. i. c. 24. (74) Idem ibid. c. 24.
(75) Plin. l. vi. c. 27.

to ſurvey thoſe countries, and make an exact deſcription of them for the uſe of Caius Cæſar, who was to be ſent thither. The Dionyſius, whom Auguſtus employed, was a native of Corax, called alſo Alexandria and Antioch, and ſituated between the Tigris and Eulæus. He was the laſt, ſays Pliny, who wrote a deſcription of the whole earth. Scaliger will not allow the deſcription of the earth, which has reached us, to be the work of that Dionyſius, but of another, who flouriſhed under the emperor Severus. Salmaſius on the other hand aſcribes it to one of the ſame name, who wrote in the reign of M. Aurelius; and in his notes on the Auguſtan hiſtorians (76), promiſes to ſupport this opinion with unanſwerable arguments in a new edition, which he then deſigned, of Dionyſius. This promiſe he made in 1620. But in his notes upon Solinus publiſhed in 1629, ſpeaking occaſionally of Dionyſius the geographer, he ſays, that he lived under the emperor Severus, without taking the leaſt notice of his invincible arguments, or ſo much as deigning to acquaint us with the reaſons which prompted him to change his opinion (77). He ſpeaks of him in another place (78); but there endeavours only to prove, that he did not flouriſh in the reign of Auguſtus. Suidas mentions three geographers, all bearing the name of Dionyſius; one a native of Corinth, another of Miletus, and the third either of Rhodes or Samos (79). In ſuch variety of opinions, we will not take upon us to aſcertain the time, in which flouriſhed the author of the deſcription of the earth that has reached us: all we can ſay is, that Euſtathius, Voſſius, father Pagi, and cardinal Noris were certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to have lived in the time of Auguſtus, ſince he mentions ſome events, as Salmaſius rightly obſerves (80), which happened in the reign of Domitian.

Phædrus, who tranſlated into Latin verſe the fables of Æſop, was, according to Voſſius (81), a native of Thrace, and one of Auguſtus's freedmen, and died in the reign of Tiberius.

Thraſyllus the aſtrologer, of whom we have ſpoken above, was well verſed in ſeveral other ſciences, eſpecially in Plato's philoſophy. Jonſſius takes him to be the author of a work quoted by ſome of the antients, on the genealogy of Plato (82). To him are likewiſe aſcribed ſome books of phyſic quoted by Pliny. The emperor Julian aſſures us, that Thraſyllus acquired more fame by the books he left behind him, than by his mighty credit with Tiberius (83). Jonſſius tells us, that he was put to death by Tiberius, in the ſixteenth year of the chriſtian

(76) Spart. p. 138. (77) Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 628. (78) Ibid. p. 411. (79) Suid. p. 747. (80) Salmaſ. ubi ſupra (81) Voſſ. poet Latin. c. 2. (82) Joann. Jonſſ. de ſcriptor. hiſtoriæ philoſophicæ. l. xviii. Genevæ, anno 1634. (83) Julian. Auguſt. ad Themiſt.

æra, that is, in the ſecond year of Tiberius's reign (84). But it is manifeſt from Dion Caſſius, that Thraſyllus died by the courſe of nature in the thirty ſixth year of the chriſtian æra, that is, a year before Tiberius (85).

L. Feneſtella, the poet and hiſtorian, died towards the latter end of Tiberius's reign. He ſeems to have been greatly eſteemed by the antients (86); but ſome are of opinion, that none of his works have reached our times. The treatiſe of the Roman magiſtrates, which goes under his name, is of a later date, and generally aſcribed to Andrea Domenico Flocco, a native of Florence.

Verrius Flaccus, a celebrated grammarian and preceptor to Caius and Lucius Cæſars, died in the reign of Tiberius, extremely old (87). He wrote, according to Aulus Gellius (88), ſeveral books of memorable things, and a book of the ſignification of words, which that writer ſometimes quotes (89). We have ſtill ſome fragments of ſeveral of his works, quoted ſometimes by Macrobius, and frequently by Pliny. He wrote a book of Faſti, and a catalogue of all the Roman conſuls to his time, which was engraved on marble, and ſet up in the forum of Præneſte (90). Moſt writers take the fragments of the Faſti, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the capital at Rome, to be the ſame that were ſet up at Præneſte; but they can alledge nothing in proof of their opinion, except mere conjectures, ſince others, as well as Verrius, might have undertaken a work of the ſame nature. The Faſti Capitolini, beſides the names of the conſuls, mark the triumphs, ſeveral incidents relating to hiſtory, and alſo the years of Rome; but are always a year behind Varro, whom moſt authors follow. To thoſe we might add many other writers, who flouriſhed under Tiberius, according to Voſſius and Jonſſius; but, as their works are long ſince loſt, we ſhall not detain our readers with a detail, from which they can reap no profit.

As the reverend fathers, Catrou and Rouillè, have not yet carried their Roman hiſtory beyond this period, the death of Tiberius, we think ourſelves bound both in juſtice and gratitude to acknowledge in this place the aſſiſtance we have received from their labours. The copious materials, which they have collected with incredible pains from almoſt innumerable authors, have been we muſt own, a great help to us, though we have never made uſe of them without conſulting the originals, a caution, we are ſorry to ſay it, which we have found too often neceſſary.

(84) Jonſſ. ibid. l. iii. c 3. (85) Dio, l. lviii. p. 638
(86) Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 11. Hier. in chron. (87) Suet. gramm
c. 17. (88) Aul. Gell. l. iv. c. 5. (89) Idem, l.
c. 17, 18. &. l. xvi. c. 14. (90) Suet. ibid.

As Caius, ſurnamed Caligula (H), was greatly beloved both by the ſenate and people, on account of the extraordinary

Caius Caligula Cæſar declared emperor with full power.

ceſſary. But of their moſt material and remarkable miſtakes notice has been occaſionally taken in the courſe of the preſent hiſtory; and in this place we are only to return them thanks, which we do accordingly, for the aſſiſtance they have lent us. We might juſtly be taxed with ingratitude, if we did not at the ſame time diſcharge another obligation, and own ourſelves greatly indebted to a writer of our own nation; we mean the ingenious Mr. Hooke, whoſe excellent performance has proved more ſerviceable to us, than the numerous volumes of the jeſuits. As we are obliged, both by the nature of our undertaking and our engagement with the public to have immediate recourſe to the antient writers, it is our conſtant cuſtom to compare with them ſuch of the moderns of any repute as have handled the ſame ſubjects with us. Upon this collation, we muſt do Mr. Hooke the juſtice to own, that he has with a ſcrupulous exactneſs adhered all along to his authors; which is more than we can ſay of the Jeſuits, of monſieur Vertot, or monſieur Rollin, who, like moſt writers of their nation, ſeem to take delight in embelliſhing their narrations with circumſtances unknown to the antients, which, in other words, is adulterating truth with romance, and paſſing fables upon the readers for hiſtory; ſince there are but few who have either the leiſure or convenience of undeceiving themſelves by recurring to the originals. Thus much we have thought ourſelves obliged to ſay in commendation of a writer, who deſerves ſo well of the public and of us in particular, tho' the favourable reception, which his undertaking has already met with, may ſeem to have rendered our teſtimony in ſome degree uſeleſs.

(H) Caius, ſays Tacitus, was born in the camp, nurſed in the arms of the legions, and by them named Caligula, a military name from the boots, which, of the ſame faſhion with their own, in compliment to them and to win their affections, he frequently wore (20). The ſurname of Caligula, ſays Suetonius (21), was given him in the camp by the legions, becauſe he was brought up amongſt them in the habit of a common ſoldier; in virtue of which education, he was to ſuch a degree beloved by them, that upon a mutiny after the death of Auguſtus, his preſence appeaſed them, when in the height of their fury. Thus Tacitus and Suetonius agree as to the origin of the ſurname of Caligula; but they differ as to the place of his birth. Caius

(20) Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 41. (21) Suet. c. 9.

ordinary merit of his father Germanicus, and the injuries done to him and his family, news was no ſooner brought that he was advancing from Miſenum with the corſe of the deceaſed emperor, than perſons of all ranks and ages crouded out to meet him. At his entrance into the city he was received with new names of honour and all poſſible demonſtrations of real affection. The ſenate immediately aſſembled, and, the people thronging into the hall with the ſenators, he was by univerſal conſent declared emperor with full power, contrary to the expreſs will of Tiberius, who had left him coheir with his grandſon Tiberius, then under age and in his pretexta. The joy for his acceſſion to the imperial throne was not confined to the narrow bounds of Rome and Italy, but reached the moſt diſtant provinces; inſomuch, that in the ſpace of three months an hundred and ſixty thouſand victims were ſlain on that occaſion within the limits of the empire [n]. He had no ſooner paid his laſt duty to the remains of his grandfather, than he haſtened into the iſlands of Pandataria and Pontia, where he gathered with great reverence the bones and aſhes of his mother and brother

[n] Dio. l. lix. p. 640—644. Suet. in Calig. c. 14.

Cæſar, ſays Suetonius (22), was born the laſt day of Auguſt, his father and C. Fonteius Capito being conſuls, that is, the twelfth year of the common chriſtian æra. As to the place of his birth, continues the ſame writer, the diverſity of reports hath rendered it uncertain: Cn. Lentulus Getulicus writes, that he was born at Tibur, now Tivoli; Pliny in the country of the Treviri, in a town called Ambitarinum, at the confluence of the Rhine and the Moſelle; and, to confirm his opinion, he adds, that there are ſtill altars to be ſeen there with this inſcription; Ob Agrippinæ Puerperium, for the delivery of Agrippina: the following verſes likewiſe enforce the common opinion, that he was born in the place where the legions were at that time in their winter-quarters:

In caſtris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam deſignati principis omen erat.

(22) Idem, c. 8.

But

brother Nero, brought them to Rome, and cauſed them to be depoſited with extraordinary pomp in the mauſoleum of Auguſtus [o]. The inſcriptions which he placed over them are

Honours the memory of his mother and brothers.

[o] Dio. p. 642. Suet. c. 14.

But I find amongſt the public records, that he was born at Antium. Pliny refutes Getulicus as one who did not ſcruple to depart from truth, that he might flatter a young and ambitious prince by aſſigning him for his birth-place, a town which was conſecrated to Hercules. This he could do the more boldly, as Agrippina had been delivered of a ſon at Tibur but a year before, whoſe name was likewiſe Caius Cæſar. As for Pliny, he is ſufficiently confuted by the computation of times: for thoſe who have written the hiſtory of Auguſtus aſſure us, that Caius was born before his father Germanicus was ſent into Gaul, after his conſulſhip was expired. Neither is the inſcription upon the altars of any weight, ſeeing Agrippina was delivered of two daughters in that country; and the word Puerperium may be underſtood of either ſex. Beſides, in former times, girls were called Pueræ, and boys Puelli. There is alſo ſtill extant an epiſtle from Auguſtus to his grand-daughter Agrippina, written not many months before his death concerning this Caius, for there was no other child then of this name, in theſe words: Yeſterday I ordered Talarius and Aſellus to bring little Caius hither, if it pleaſed the gods, on the ſeventeenth of May. I ſend with him one of my phyſicians, whom, as I have written to Germanicus, he may keep with him, if he thinks good. Farewel, my dear Agrippina; take care of your health, that you may be well when you meet your huſband. From this letter it is evident, that Caius was at this time in Italy; and he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from Rome, when he was near two years old. This evidence confutes alſo the verſes, the more becauſe the author was never known. It therefore remains, that we acquieſce in the teſtimony of the public records; the rather becauſe Caius preferred Antium to all other places, nay, being weary of Rome, he is ſaid to have reſolved to remove his imperial ſeat thither. Thus far Suetonius (23), whoſe arguments, in the opinion of Lipſius, carry no great weight with them. Were Tacitus and Pliny ignorant of what was contained in the public acts? can we ſuppoſe, that ſuch an accurate writer as Tacitus would have poſitively affirmed, without conſulting the public records, that Caius was born in the camp? Germanicus, as it is agreed on all hands, was

(23) Idem, c. 8.

are ſtill to be ſeen [p]; and from the medals of Agrippina, which have reached us [q], it appears, that he diſtinguiſhed her with the title of Auguſta. All the decrees of the ſenate enacted againſt them, and againſt Druſus, who died at Rome, were annulled [r]; nay, a ſtately villa, on the ſea-ſide, where Agrippina had for ſome time been kept under confinement, was, levelled with the ground, that no monuments might remain of her misfortunes [s]. Public ſacrifices were at his motion appointed by the ſenate to be yearly offered to perpetuate their memory; ſolemn games in the circus, and chariot-races, were inſtituted in honour of

[p] Gruter. p. 237. [q] Spanh. l. vii. p. 612. [r] Dio. ibid. [s] Senec. de ira, l. iv. c. 21.

was ſent into Germany immediately after the ſlaughter of Varus and his legions, and continued there till his conſulſhip, when he left Germany and returned to Rome; but we are no-where told, that his wife Agrippina accompanied him in that journey. She was perhaps then big with Caius, remained on that account in Germany, and was there delivered of him, during her huſband's conſulſhip. There appears at leaſt in this no incongruity, no improbability. As to the public regiſters, perhaps another ſon, bearing the ſame name, was born to them at Antium; for they had in all nine children, of whom three died infants. The ſurname of Caligula, which was given to this Caius by the legions ſome time after his birth, was not, we imagine, added to his name in the regiſters: Suetonius therefore might have miſtaken another Caius for this. But he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from Rome, when he was two years old. Why not? might not Agrippina have been delivered of Caius in Germany, then come to Rome, and afterwards return to Germany? we are ſurpriſed that Suetonius ſhould lay any ſtreſs on ſo weak an argument. Caius, 'tis true, preferred Antium to all other places, as Tiberius did Capreæ, and Auguſtus Tibur and Lanuvium; but no one ever pretended to infer from thence, that they were born in either of theſe places. Whoever was the author of the above-mentioned verſes, they were publiſhed upon Caius's acceſſion to the empire; and we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that the place of his nativity was not then known at leaſt to every Roman. Upon the whole, we cannot help preferring to the authority of Suetonius that of Tacitus, ſupported by the teſtimonies of Pliny, Athenæus, and Sextus Victor (24).

(24) Vide Lip. in excur. in lib. i. annal.

of his mother, in which her image was to be carried amongſt thoſe of the gods; and the month of September was by a decree of the ſenate to be thenceforth called by the name of his father Germanicus. Having thus ſignalized his piety towards his father, his mother, and his brothers, he honoured his grandmother Antonia with the name of Auguſta, appointed her prieſteſs of Auguſtus, granted her all the privileges enjoyed by the veſtals, and all the marks of diſtinction which had ever been conferred upon Livia, either by Auguſtus or Tiberius [t]. The privileges of the veſtals he likewiſe granted to his ſiſters, Agrippina, Druſilla, and Livilla or Julia (*I*), and ordained that their names ſhould be added to his in all ſolemn oaths, with this clauſe; neither am I dearer to myſelf, nor are my children dearer to me, than Caius Cæſar and his ſiſters; and to all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed; may it prove fortunate and happy to Caius Cæſar and his ſiſters [u]. All the papers, regiſters, and records, which Tiberius had left relating to the proceedings againſt his mother and brothers, he cauſed to be brought publicly into the forum, and there to be committed to the flames in his preſence, after having ſolemnly called the gods to witneſs, that he had never read, nor even opened them. This he did, as he then declared, that no room might be left for fear or apprehenſions in thoſe who had been the occaſion of the misfortunes which befel them [w]. However, as they were all afterwards to a man cut off under the imputation of various crimes, it was commonly believed, that he had burnt only the copies, and preſerved the originals [x]. The very day he made his entry into Rome, he was for ſetting at liberty Agrippa, the grandſon of king Herod, whom Tiberius had confined ſix months before. But his grandmother Antonia, though a great friend to Agrippa, adviſed him to ſuſpend for ſome time the effects of his

His love to his grandmother and ſiſters.

Sets at liberty Agrippa, and all ſtate-priſoners.

[t] Dio. p. 641, 646. Suet. c. 15. [u] Suet. c. 15. Dio. ibid.
[w] Idem ibid. [x] Dio. ibid. p. 641, 642.

(I) Caius had, according to Suetonius, but three ſiſters, Agrippina, Druſilla, and Livilla; ſo that Livilla and Julia muſt be one and the ſame perſon. Julia was the youngeſt of Germanicus's daughters, born in the ſeventeenth year of the chriſtian æra and in the thirty-third married to Marcus Vinicius (25).

(25) Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 54. & l. vi. c. 15.

his good-nature, leſt he ſhould ſeem to inſult the memory of his grandfather [y]. However, he was releaſed a few days after, as were likewiſe all the other ſtate priſoners, and among the reſt L. Pomponius Secundus, of whom we have ſpoken above, after ſeven years cloſe confinement. Such as had been baniſhed by Tiberius were all recalled home, which occaſioned an univerſal joy in the city. But nothing gave greater ſatisfaction both to the nobility and people, than his ſolemnly declaring, that he would not ſuffer any one to be accuſed of treaſon, ſince under the appearance of that crime ſo many illuſtrious citizens, ſo many antient and noble families, had been involved in endleſs calamities. Of this his reſolution he gave ſoon after a remarkable inſtance; for a note being offered him tending to the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt his life, he rejected it, ſaying, I am not conſcious to myſelf of any action that can deſerve the hatred of any man, and therefore have no ears for informers [z]. Though the will of Tiberius had been declared null by the ſenate, yet he executed every article of it with great punctuality, except that which related to the deceaſed emperor's grandſon; the ſame regard he paid to the teſtament of Livia, which had been ſuppreſſed by Tiberius, cauſing their legacies to be diſcharged forthwith, and adding to them large ſums of his own to be divided among the Roman people and the ſoldiery [a]. In his firſt ſpeech to the ſenate he promiſed to govern with juſtice and moderation, to do nothing without their advice, and to follow their directions, as their child and pupil. Purſuant to his proteſtations, he cauſed the famous inſtitutions of Auguſtus to be revived and publiſhed, though they had been long neglected and diſuſed by Tiberius; he gave free juriſdiction to the magiſtrates, without reſerving any appeal to himſelf, and even attempted to reſtore the antient method of elections by the ſuffrages of the people. The ſenate were for declaring him conſul, as ſoon as the funeral ceremonies, performed in honour of his grandfather were over; but he could not be prevailed upon to accept that dignity, till Proculus and Nigrinus had ended their year, which expired in the month of July [b]. In the mean time, he applied himſelf with the conſuls and ſenate to the reformation of many abuſes, which had crept into the ſtate. He reviewed the Roman knights, and publicly took away the

Diſcourages informers.

H's ſeeming moderation.

[y] Joſeph, antiq. l. xviii. c. 8. [z] Dio, p. 642—644. Suet. c. 15. [a] Idem, c. 16. Dio, p. 640. [b] Dio, ibid. p. 644.

the rings and horſes of ſuch as he found guilty of ſome notorious crimes; ſmaller offences he thought ſufficiently puniſhed by paſſing over the names of the offenders, as he read the roll. He was for caſting the ſpintriæ, or inventors of abominable lewdneſs, into the ſea; but being diſſuaded from that ſeverity, he baniſhed them from Rome. He allowed every one to keep and peruſe the books of Titus Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and Caſſius Severus, which in the reign of Tiberius had been by order of the ſenate prohibited and ſuppreſſed, ſaying, it nearly concerned him, that all the actions of Tiberius ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity. He likewiſe remitted ſeveral impoſitions, which had been exacted with great ſeverity during the whole reign of his predeceſſor [c]. Thus did Caligula happily begin his reign; and of him it may be truly ſaid, that no prince came ever to a throne with greater advantages, or more to the ſatisfaction of his people.

In the month of July, Caius entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, and choſe for his collegue his uncle Claudius, then in the forty-ſixth year of his age; who till that time had continued in the equeſtrian order, being judged unequal to any public employment, on account of the weakneſs both of his body and mind [d]. We are told, that when he firſt entered the forum with the faſces, an eagle perched upon his ſhoulder, which was looked upon as a prognoſtic of his future grandeur [e]. The ſame day Caius, in a ſpeech which he made to the ſenate, ſpoke with great vehemence againſt the diſorders of the late adminiſtration, promiſed to avoid them as much as lay in his power, and ſolemnly proteſted, that he had nothing ſo much at heart, as to render the people happy, whom the gods had committed to his care. The ſenate decreed, that his ſpeech ſhould be publicly read every year, without all doubt to remind him of the promiſes he had made them, and lay him under ſome obligation of performing them [f]. On the laſt day of Auguſt, which was his birth-day, he entertained the people with the moſt magnificent ſhews that had ever been ſeen in Rome; and on this occaſion cuſhions were firſt laid on the ſeats of the ſenators, who till that time had ſat both in the ſenate and theatre on bare benches [g]. Thenceforth no day paſſed without ſome ſhew or other, the emperor taking great pleaſure in ſuch diverſions, and expending on ſuch occaſions immenſe

Caius takes upon him the conſulſhip.

His ſpeech to the ſenate.

[c] Suet. ibid. c. 16. [d] Dio, ibid. p. 644. & Suet. in Claud. c. 7. [e] Suet. ibid. [f] Dio, ibid. [g] Idem, p. 645.

His generosity to Antiochus king of Comagene.

menſe ſums. During his conſulſhip, he reſtored the kingdom of Comagene, which had been reduced to a Roman province eighteen years before, to Antiochus the ſon of that Antiochus who had been driven out by Tiberius, ordering at the ſame time an hundred millions of ſeſterces, that is, about a million of our money, to be paid to him by way of reſtitution for the revenues of his kingdom, which Rome had ſo long enjoyed without any juſt title [h]. Antiochus, out of gratitude to ſo generous a benefactor, gave two of his names to a town of Comagene, calling it Ceſarea Germanica, which were afterwards changed into that of Germanicia [i]. Of his generoſity to Agrippa we ſpoke in the hiſtory of the Jews; and therefore ſhall only obſerve here, that he beſtowed on him the tetrachy of his uncle Philip, with the title of king; but reſerved for himſelf the reſt of Judæa, whither he diſpatched this year Marcellus in quality of governor in the room of Pontius Pilate, whom Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria had ſent to Rome, to anſwer many grievous complaints of the Jewiſh people, whom he had oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner [k].

And to others.

His generoſity to ſeveral private perſons was no leſs remarkable; for a fire happening in the firſt months of his reign, he made good the loſſes which every particular had ſuſtained. To a freedwoman, who had endured moſt exquiſite torments, without diſcovering the crime of a patron, he gave eighty thouſand ſeſterces. For theſe and other bounties a ſhield of gold with his image was decreed to him, which by order of the ſenate was to be carried annually on a certain day, by the colleges of prieſts, to the capitol, the ſenators following it, and the noblemens children of both ſexes ſinging hymns in praiſe of his virtues. Beſides, it was ordained, that the day of his acceſſion to the empire ſhould be called Palilia, as if Rome had been founded anew on that day [l]. Caius having held the conſulate two months and twelve days, that is, to the twelfth of September, reſigned the faſces to thoſe who had been appointed by Tiberius for the reſt of the year [m]; but their names we find no-where recorded.

It was probably about this time, that Caius wrote to Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria, to conclude a peace with Artabanus king of the Parthians. Suetonius tells us in one

[h] Dio ibid. Suet. ibid. c. 16 [i] Noris de epochis Macedonum, p. 476. [k] Joſeph antiq. l. xviii. c. 5. [l] Suet. ibid. c. 16. [m] Dio, l. lix. p. 645.

one place, that Vitellius uſed all manner of artifice to draw Artabanus to a conference [n]; and in another, that the Parthian king, who had always ſhewn the utmoſt contempt and an irreconcileable hatred to Tiberius, ſought of his own accord the friendſhip of Caius [o]. According to Dion Caſſius, that prince had already paſſed the Euphrates, and was upon the point of invading Syria, when Vitellius, coming unexpectedly upon him, obliged him to agree to a treaty [p]. Be that as it will, Artabanus and Vitellius came to an interview on a bridge which they cauſed to be laid over the Euphrates, each attended by a certain number of guards; and concluded a treaty, the conditions of which were very advantageous to the Romans [q]. The Parthian even condeſcended to give by way of hoſtage one of his own ſons [r], or at leaſt a noble youth of great diſtinction, named Darius [s], probably of the race of the Arſacidæ, whom he ſent ſome time after to Rome, with a Jew, by name Eleazar, ſeven cubits high [t]. When the treaty was concluded, Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, gave a magnificent entertainment to Artabanus and Vitellius, under a rich pavilion raiſed upon boats in the middle of the river [u]. Suetonius [w] and Dion Caſſius [x] tell us, that Artabanus paſſed the Euphrates, adored the eagles and enſigns of the legions, and kiſſed the images of Auguſtus and Caius Cæſar. Herod immediately diſpatched meſſengers to Rome with a minute account of what had paſſed, who arriving before the meſſengers of Vitellius, the emperor received the latter coldly, telling them, that Herod had already tranſmitted to him a detail of all that had been tranſacted on the Euphrates; which occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the tetrarch of Galilee and Vitellius [y].

He is taken ill.

AFTER Caius had thus happily reigned about eight months, he was ſeized with a violent fit of illneſs, occaſioned by his intemperance and debaucheries; for while Tiberius lived, he was mighty temperate in his diet; but upon his death he forſook his antient way of living, and gave himſelf entirely up to all manner of diſorders; which ſo affected his conſtitution, that towards the end of October he fell dangerouſly ill. As that was the time of the year, in

[n] Suet. in Vitell. c. 2. [o] Suet. in Calig. c. 14. [p] Dio, l. lix. p. 661. [q] Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii c. 6. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Joſeph. ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Suet. in Calig. c. 14 & in Vitel c. 2. [x] Dio. ibid. p. 661. [y] Joſeph. l. xviii. c. 6.

in which thoſe who traded to foreign countries returned home, news of the emperor's indiſpoſition was immediately carried to all the provinces of the empire, and everywhere received with the greateſt tokens of ſorrow imaginable [z]. At Rome his palace was conſtantly crouded with multitudes of people of all ranks enquiring about his health; many paſſed whole nights at his gate, and ſome, devoting their lives for his, promiſed to fight amongſt the gladiators for his ſafety, and ſet up bills of this their reſolution in the ſtreets. At length he recovered, and with his recovery reſtored happineſs to the whole empire: innumerable victims were ſlain, and ſacrifices offered in the moſt diſtant provinces ſubject to Rome, by way of thankſgiving to the gods for ſo ſignal a favour. But how blind is man in his imagination! how vain in his hope, and ignorant of what is moſt to his advantage! This prince ſo much beloved, and univerſally looked upon as the author of all public and private happineſs, either changed all on a ſudden his nature, or diſcovered that which he had ſome time artfully diſguiſed. Some writers think, that this diſtemper affected his brain; for ever after he was much troubled for want of ſleep, never reſting above three hours in a night, and that never quietly, but conſtantly frightened with ſtrange dreams and dreadful imaginations; ſo that he paſſed great part of the night, either ſitting up in his bed, or wandering about the galleries of his palace, longing for day. He was himſelf, ſays Suetonius [a], ſo ſenſible of the infirmity of his mind, that he once reſolved to retire in order to purge his brain. He was ſubject, when a child, to the falling ſickneſs; and in his youth, though patient of labour and hardſhips, ſubject to fainting fits. Others aſcribe this odd and unaccountable conduct to a philtre, or love-potion, which was afterwards given him by his wife Cæſonia, and impaired his underſtanding. But, whatever was the cauſe of this change, it is certain, that from the time of his malady to the hour of his death he acted more like a madman than a prince; ſo that for the reſt of his reign the reader is to expect nothing but an uninterrupted train of execrable vices, monſtrous extravagances, and ſuch ridiculous inconſiſtencies, as cannot well be related with that gravity and decency which becomes an hiſtorian. On his acceſſion to the throne, he would admit of no titles of honour;

The grief of the people on this occaſion, and joy for his recovery.

He is ſtrangely altered.

[z] Philo legat. ad Caium. p. 994—995. [a] Suet. ibid. c. 50.

nour; but ſoon after his recovery he aſſumed them all in one day, though Auguſtus had taken them ſeparately, and Tiberius had to the laſt declined ſeveral of them [b]. Theſe were probably the titles of Auguſtus, of emperor, of high pontiff, of perpetual tribune. From ſeveral medals which have reached our times [c], it appears, that he bore all thoſe titles before his ſecond conſulate; but that of father of his country he did not aſſume, till the third year of his triumphal power [d]. To the above-mentioned titles he added the following ſurnames, ſtyling himſelf, the moſt pious, the ſon of the camp, father of the armies, the moſt gracious, the moſt mighty, Cæſar [e]. This year, Tiberius the ſon of Druſus, being eighteen complete, took the manly robe; on which occaſion Caius, after many proteſtations of kindneſs and ſincere affection for the young prince, firſt adopted him, and then declared him prince of the Roman youth. But theſe honours the unfortunate Tiberius enjoyed a very ſhort time, Caius not being aſhamed to put him to death a few days after he had ſolemnly declared, that his life was as dear to him as his own, and that he would ever cheriſh him as his own child. Philo tells us, that he adopted him with no other view, but to acquire that abſolute power over him, which the Roman laws give to every parent over his children [f]. Be that as it will, he had no ſooner adopted him, than he charged ſome tribunes and centurions of his guards to acquaint the young prince, that he muſt with his own hand put an end to his life, thinking it unlawful for any inferior perſon to imbrue his hands in the blood of one of the imperial family. The innocent youth expected nothing leſs, and therefore was, as we may well imagine, ſtruck with ſurprize and amazement, when the officers denounced to him the emperor's orders. As he was of a mild temper, and had ever avoided aſſiſting at executions, and even at the combats of gladiators, he preſented his throat firſt to the officer who ſtood next to him, and then to all the reſt, begging them with many tears to execute the cruel order they had brought him. But as they all declined that office, purſuant to the emperor's orders, ſtrictly forbidding them to be any ways aiding and aſſiſting to his death, the young prince drew at length his ſword; but not knowing where to ſtrike, he begged they would at leaſt ſhew him where the wound

Aſſumes ſeveral titles of honour.

He orders young Tiberius to put himſelf to death.

[b] Dio, p. 641.
[c] Suet. c. 22.
[d] Idem, p. 39.
[e] Goltz. p. 38.
[f] Philo legat. p. 995.

wound might prove mortal, and ſoon put an end to his lif and miſery. So far they complied with his requeſt, and then the unfortunate youth ſtabbed himſelf in their preſence [g]. Caius, to excuſe this firſt act of cruelty, which was ſoon followed by many others, pretended, that Tiberius had, during his illneſs, wiſhed him dead [h]; and that, through fear of being poiſoned, he had taken an antidote, which when he diſcovered, he cried out, What! an antidote againſt Cæſar? But this pretended antidote was only a remedy he had taken for a cough, with which he had been long troubled [i]. Thus he rid himſelf of the only prince, to whom thoſe could apply, who might in proceſs of time be diſſatisfied with his government. As for his uncle Claudius, he looked upon him as a perſon utterly unfit for any office in the empire, or in private life, as he really was; and therefore ſaved him, as he openly declared, for a laughing-ſtock. Being thus by the death of Tiberius delivered from all reſtraint and controul, he gave a full looſe to his furious paſſions, and commenced an open enemy to mankind, a complete tyrant, or rather, as Suetonius ſtyles him [k], an outrageous monſter.

He abandons himſelf to all wickedneſs.

Soon after his recovery, he obliged all thoſe, who, during his malady, had devoted their lives for his, and promiſed to fight amongſt the gladiators, to fulfil their promiſe; and becauſe one was ſomewhat backward in the accompliſhment of his vow, he cauſed him to be adorned like a victim, and delivered to a company of rude and mercileſs boys, who, after abuſing him in a moſt cruel and inhuman manner, dragged him through the ſtreets, requiring the accompliſhment of his vow, and at laſt threw him down a precipice, and put an end to his life [l].

The death of his grandmother Antonia.

His grandmother Antonia, venerable for her age and no leſs illuſtrious for quality, for ſhe was the daughter of Marc Antony, the niece of Auguſtus, ſiſter-in-law of Tiberius, and mother of Druſus, having taken upon her to admoniſh him, he reſented that freedom to ſuch a degree, that he reduced her to the neceſſity of laying violent hands on herſelf [m]; whether by an expreſs order, or only by the unbecoming manner with which he treated her, we are not told. That illuſtrious princeſs having one day begged to ſpeak with him in private, he refuſed her that favour, and ordered Macro to be preſent the whole time

[g] Idem ibid. p. 996. Suet. c. 23. Dio, l. lix. p. 645. [h] Dio, ibid. p. 646. [i] Suet. c. 23. [k] Idem, c. 43. [l] Idem, c. 27. Dio, p. 645. [m] Dio, ibid.

time she continued with him. On another occasion, as she offered to advise him, he immediately interrupted her in a violent rage, bidding her remember, that he could do what he pleased with whom he pleased. With these indignities and affronts, 'tis most probable, he hastened her death. Some indeed have written, that he caused her to be poisoned [n], which, if true, Philo would never have passed over in silence. He bestowed no honours upon her after her death, and from one of the windows of his palace beheld the funeral pomp quite unconcerned [o]. Dion Cassius fixes the death of Silanus, the emperor's father-in-law, to this year; but, according to Philo, it happened after that of Macro, of which we shall speak, the following year. In this or the foregoing year, was born on the fifteenth of December the emperor Nero, and much about the same time Josephus the historian.

The next consuls were M. Aquilius Julianus and P. Nonius Asprenas [p], appointed by Tiberius, whose appointment Caius did not think fit to alter [q]. In the beginning of the year the senate and consuls bound themselves by a solemn oath to observe all the laws and constitutions of Augustus and Caius, without mentioning those of Tiberius; and this omission passed into a custom, which ever after obtained. At the same time, vows were made for the safety of Caius and his sisters. Dion Cassius observes, that on the same day, a slave, named Macaon, placing himself upon the bed of Jupiter Capitolinus, foretold many dreadful calamities; and when he had done, killed first a small dog, which he had brought with him, and then himself. This year, Caius appointed Soemus prince of the Iturean Arabs; gave Armenia Minor, and soon after part of Arabia, to Cotys king of Thrace; and to his cousin Rhemetalces that part of Thrace which Cotys had held; to Polemon he gave the territories of Pontus, which his father Polemon had possessed [r]. Suetonius tells us, that Caius, having advanced this year Flavius Vespasianus to the ædileship, and being one day angry with him for his remissness in seeing the streets kept clean, which was part of his province, he commanded his guards to take some of the dirt, and besmear with it the ædile's embroidered robe. This some interpreted as a presage of Vespasian's future

Impending calamities foretold by a slave.

[n] Suet. c. 23. [o] Idem, ibid. [p] Dio, p. 646. Noris epson. [q] Noris ibid. [r] Dio, ibid. p. 649.

grandeur [s]; no doubt when they ſaw him already poſſeſſed of the empire. Dion Caſſius and Suetonius give us diſmal accounts of the many cruelties practiſed by this bloody idiot, in the ſecond year of his reign. Among the reſt he tells us, that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beaſts, according to the barbarous cuſtom which obtained at Rome, he commanded ſuch of the people as were already come to ſee the ſhews, to be thrown to them, having firſt ordered their tongues to be cut out, that they might not diſturb with their cries and complaints his inhuman diverſion. Finding it very chargeable to maintain the wild beaſts, which were kept for ſuch entertainments, he often viſited the priſons in perſon; and, ordering all the priſoners to be ranged in a gallery before him, ſentenced many of them to be thrown to the wild beaſts, without examining whether they were guilty or innocent. Once in particular, as they ſtood drawn up before him, he commanded all to be taken away to feed his beaſts, "a calvo ad calvum", that is from ſuch a bald head, whom he pointed out, to another. Great numbers of old men, of infirm perſons, and of ſuch as were reduced to poverty, met with the ſame cruel fate, the inhuman tyrant pretending, that by ſuch unheard-of barbarities he conſulted the public welfare, ſince he delivered the ſtate from perſons who were but ſo many burdens to it. A Roman knight whom he had cauſed to be caſt to the wild beaſts, crying out that he was innocent, he ordered him to be taken up, his tongue to be cut out, and then to be thrown in again. It was his conſtant cuſtom to oblige parents, though free from all guilt, to aſſiſt at the execution of their children, and often ordered them to be aſſaſſinated the following night in their houſes. To one of them, who pretended ſickneſs and begged to be excuſed, he ſent his own litter [t]. Having cauſed the ſon of an illuſtrious Roman knight, named Paſtor, to be dragged to priſon, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was remarkable for his comelineſs and the tallneſs of his ſtature, the unhappy father went immediately to intercede for his child. But the cruel monſter, inſtead of hearkening to his tears and entreaties, commanded the innocent youth to be executed without delay; and when the news of his death was

Various inſtances of Caius's cruelty.

[s] Suet. in Veſp. c. 5.

[t] Suet. c. 26, 27. Dio, p. 647.

was brought, to inſult nature itſelf, he invited the diſtreſſed parent to dine with him that very day, and forced him, by threatening to treat in the like manner his other ſon, if he betrayed any ſymptoms of grief, to drink to exceſs, and in height of his affliction to ſhew ſuch outward ſigns of joy, as would have been at any other time altogether unbecoming a perſon of his rank and age [u]. One Caninius Iulus having in a private converſation adviſed Caius with great liberty to alter his conduct, as he was withdrawing, That you may not flatter yourſelf, Caninius, with vain hopes, ſaid the emperor, I have already ſigned the warrant for your death. At theſe words Caninius, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, turning about, I return you thanks, ſaid he, moſt gracious prince, for this favour. As the decree of the ſenate, granting to condemned perſons ten days reſpite, was in this inſtance obſerved by Caius, the undaunted Caninius during that interval never betrayed the leaſt uneaſineſs; inſomuch, that the centurion, who came, when the ten days were expired, to ſee the ſentence put in execution, found him playing, with his uſual calmneſs, at cheſs. When the executioner appeared, he ſtarted up with a chearful countenance, embraced his friends, and, taking his leave of them, told them, that he ſhould ſoon know whether or no the ſoul was immortal; that in the very article of his death he would particularly mind in what manner it abandoned the body, and after his death return to acquaint his friends with the ſtate of ſouls after their ſeparation. He then offered his neck to the executioner, with the intrepidity of a true hero [w]. The emperor, if ſuch an inhuman madman deſerves that name, aſſiſted in perſon at moſt executions; ſo great was the delight he took in cruelty and bloodſhed; but always cauſed the mouths of thoſe, who ſuffered in public, to be ſtopt, either with their cloaths or a ſponge, leſt they ſhould upbraid him with his wickedneſs [x]. He ſeldom ſuffered them to be diſpatched at once, deſiring they might feel themſelves dying, which was his uſual expreſſion. While he was at table, he often cauſed criminals, and ſometimes innocent perſons, to be racked in his preſence, nay, and their heads to be cut off by a ſoldier, who did it with great ſkill and dexterity. Being once miſtaken in the name of a perſon, and cauſing him to be executed inſtead of another, when he underſtood his error, 'Tis no matter, ſaid he, he deſerved it as well as the other.

The conſtancy and intrepidity of Caninius Iulus.

[u] Senec. de ira, l. ii. c. 33. [w] Idem ibid. c. 14. [x] Idem, ibid. c. 19.

Five of the gladiators, called retiarii, becauſe they uſed in fighting certain nets, having yielded to the like number of ſecutores, who were their antagoniſts, he commanded them to be ſlain; but one of the five, ſnatching up his arms, killed all the conquerors. This action Caligula looked upon as cruel, lamented it in public, and loaded all thoſe with curſes who were ſo hard-hearted as to behold it. As he pretended to great ſkill in fencing, a famous gladiator, with whom he often fought in jeſt, pretending to be conquered, fell down at his feet, as the gladiators, who were overcome, uſed to do. But his flattery coſt him dear; for Caius, taking advantage of his fall, ſtabbed him with a dagger; then with a branch of palm-tree, the ſymbol of victory, in his hand, he ran up and down triumphing, as if he had fairly overcome him. As one night at ſupper he burſt ſuddenly into a loud laughter, and the conſuls, who ſat near him, deſired with great reſpect to know the cauſe of his mirth: What makes me ſo merry, ſaid he, is, that I can have both your throats cut with the leaſt nod of my head. A victim being brought to the altar and ready to be offered, he appeared unexpectedly among the reſt in the habit of a prieſt, and, lifting up the ax, as if he deſigned to kill the victim, he knocked out the brains of the prieſt who ſtood by him. Having demanded of one, who had been baniſhed by Tiberius, and recalled by him, how he employed himſelf in his exile, upon his anſwering, that he had conſtantly prayed for the death of Tiberius, that he might come to the empire, he immediately concluded, that thoſe, whom he had baniſhed, prayed likewiſe for his death; and upon that preſumption diſpatched officers to the iſlands, with orders to put them all to the ſword without mercy [i]. To theſe and innumerable other acts of cruelty, related at length by Suetonius and Dion Caſſius, the latter adds the death of Macro and his wife, whom Caius with the utmoſt ingratitude cauſed to be put to death this year. To Macro he was indebted both for his life and empire, and had promiſed him the government of Egypt, the higheſt poſt to which a knight could aſpire. But, inſtead of the promiſed reward, he ordered both him and his wife, as ſome hiſtorians have written [k], to diſpatch themſelves with their own hands. With them were put to death all their children, nay, and their ſlaves, ſo that not one of the whole family was left alive.

The death of Macro and his wife.

Macro

[i] Suet. c. 30—34.

[k] Philo legat. p. 1000.

Macro indeed, according to the character Tacitus gives us of him, deſerved ſo tragical an end, but not at Caius's hands. The true cauſe of his death was, if Philo is to be credited, his uſing with more liberty, than the tyrant could endure, the authority which his eminent ſervice gave him; but Caius charged him with other crimes, and pretended, that, unmindful of his condition, he had even challenged an equal ſhare in the ſovereign power [l]. The next perſon he ſacrificed to his cruelty was M. Silanus, whoſe daughter he had married in Tiberius's reign, a man of a moſt illuſtrious deſcent, and highly eſteemed by all on account of his great experience in affairs, his prudence, and eminent probity. He took upon him to diſapprove Caius's wild meaſures, and ſuggeſt others to him, by which, if followed, he would have anſwered the expectation the public had entertained of him. But the jealous idiot, having a mighty opinion of his own abilities, and looking upon thoſe as his enemies who found fault with his meaſures, reſolved to lay hold of the firſt opportunity to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a counſellor; which he did accordingly on the following occaſion. One day all on a ſudden he took it into his head to divert himſelf on the ſea, Silanus, who could not endure the agitation of the ſhip, begged to be excuſed from attending him: this Caius imputed to him as a great crime, pretending, that he remained aſhore with a deſign to ſeize on the empire, in caſe any misfortune had happened to him; and upon this groundleſs pretext he obliged him to cut his own throat with a razor [m] (K). The death of Si- M. Silanus put to death

[l] Idem, 101. Dio, p. 647. [m] Dio, p. 646. Suet. c. 23.

(K) Julius Grecinus, father to the famous Agricola, had ſome time before been ordered by Caius to accuſe Silanus, and put to death for declining that infamous office. Grecinus was a ſenator, no leſs famous for his eloquence, than his probity (26). Seneca often mentions him, and tells us, that not having wherewithal to defray the charges of the public ſhews, which he was obliged to exhibit in virtue of his office, one Fabius Perſicus, a man of great wealth, but of an indifferent character, ſent him a very conſiderable ſum; which he refuſed, anſwering his friends, who found fault with his unſeaſonable generoſity; Would you have me to accept a favour of one with whom I ſhould

(26) Tacit. vit. Agricol. c. 4.

lanus was followed by that of many other perſons of great diſtinction, whom he condemned, under pretence that they had been acceſſory to the death of his mother or brothers; though his real motive was to ſeize on their eſtates; for he had already ſquandered away great part of the immenſe treaſure left him by Tiberius. This year about the month of July died his ſiſter Druſilla. She had been given by Tiberius five years before to L. Caſſius Longinus, and taken from him ſoon after by Caius, who lived publicly with her, as if ſhe had been his own wife, and had, during his ſickneſs, appointed her to ſucceded him in the empire [n]. He had maintained with her, as well as with his other ſiſters, if Suetonius is to be credited, a criminal converſation, even before ſhe was married. When ſhe died, ſhe was according to Dion Caſſius [o], the wife of M. Lepidus. That writer gives us a very particular account of the extraordinary honours conferred upon her by Caius after her death. She was immediately ranked amongſt the gods, and thenceforth ſtyled the goddeſs Druſilla, which impious title the proſtitute bears on ſome Greek medals, which have reached our times [p]. A ſenator, by name Livius Geminus, declared in full ſenate upon his oath, that he ſaw her carried up to heaven [q]. Seneca rallies him with a good deal of humour upon this viſion, but nevertheleſs choſe rather to adore the divinity of Druſilla, than incur the diſpleaſure of the prince. The emperor's paſſion for his ſiſter appeared no leſs fooliſh after her death, than it had been infamous during her life. He immediately left Rome, and

Druſilla dies, and is honoured as a goddeſs.

Caius's grief.

[n] Suet. c. 24. [o] Dio, p. 648. [p] Vide Goltz. c. 39. [q] Dio, ibid.

ſhould not care to eat a meal's meat? Rubellius, who had been conſul, but was a man of the ſame ſtamp with Perſicus, ſent him a larger ſum than the other, which he likewiſe rejected; but Rubellius preſſing him, he begged to be excuſed, ſaying, Neither have I accepted any thing of Perſicus (27). The ſame writer tells us elſewhere (28), that he was murdered by Caius's orders, becauſe he was a better man, than was expedient for any one to be under a tyrant. He wrote a book upon agriculture, which is quoted by Columella (29). Pliny likewiſe ranks him among writers (30).

(27) Senec. de ben. l. ii. c. 21. (28) Idem epiſt. 29. (29) Columell. l. i. c. 1. (30) Plin. in hiſt. l. xiv, & xv.

and, after having wandered ſome time up and down Campania, he paſſed over into Sicily, where he exhibited moſt magnificent ſhews, and repaired at a vaſt charge the walls of Syracuſe, and ſome temples that were decayed with age. He ridiculed many things, which were looked upon by the Sicilians as miracles; but was ſo terrified with the ſmoke and noiſe of mount Ætna, that he fled from Meſſena in the night, not having courage enough to wait till day appeared [r]. Upon his return to Rome, he purſued the courſe of his cruelties with more barbarity than ever. If any one betrayed joy, it was on account of the death of Druſilla; if ſorrow, it was on account of the divine honours that were paid her; and both were crimes againſt the ſtate, and puniſhed with death: inſomuch, that they were all at a loſs how to comport themſelves, it being alike capital to mourn and to rejoice [t].

His marriages and divorces.

Caius had continued a widow ever ſince the death of Junia, the daughter of Silanus. But C. Calpurnius Piſo marrying one Livia Oreſtilla, and inviting him to his wedding, when the ſolemnity was over, he commanded the bride to be carried to his own palace, and there married her; but divorced her a few days after, and in the term of two years, or two months as ſome will have it, baniſhed both her and Piſo, under pretence that they had lived together [u]. Not long after he married Lollia Paulina, the grand-daughter of M. Lollius, whom Auguſtus, as we have related elſewhere, had appointed governor of Caius Cæſar, when he ſent him into the eaſt. Lollia was already married to C. Memmius Regulus, governor of Macedon and Achaia; but Caius having heard in a private converſation, that her grandmother had been famous for her beauty, he immediately ſent for her, forced her from her huſband, and married her [w] (L); but in a ſhort time not only put her away, but threatened her with death, if ſhe either returned to her former huſband, or married any other man [x]. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of her in the following reign.

And

[r] Senec, ibid. Suet. c. 51.
[t] Senec. ad. Polyb. c. 36.
[u] Suet, c. 25. Dio, p. 646.
[w] Suet, ibid. Dio, p. 648. Euſeb. chron.
[x] Suet, & Dio, ibid.

(L) Lollia Paulina was herſelf very remarkable for her beauty. Pliny tells us, that he ſaw her adorned with a prodigious quantity of

His pride and folly.

AND now the bloody monſter, finding no one dared to oppoſe his ſovereign will and pleaſure, notwithſtanding the many murders he daily committed, began to look upon himſelf as raiſed above the condition of a mortal man. To confirm himſelf in this ridiculous fancy, he is ſaid to have uſed the following no leſs ridiculous argument: As thoſe to whoſe care ſheep, oxen, and other cattle are committed, are themſelves neither ſheep nor oxen, but of a nature infinitely ſuperior to the condition of thoſe animals; ſo thoſe who are ſet over all men and creatures in the world, ought not to be regarded as men, but reverenced like gods [y]. He firſt betrayed this extravagant fancy at an entertainment with ſome foreign kings, who came to pay him homage. As ſome diſpute aroſe amongſt thoſe princes about the nobility of their extraction, Caius ſtarting up, repeated a verſe of Homer in the perſon of Ulyſſes; Let there be but one king, one lord below; and was for aſſuming immediately the diadem, and changing the government into a monarchy. But being told that he was already above all the kings and monarchs of the earth, he began from that time to challenge the honours paid to the demi-gods, ſuch as Hercules, Bacchus, Tryphon, &c. aſſuming the dreſs in which they were repreſented, and appearing ſometimes with a lion's ſkin about his ſhoulders and a club in his hand, to perſonate Hercules; ſometimes with wings at his feet, and a caduceus in his hand, like Mercury, &c. But he ſoon thought it beneath him to be honoured only as a demigod, and claimed the ſame worſhip that was paid to Apollo, Mars, and Jupiter himſelf; nay, he cauſed the heads to be taken off their ſtatues, and his own to be put in their room. He often placed himſelf in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, between the ſtatues of thoſe brothers, to be adored by all who came to offer their vows to them. He enlarged his palace, and brought one wing of it cloſe to the temple of thoſe two fabulous deities, which he altered to the form of a portico, that the gods themſelves, as he uſed to ſay, might ſerve him in quality of porters.

Claims divine honours.

[y] Philo. ibid. p. 1002.

of pearls and emeralds, which had formerly belonged to her grandfather M. Lollius (31).

(31) Plin. l. ix. c. 35.

porters. He frequently changed his godhead, being one day a male deity, and another a female; ſometimes Jupiter, at other times Mars; ſometimes Neptune or Apollo, and ſometimes Venus, &c. But above all he liked to be called Jupiter, the head and chief of the Pagan deities; and that he might be eſteemed a true Jupiter, he had inventions to imitate thunder and lightning; and when the thunder was ſuppoſed to fall, he uſed to throw a ſtone againſt heaven, with the impious defiance in Homer; Do you take me from hence or I'll take you. He often went to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and, placing himſelf by his ſtatue, ſometimes whiſpered to it, then laid his ear cloſe to it, as it were to receive an anſwer. Sometimes he ſeemed to be very angry with Jupiter, and was once heard to tell him in a threatening ſtyle, that he would ſend him back into Greece (M). At length being overcome by the importunity of the gods, His Impiety.

(M) Dion Caſſius tells us, that a Gaul ſeeing him one day ſitting on a throne in the figure of Jupiter, could not help burſting into a loud laugh; which Caius hearing, called him to him, and aſked him, What do you take me for? For a great fool anſwered frankly the Gaul. This affront, which would have coſt a ſenator or knight his life, Caius diſſembled in the Gaul, thinking it perhaps below him to exert his vengeance on ſo contemptible a perſon; for he was by profeſſion a ſhoe-maker (32). He cauſed all the temples of Greece to be ſtript of their ſtatues, pictures, and other ornaments which he conveyed to Rome, crouding with them his own temple, his palace, his villas, and his gardens (33). He ordered the famous ſtatue of Jupiter Olympius, done by Phidias, and had in great veneration by the Greeks, to be tranſported to Rome. We are told, that the ſhip, which was building for that purpoſe, was burnt by lightning; and that as often as the workmen attempted to remove the ſtatue, a great noiſe was heard, like that of perſons deriding their attempt. Memmius Regulus, governor of Greece, who was charged to ſee the celebrated ſtatue conveyed to Rome, wrote to Caius, acquainting him that he could not obey his commands on account of ſome extraordinary prodigies, and becauſe the workmen aſſured him, that if once removed, it would fall to pieces. Hereupon, in the tranſport of his rage, he abuſed and threatened Jupiter for daring to oppoſe his ſovereign will, and would have put to death Memmius, had he not been firſt put to death himſelf (34).

(32) Dio, p. 660, 661. (33) Philo legat. 104. Joſeph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. (34) Dio, p. 662. Joſeph. ibid.

gods, as he fooliſhly gave out, who deſired his company, he joined his palace to the capitol by an arch built over the temple of Auguſtus; and ſome time after, that he might yet be nearer, he laid the foundations of a new houſe in the court of the capitol [z]. At length his pride, folly, and impiety carried him ſo far, that he would have a temple for himſelf, which he built at a vaſt charge, and dedicated to his own divinity, placing in it his ſtatue in gold, done to the life, and every day cloathed in the ſame robes which he himſelf wore. He likewiſe inſtituted prieſts and prieſteſſes to officiate in his new temple, the greateſt and richeſt men in Rome, ſo great was their debaſement at this time, purchaſing the infamous prieſthood, with vaſt ſums; for Caius ſold it at ſuch an extravagant price, that his uncle Claudius, not having wherewithal to diſcharge the debt, eight millions of ſeſterces, ſays Suetonius, which he contracted on that occaſion, was obliged to ſurrender all his effects to his creditors, who publicly ſold them by auction [a]. The ſacrifices, which his prieſts daily offered him, were peacocks, pheaſants, Numidian hens, &c. And as though his other follies were not ſufficiently extravagant, he became at laſt prieſt to himſelf, and admitted to the ſame dignity his wife Cæſonia, whom he married the year following; and alſo his horſe, the moſt proper prieſt of all for ſuch a deity [b]. Beſides the temple which he built to himſelf in his palace, the ſenate decreed him another, which was begun in this, and ended in the following year [c]. He ordered a temple to be erected to his godhead at Miletus, which might ſerve for all Aſia; and becauſe it was not finiſhed at the time he expected, he commanded a magnificent temple, which that community was building in honour of Apollo, to be conſecrated to himſelf [d]. All nations, people, and cities, erected temples and altars to this new divinity, ſacrificed victims, and ſwore by his name [e]. But none were more forward in paying him this impious worſhip, than the inhabitans of Alexandria. The Jews alone, who were very numerous in that city, refuſed to bend their knees to the new idol, which brought upon them that cruel perſecution from the Alexandrians,

Inſtitutes prieſts in honour of his own deity:

Temples built, and ſacrifices offered to him.

[z] Suet. c. 22. & 52. Dio, p. 660, 661. Philo. p. 1003.
[a] Suet. in Claud. c. 9. Senec. de ira. l. iv. c. 22.
[b] Idem in Calig. c. 22. Dio. p. 660.
[c] Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 673.
[d] Idem ibid. p. 670. 671.
[e] Joſeph. bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 17.

ans, which we have deſcribed in our hiſtory of that nation. The diſtreſſed Jews diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome to lay their ſufferings before Caius, and beg his protection. At the head of this embaſſy was Philo, who gives us a very particular account of it, as we ſhall do from him.

His ſecond conſulſhip.

THE following year, Caius reſumed the faſces, having for his collegue Lucius Aproniius Cæſianus (N), but held them only thirty days [f]. When he entered upon his conſulſhip, and alſo when he reſigned it, he took the uſual oaths, like a private citizen; but while he thus affected popularity, he filled the city with blood and ſlaughter, cauſing thoſe very perſons, who had been impriſoned by Tiberius, and by himſelf ſet at liberty, to be dragged to priſon again, and executed for the pretended crimes with which they had been charged in the former reign [g]. The people not aſſiſting at the ſhews, which he exhibited almoſt every day, with the aſſiduity he expected, he commanded the public granaries to be ſhut up, with a deſign to ſtarve them, and laid hold of all opportunities that offered to do them what miſchief he could. Once in particular he cauſed them all to be driven by his guards out of the circus, on which occaſion great numbers of the common people were cruſhed to death in the throng, and above twenty knights, and as many women of diſtinction. At another time, becauſe they did not declare for the gladiators whom he favoured, he cauſed the ſails, which covered the amphitheatre, to be taken down; and having thus expoſed them to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, he threatened with preſent death ſuch as ſhould offer to ſtir [h].

His hatred to the Roman people.

His inhuman wiſh.

Nay, the acclamati-

[f] Dio. p. 649. Suet. c. 17. Tacit. annal. 6. c. 4. Noris ep. con. p. 28. [g] Dio. ibid. [h] Suet. c. 26.

(N) Cæſianus held the conſulſhip till July, with Sanvinus, or rather anquinius Maximus, governor of Rome, who had been ſubſtituted to Caius. Sanquinius had been likewiſe conſul under Tiberius, but in what year we find no-where recorded (58). Cn. Domitius Corbulo was alſo conſul at this time, from the firſt of July, as is commonly believed (59), to the fourth or ſecond of September, when Caius ignominiouſly depoſed both conſuls (60). Corbulo's collegue was ſo affected with the affront, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, and Caius named in his room Domitius Afer, a celebrated orator (61).

(58) Dio. l. lix. p. 651. (59) Goltz. faſt. p. 238.
(60) Dio. ibid. p. 665. Suet. c. 25. (61) Goltz. ibid.

ons of the people in the theatre differing one day from his, he uttered the inhuman wish, that the whole Roman people had but one neck, that he might dispatch them all at a blow. He often wished for some great calamity, as if the monster himself had not been curse and calamity enough. He envied Augustus the happiness of an army massacred, and Tiberius the sad disaster at Fidenæ, where fifty thousand persons were maimed, or perished, by the fall of an amphitheatre. In short, declaring himself an open enemy to his people, he often made use of the expression of the old tragedian: Oderint dum metuant; let them hate me as much as they please, so they do but fear me. On the other hand, the people considering him no longer as their lawful sovereign, but as their implacable enemy, one day, to be revenged on him, rising up, abandoned the shews, which he was exhibiting at an immense charge; which piqued him to such a degree, that he immediately left Rome and retired to Campania, whence he did not return to the city till the feast of his sister Drusilla, which he solemnized with extraordinary magnificence [i]. Historians this year take notice of the foolish regard he paid to one of his horses, named Incitatus, whom he often invited to his table, fed with gilt oats, and presented with the most delicious wines in cups of gold. His table was all of marble, his manger of ivory, his collar of pearls, and his coverings of rich purple. He appointed him a great number of attendants, and supplied him with furniture no less magnificent than his own, that he might receive and entertain, in a manner suitable to his rank, such as came to wait upon him; for he was a member of the college of Caius's priests, and collegue to Claudius, to Cæsonia, and to the chief nobility of Rome; nay the emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and would have honoured him, as was commonly believed, with that dignity, if he had lived longer [k].

The foolish regard he paid to his horse Incitatus.

Caius had hitherto disapproved of Tiberius's conduct, and seemed to be greatly pleased with the invectives that were uttered against him. But this year, coming one day to the senate, he told the conscript fathers, that he, who was emperor, might well censure the measures of his predecessor; but that it seemed very strange to him, that they should

[i] Dio. p. 650. Suet. c. 30.

[k] Dio. p. 650. Suet. c. 55.

ſhould preſume to find fault with one who had governed them as their lord and ſovereign. You inveigh againſt him, ſaid he, as a tyrant, for having put many worthy citizens to death, without reflecting that you yourſelves are involved in the ſame guilt, ſince he cauſed none to be executed, who had not been firſt convicted by your evidence, and condemned by your decrees. Since you honoured him ſo much during his life, it ill becomes you thus to inſult his memory after his death. Your conduct ſhews me what I may expect from you when I am gone. Having ſaid many things to this purpoſe, in the end he upbraided the ſenate as the creatures and dependents of Sejanus, as the betrayers of his mother and brothers, as a herd of mean-ſpirited ſlaves and flatterers, and concluded with introducing Tiberius, addreſſing him in the following terms: you have ſaid nothing, O Caius, but what I have by long experience found to be true; deſpiſe them therefore as unworthy of your eſteem and affection, and uſe them with all the ſeverity they deſerve. They all hate you in their hearts, wiſh for your death, and will aſſaſſinate you, if they can with impunity. Lay aſide therefore all hopes of winning their affections, deſpiſe their impotent rage, and employ all your thoughts about your own ſafety: whatever moſt conduces to that, is moſt juſt and equitable. By this means you will have nothing to fear, you will enjoy your pleaſures in ſafety, and at the ſame time be honoured by them; for they have not the courage to oppoſe you. If you ſtudy to gain their affections, you may perhaps acquire an empty reputation, which will die with you; but muſt reſign your power, which will offer them an opportunity of attempting upon your life, and deſtroying you; for the yoke of ſovereignty is ever grating; a prince is honoured ſo long as he is dreaded; when he is not feared, he is deſpiſed; and woe to that prince, whoſe ſubjects are more powerful than he [1]. Caius having thus ſpoke, revived the law of treaſon, and withdrawing from the ſenate, retired forthwith into the country. The ſenators, thunder-ſtruck with ſuch an unexpected ſpeech, and in the utmoſt conſternation on account of the dangers that threatened them; for who had not exclaimed againſt Tiberius? were not capable of coming to any reſolution that day; but the following long ſpeeches were made in commendation of ſo merciful, ſo gracious a prince, who after ſuch juſt and well deſerved reproaches, had

His odd ſpeech to the ſenate.

Revives the law of majeſty.

[1] Dio. ibid. p. 652. Suet. c. 30.

had been so generous as not to exert his vengeance: they enacted a decree, ordering the day, on which he made this memorable speech, to be yearly solemnized with victims and sacrifices as a festival; and heaped innumerable other honours upon a prince, who had given such glaring instances of his clemency and good-nature. One would think that such praises must have passed for satire and mockery. But ambition is a credulous passion: Caius was highly pleased with such honours and praises; but nevertheless put afterwards many of those to death, who had spoken ill of Tiberius, though he hated all who spoke well of him [m].

The slavish spirit of the senate.

Caius builds a bridge upon the sea.

This year is also remarkable for the famous work which Caius undertook at Puteoli: it is difficult to determine which was greater, the folly or the extravagancy of the attempt. To shew his power and greatness, and that he was able to walk upon the sea as well as the land, he caused an infinite number of ships to be gathered together in all parts, and a great many new ones to be built, which were all brought into the bay of Baiæ and Puteoli in Campania. There from the point of Baiæ to the opposite shore of Puteoli they were placed in two rows in the form of a crescent, being fastened and moored together with anchors, chains, and cables. So many ships were employed in this foolish undertaking, that none being left to convey corn to Rome, the city was greatly distressed by famine, which continued to the reign of Claudius [n], and to the great satisfaction of Caius, swept off daily great numbers of the people. Seneca tells us, that when Caius was killed, there was not sufficient corn in the public granaries to maintain the people eight days longer [o]. When the ships were well fastened and secured, vast quantities of large planks and boards were laid over them, and covered with earth. Then to make this stupendous work the more magnificent and surprising, he sent for an infinite number of artificers and workmen, who, at an immense charge and with incredible expedition, Caius punishing the least remissness with present death, built houses and convenient inns on the bridge for the reception of the emperor and his numerous retinue. Into these public houses was conveyed fresh water in pipes from the land, Caius taking delight in such things only, as to others seemed impossible. When this wonderful work was completed, Caius

The expence and extravagance of this undertaking.

[m] Dio. ibid.

[n] Idem. p. 652. Suet. c. 37. Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1.

[o] Senec. de brev. vit. c. 18.

tus repaired to it with all the great lords of Rome, being attended by immenſe crouds of people, who flocked from every quarter to behold this mighty pomp. Upon his arrival at Baiæ he offered ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods, eſpecially to Envy; leſt the other deities ſhould be touched with jealouſy in ſeeing their glory eclipſed by his. Then proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold, and armed with the breaſtplate of Alexander the Great, having a civic crown on his head, accompanied with the great officers of his army and all the nobility of Rome, he mounted on horſeback, and entering upon the bridge at Baiæ, rid with an awful majeſty to Puteoli. There he reſided the remaining part of the day, and the following night, when with an infinite number of torches, lanthorns, and other lights placed in different parts of the work, the ſea, the neighbouring mountains, and the ſhore, were illuminated to a vaſt diſtance, Caligula boaſting, that he had turned the night into day, as well as the ſea into land. The next day he appeared in the habit peculiar to the charioteers in the circus, and in a chariot drawn by two ſtately horſes, being attended by young Darius, the Parthian hoſtage, a ſquadron of his guards in bright armour, and a great train of his friends magnificently attired, and likewiſe in their chariots; he ſet out on his return to Baiæ, but halted about the middle of the bridge; and there, aſcending a magnificent throne, made a ſolemn oration in praiſe of his own exploit in riding ſo many miles upon the ſea, and of the pains and care taken by his ſoldiers and workmen, among whom he diſtributed large rewards. He ſpent all the day and the next night in this place, revelling and banquetting with his friends; and when he began to be heated with wine, that he might perform ſome memorable action before he left his bridge, he all on a ſudden cauſed great numbers of people to be thrown into the ſea, without diſtinction of friend or foe, noble or ignoble; and when they attempted to climb up into the veſſels, he ordered them to be thruſt off; ſo that many periſhed, tho' the far greater part ſaved themſelves, however drunk, by ſwimming, the ſea proving extremely calm and ſmooth the whole time, which Caius fooliſhly aſcribed to the reſpect Neptune had for him as a more powerful deity [p]. After this Caius returned to Rome, and entered the

Cauſes many perſons to be thrown into the ſea.

[p] Dio. p. 653. Suet. c. 37, 19. Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. & l. xix. c. 1. Senec brev. vit. c. 18.

the city in triumph, for having overcome, as he boaſted, nature itſelf. Upon his departure, the bridge, as Dion Caſſius ſeems to inſinuate [q], was immediately broke down, and the ſhips employed in it reſtored to the owners. In ſuch wild and uſeleſs attempts did Caius ſquander away in the ſpace of two years, beſides his ordinary revenues, the immenſe treaſure left by Tiberius, amounting to eighteen millions of our money. As to the motive, which prompted him to ſuch an extravagant undertaking, authors are not agreed (O).

His avarice and enormous actions.

Caius having by this and many other extravagancies exhauſted and drained his exchequer, he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine, inventing ſuch kinds of penalties, confiſcations, and impoſts, as had never before been heard of. He would not allow any one to be legally a citizen of Rome, whoſe grant ran in the following terms; "to him and his poſterity," unleſs he was his ſon, pretending that the word poſterity did not extend beyond that degree; ſo that moſt of the Roman citizens were obliged to purchaſe their freedom anew. He declared the wills void of all, from the beginning of Tiberius's reign, who had not named either that prince or himſelf amongſt their heirs. Hereupon ſeveral perſons named him in their wills amongſt their friends and children, which he knowing, cauſed them under ſeveral pretences to be put to death, that he might receive his ſhare the ſooner; nay, he was heard once to ſay, that it was a great preſumption in them to live, and keep him out of his inheritance. No commodity whatever, nor even the neceſſaries of life, were exempt from ſome tax or other. For all actions at law, in what place ſoever commenced, he exacted the fortieth

[q] Dio. ibid.

(O) Some write, that he built this bridge in imitation of Xerxes, who laid a wonderful one over the Helleſpont, as we have related in our hiſtory of Perſia. Others ſay, that being then upon the point of invading Germany and Britain, he deſigned to terrify them with the report of ſome extraordinary work. But Suetonius tells us, that when he was but a boy, he was informed by his grandfather, that Caius had been put upon this undertaking by certain aſtrological predictions of the celebrated Thraſyllus, who, finding Tiberius unreſolved as to his ſucceſſor, yet more inclined to his own grandſon, than to Caius, told him, it was as hard a matter for Caius to be emperor, as it was for him to ride over the gulph of Baiæ. Suetonius's grandfather lived under Caius, and had this intelligence from perſons who were in high favour with him (62).

(62) Suet. c. 19.

tieth part of the thing in controverſy, and laid heavy fines on ſuch as were convicted either of compounding, or dropping the ſuit. He enacted a law, enjoining all artificers, labourers, porters, carriers, &c. to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains. Every proſtitute was obliged to pay a certain proportion of what ſhe earned; nay, he was not aſhamed to turn his own palace into a brothel-houſe, maintaining there great numbers of proſtitutes, and ſending his officers to invite people of all ranks to his diverſions. He received the money himſelf of ſuch as came, and ordered his officers to enter their names in his books, as of perſons well affected to Cæſar. He likewiſe encouraged gaming-houſes, frequenting them himſelf; nay, at laſt he appointed an apartment in his own palace for gameſters, and there ſpent great part of his time. We are told, that one day, in the midſt of his game, obſerving two Roman knights of great eſtates accidentally paſſing by, he immediately went down, cauſed both to be apprehended, and their eſtates to be confiſcated; and then returning with joy to his game, boaſted, that he had never had a better throw. Another time wanting money for his ſtake, he went down, and cauſed ſeveral noblemen to be put to death; then returning told the company, that while they ſat playing for ſmall ſums, he had won ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces. He uſed frequently to expoſe to ſale the effects of the condemned perſons, and oblige the rich citizens to buy them at the price he was pleaſed to ſet upon them; which was ſo high, that many noble families were by that means reduced to poverty. He forced, not to mention others, a wealthy citizen, by name Apollonius Saturninus, to pay nine millions of ſeſterces for thirteen gladiators, whom he expoſed to ſale with all the furniture of the amphitheatre. A daughter being born to him about this time, he complained publicly of his poverty, not only as an emperor, but as a father; but applied to his own uſe all the preſents and contributions made by the people for the education and portion of the child[r]. The law of majeſty, which he revived, proved an inexhauſtible fund for the encreaſing of his revenues. Dion Caſſius enumerates a great many worthy citizens, who were put to death for no other crime but their great wealth; and tells us, that one Junius Priſcus, prætor, who had been condemned and executed under colour of ſome other crime, being found after his death poſſeſſed but of a ſmall eſtate, the emperor cried out, I have been impoſed upon; Junius

Turns his palace into a brothel and a gaming-houſe

[r] Suet. c. 38.—43.

was not guilty (P). Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria, had acquired great wealth in that province, and beſides, his great power, and the reputation he had gained amongſt the ſoldiery, gave Caius no ſmall uneaſineſs, who thereupon recalled him with a deſign to put him to death, under pretence, that through his negligence the Parthians had driven Tiridates from

Deſigns to deſtroy Lucius Vitellius governor of Syria.

(P) Dion Caſſius tells us in this place how Domitius Afer eſcaped condemnation. He was, ſays Tacitus (63), more famous for his eloquence than his integrity. He had been under Tiberius a zealous accuſer, and acted that part againſt Claudia Pulchra, an intimate friend and couſin to Agrippina, as we have related above. It was not, however, this that provoked Caius againſt him, but his being eſteemed the moſt eloquent orator of his age, which glory Caius thought due to himſelf; and therefore reſolved to rid himſelf of the only perſon who diſputed it with him. Domitius erected this year a ſtatue to the emperor with an inſcription, importing, that he was conſul the ſecond time in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age. This he meant as a compliment; but Caius, who wanted a pretence to deſtroy him, pretended, that he thereby reproached him with his youth, and a violation of the laws, forbidding any one to be raiſed to the conſular dignity at that age. He therefore took upon him to accuſe him himſelf, and delivered in the ſenate a long ſpeech, which he had compoſed againſt him. Domitius, inſtead of anſwering it, which, without all doubt, would have coſt him his life, extolled the eloquence of the ſpeaker, admired the propriety of his expreſſions, repeated the moſt remarkable paſſages, giving them their due weight, and pointing out their beauties, &c. When he was ordered to make his defence, inſtead of anſwering the emperor's oration, he threw himſelf at his feet, acknowledged him for his maſter in eloquence, and declared, that he deſpiſed life after he was thus bereaved of the glory on which he piqued himſelf, of being eſteemed the beſt orator of his age. Caius was ſo well pleaſed with this pretended ſubmiſſion, that he not only forgave him, but raiſed him that very year to the conſulate. Caliſtus, one of Caius's freedmen, whom Domitius had gained, and who had proved very ſerviceable to him on this occaſion, having one day made uſe of the liberty which Caius allowed him to complain of the bitter invectives, which he had uttered againſt one, whom he knew to be free from all guilt, the emperor returned him this anſwer; would you have had me to loſe ſo fine a diſcourſe (64)? Philo places in this year the maſſacre

(63) Tacit. annal. vi. c. 52.

(64) Dio. p. 644, 645.

from the kingdom of Armenia, which had been given him by Tiberius. Vitellius was a man of good talents and qualifications, had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the army, and in the government of provinces, ſays Tacitus [s], exerciſed the integrity of a primitive Roman. But his dread of Caligula changed him into a contemptible ſlave, and he is handed down to poſterity as a pattern of the moſt infamous flattery. For the firſt time Caius deigned to admit him to his preſence, he appeared before him in a modeſt dreſs, and accoſted him with the ſame ceremonies that were practiſed by the Romans, when they approached their gods, that is having his head covered with a veil, turning himſelf round, and then falling down proſtrate before him [t]. Caius was ſo taken with this unexpected behaviour, that he not only forgave him, but thenceforth numbered him amongſt his moſt intimate friends. For he was the firſt who introduced amongſt the Romans the cuſtom of approaching the emperors, as the Parthians and other eaſtern nations did their monarchs [u]. We ſhall have occaſion to relate in the courſe of this hiſtory other inſtances of his ſlaviſh ſpirit, and ſervile ſubmiſſion. He was ſucceeded in the government of Syria by P. Petronius, of whom hereafter. We are told, that

Who forfeits his reputation to ſave his life.

[s] Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 32. [t] Suet. in vit. c. 2. [u] Dio. p. 661. Philo legat. p. 1008. Suet. ibid.

maſſacre of the exiles, and tells us, that Caius, not being able one night to take any reſt, being haunted, as it frequently happened, with inward horrors, he began to think, that the baniſhed perſons were too happy, that they lived in eaſe and tranquillity, and wanted neither the neceſſaries nor conveniencies of life. Hereupon concluding with himſelf, that it was not reaſonable criminals ſhould enjoy any happineſs, as ſoon as day appeared, he made a liſt of the moſt eminent perſons amongſt them, and diſpatched officers with orders to put them all to death, which occaſioned an univerſal mourning among the moſt illuſtrious families of Rome. At the head of this black liſt was Flaccus, who had been governor of Egypt, and confined a few months before to the iſland of Andros (65). Euſebius fixes this cruel execution to the laſt year of Caius's reign (66); but Philo places it before the diſgrace of Lepidus, which happened this year (67).

(65) Philo in Flacc. p. 990, 991. (66) Euſeb. in chron. (67) Idem ibid.

Seneca was about this time in imminent danger of loſing his life for no other crime, but having pleaded a cauſe in the ſenate with great eloquence, and univerſal applauſe. This Caius, who was preſent, and pretended to be the beſt orator of his age, could not bear, and would therefore have diſpatched him, had he not been aſſured by one of his courteſans, that Seneca was affected with a diſtemper, which would ſoon corrupt his body, and put an end to his life [w] (Q).

The laſt of Auguſt, being his birth-day, the conſuls forgot to warn the people to obſerve it as a feſtival; which incenſed Caius to ſuch a degree, that on the ſecond of September he depoſed them, and cauſed their rods to be broken. This proved ſo ſenſible a mortification to them, that one of them not able to brook it, laid violent hands on himſelf. The pretence, that Caius took for thus ſtripping them ignominiouſly of their dignity, was, their obſerving the ſecond of September, the anniverſary of the battle of Actium, as a feſtival. This indeed was cuſtomary; but the emperor, who was deſcended from Auguſtus by his mother Agrippina, and from Antony by his grandmother Antonia, told his friends before, that the conſuls could not avoid giving him on that day a favourable pre-

Caius depoſes both the conſuls.

tence

[w] Dio, p. 655.

(Q) Caius deſpiſed the eloquence of Seneca, though then in great vogue, calling his writing "ſand without lime". Caius himſelf was no mean orator, had a great fluency and command of words, eſpecially when he declaimed againſt any one: and ſuch a clear voice and diſtinct pronunciation, that he was heard at a great diſtance. He took great delight in writing anſwers to ſuch orators as had performed with applauſe. He often pleaded in the ſenate for or againſt ſuch perſons of diſtinction as were accuſed, not being governed therein by friendſhip or enmity, but by the ſubject; for he was ready to accuſe a friend, or defend an enemy, according as he thought the ſubject moſt proper to diſplay his eloquence. When he declaimed, he conſtantly invited, by a public proclamation, the knights to hear him, who never failed to applaud him; and indeed he well deſerved their applauſe, for though he under valued the other liberal arts, he ſtudied eloquence with great application, and ſpoke very pertinently, eſpecially in accuſing (68).

(68) Suet. c. 53.

tence to revenge the late affront, either by omitting to celebrate the victory of Auguſtus, or by ſolemnizing the defeat of Antony [x]. Accordingly, the conſuls having, according to cuſtom, celebrated with the uſual ceremonies the anniverſary of the Actiac victory, they were the ſame day depoſed by Caius's orders, under pretence that they had ſolemnized not ſo much the victory of Auguſtus, as the defeat of his great-grandfather Antony. The city was then three days without conſuls, that is the third, fourth and fifth of September [y]; but on the ſixth, Domitius Afer, and another, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us, were nominated to that dignity. After this Caius forbad the boaſted victories gained by Auguſtus in Sicily and at Actium to be ſolemnized for the future, ſaying, that they had proved tragical and calamitous to the Roman people, though at the ſame time he gave out, that his mother Agrippina was not the daughter of Agrippa, but of Auguſtus by his own daughter Julia. Thus he choſe rather to aſperſe the memory of his great grandfather, and owe his birth to an abominable inceſt, than derive his pedigree from Agrippa who was not of an illuſtrious deſcent [z] (R). Dion Caſſius obſerves in this place, that Caius being jealous of the power and courage of L. Piſo, proconſul of Africa, and probably the ſon of that Piſo, who was ſuppoſed to have poiſoned Germanicus, took from him and his ſucceſſors the command of the legion quartered there, and the Numidian auxiliaries, and gave it to a lieutenant. Theſe lieutenants, by degrees, became more powerful than the proconſuls, and were in after-ages ſtyled Counts of Africa [a]. This regulation was introduced, according to Tacitus [b], one or two years before, while M. Silanus was proconſul

Forbids the victories of Auguſtus to be ſolemnized.

[a] The origin of the counts of Africa.

[x] Dio, ibid.
[y] Suet. c. 26.
[z] Suet. c. 23.
[a] Dio, p. 656.
[b] Tacit. hiſtor. l. iv. c. 48.

(R) He uſed to ſpeak very contemptuouſly, not only of Agrippa, but of his great grandmother Livia Auguſta, calling her Ulyſſem ſtolatum, that is, in our language, an Ulyſſes in petticoats. In a letter to the ſenate, he reflected on her pedigree, pretending that Aufidius Lingo, her grandfather by the mother, was but a a common Decurio at Fundi, though it appeared from the public records, that he had diſcharged very conſiderable offices at Rome (69).

69) Idem, c. 23.

of Africa. It is not eaſy, nor indeed of any importance, to decide, which of theſe two writers may be in the right.

Prepares for war againſt the Germans.

Towards the end of the year, Caius undertook an expedition into Gaul, under colour of oppoſing the Germans, who were ſaid to have committed ſome hoſtilities; but his real motive was to plunder that wealthy province, and likewiſe Spain, after he had with extravagant tributes and taxes quite drained Italy. He never mentioned this deſign, till going one day to Mevania, at a ſmall diſtance from Rome, to ſee the celebrated river and foreſt of Clitumnus, he was adviſed to complete the number of the Batavians, who were then his guards. Upon this he took a fancy to make war upon the Germans, and, without farther deliberation, ordered a great number of legions and auxiliaries to be drawn together, new levies to be made with great diligence, and a prodigious quantity of proviſions to be got ready. His orders being executed with ſurprizing expedition, he immediately began his march, moving ſometimes with ſuch haſte, that the prætorian cohorts were obliged, which had never before been practiſed, to have their ſtandards brought after them on their ſumpter-horſes; at other times ſo ſlowly, that he ſeemed to walk only for his diverſion. He was carried the beſt part of the way in a litter on eight mens ſhoulders, having ſent before meſſengers, commanding the neighbouring cities to have their high-ways well ſwept and watered, that he might not be troubled with duſt. He was attended in this mock expedition, by Herod king of Batanea and Trachonitis, and by Antiochus king of Comagene, and followed by a long train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, looſe women, &c. with whom he ſpent his whole time [c]. When he arrived at the place, where the legions were encamped that guarded the banks of the Rhine, he reviewed his forces, which amounted to two hundred, or two hundred and fifty thouſand, men. To acquire the reputation of a ſevere and ſtrict obſerver of military diſcipline, he diſmiſſed with ignominy and diſgrace ſeveral old officers, who had ſerved their time, pretending that they were unfit for the ſervice, but in reality to exempt himſelf from the obligation of paying them the rewards due to veterans [d]. He paſſed the Rhine, but after advancing a few miles into the country he returned without having killed or ſeen a ſingle

His march.

[c] Dio, p. 656. Suet. c. 43. [d] Suet. c. 44. Dio, p. 657, 658.

a ſingle enemy, though one would have judged from his mighty preparations, that he would have over-run the whole country. Tacitus tells us, that one Brinio or Brenno, prince of the Caninefates, ridiculed with impunity this fooliſh expedition of Caius [e]. And indeed, well he might; for while he, who had threatened the barbarians with utter deſtruction, was paſſing in his chariot through a narrow lane, and his troops were forced to break their ranks on account of the narrowneſs of the place, one happening to ſay, that great would be their confuſion, if the enemy ſhould appear, he immediately threw himſelf out of his chariot, mounted on horſeback, and flew back to the bridges with a deſign to repaſs the river; but finding them crouded with the ſervants and baggage of the army, he made them hand him from one to another, and convey him over their heads, thinking he could not too ſoon get out of the enemies country [f]. Being afterwards recovered from his fright, and well aſſured that there was nothing to fear, he cauſed ſome of his German guards to croſs the Rhine, and after having concealed themſelves for ſome time in a neighbouring foreſt, to riſe out of their ambuſcade in a great tumult and hurry; that upon the alarm, which this would occaſion, word might be brought him that the enemy was at hand; which being done accordingly, the mock hero ſtarting up from his dinner, and putting himſelf at the head of a party of the prætorian horſe, haſtened to oppoſe the enemy, and advancing to the foreſt, there ſpent the remaining part of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for ſo ſignal a victory. Upon his return he reproached with cowardice thoſe who had not followed him, but rewarded ſuch as had borne with him the brunt of the day with a new ſort of crowns, which, to diſtinguiſh them from all others, he called exploratoriæ. But this expedition, however glorious and ſucceſsful, not ſatisfying his martial ardor, he reſolved to ſignalize himſelf by ſome other ſtill more noble atchievement. With this view he ordered ſome children whom he kept as hoſtages, to be privately conveyed away, and word to be brought him that they had made their eſcape; upon which he immediately mounted on horſeback, purſued the ſuppoſed fugitives with a detachment of cavalry, and brought them back loaded with chains. After theſe noble atchievements, he wrote a letter

His fright and conſternation.

His exploits.

[e] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 15. [f] Suet. c. 44. & 51.

letter to the ſenate, complaining of them and the people, for indulging themſelves in banquets, pleaſures, and diverſions, while Cæſar was fighting, and expoſed for their ſafety to ſo many perils and hazards. But the moſt glorious of all his exploits was his receiving under his protection Adminius, who being baniſhed by his father Cynobelinus, one of the kings of Britain, fled to him with a ſmall retinue. This ſeemed to him ſo memorable an action, that he immediately wrote boaſting letters to the ſenate, as if he had ſubdued the whole iſland, ſtrictly enjoining the meſſengers to ride directly through the forum to the palace, and not to deliver his letters to the conſuls, but in the preſence of the ſenate aſſembled in the temple of Mars. In the mean time he cauſed himſelf to be ſeven times proclaimed emperor by his victorious troops on the banks of the Rhine [g].

His boaſting letters to the ſenate.

His extortions and cruelties in Gaul.

The Gauls would have reckoned themſelves happy, had he done them no more harm, than he did the enemy. But his avarice, equal to his prodigality, prompted him to haraſs and oppreſs that unhappy nation with ſuch extortions, as reduced even the moſt wealthy to beggary. Not ſatisfied with the great preſents, which he obliged both the cities and particular perſons to make him, he cauſed the moſt wealthy men in the province, though free from all guilt, to be accuſed of treaſon, that he might ſeize their eſtates, which he ſold in perſon, obliging others to purchaſe them at the price he thought fit to put upon them. Having one day loſt at dice an immenſe ſum, he cauſed the regiſters, which ſerved for the cenſus, to be brought to him; and writing a liſt of thoſe who poſſeſſed the greateſt eſtates in the province, ordered them to be immediately put to death, and ſeized all their effects [h].

The conſpiracy of Lentulus and Lepidus.

About this time, was diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt Caius; but whether it was real, or only ſuppoſed, is ſtill uncertain (S). Lentulus and Lepidus were ſaid to be at the

[g] Idem, c. 44.—46. Dio. p. 657. [h] Dio. ibid.

(S) Dion Caſſius ſpeaks of it as an imaginary conſpiracy (24); but Suetonius ſuppoſes it to have been a real one (25). Lipſius takes it to be that plot which Tacitus mentions to have been diſcovered to Caius by Anicius Cerealis (26).

(24) Dio. p. 657. (25) Suet. in Claud. c. 9. (26) Tacit. annal. xvi. c. 17.

the head of it. Cneius Lentulus Getulicus had commanded the legions in higher Germany for the ſpace of ten years, Tiberius not daring to remove him, as we have related in the hiſtory of that prince's reign. But he was doomed to death by Caius, ſays Dion [i], for no other crime, but becauſe he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery on account of his clemency and good-nature. Some monuments have reached our times of the ſacrifices which were offered on the twenty-ſeventh of October, by way of thankſgiving for the happy diſcovery, ſays the inſcription, of the wicked deſigns of Cn. Lentulus Getulicus [k]. His employment was given to Sulpicius Galba, afterwards emperor, who, the next day after his arrival in the camp, gave ſignal inſtances of his zeal for military diſcipline, of which more in his reign. M. Æmilius Lepidus is ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of Julia, Auguſtus's grand-daughter, and ſiſter to Agrippina the mother of Caius [l], who nevertheleſs condemned him as guilty of treaſon, and charged a tribune, by name Decimus, to cut off his head [m] (T). At the ſame time, he condemned his two ſiſters, Agrippina and Livilla or Julia, as guilty of adultery with Lepidus, and privy to the conſpiracy; and confined them to the iſland of Pontia, adding with threats, that he had ſwords as well as iſlands [n]. After this he wrote a letter to the ſenate, acquainting them that he had eſcaped a dangerous conſpiracy, and inveighing with great bitterneſs againſt his ſiſters, whom he was not aſhamed to charge with moſt infamous crimes. He ſent three daggers to Rome to be confe-

Caius baniſhes his ſiſters, Agrippina and Livilla.

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Grut. p. 117. [l] Tacit. annal. vi. c. 30. [m] Dio. p. 648, Senec. ep. 4. [n] Suet. c. 29. Dio. p. 657.

(T) M. Lepidus was greatly, nay too much beloved by Caius, if Dion does not confound him with M. Lepidus Mneſter, the mimick, with whom Caius maintained a ſcandalous commerce (27). Æmilius was admitted by the emperor to the great employments five years before the age preſcribed by the laws; nay, we are told, that Caius promiſed to name him for his ſucceſſor. But Lepidus, notwithſtanding the kindneſs ſhewn him by the emperor, debauched his two ſiſters Agrippina and Livilla, or Julia, hoping, as was ſuppoſed, by his familiarity with them, to raiſe himſelf to the empire.

(27) Suet. c. 36.

confecrated there to Mars the avenger, with an inſcription, importing, that they had been deſigned for his deſtruction; and obliged Agrippina to carry from Gaul to Rome the urn with the bones of Lepidus. He ſold all the furniture, jewels, ſlaves, and even the freedmen of his ſiſters, after their condemnation. As he degraded himſelf to ſell them in perſon, he put his own price upon them, and obliged the Gauls to purchaſe them. This kind of traffick proving very advantageous, he ordered the rich furniture of the imperial palace, with the robes of Marc Antony, of Auguſtus, of his mother Agrippina, and others of the imperial family, to be ſent him from Rome, and ſold them in the ſame manner. So many carriages and beaſts of burden were employed in conveying the furniture of the imperial palace from Italy to Gaul, that no horſes being found to turn the mills, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the city was reduced to great ſtreights for want of bread °. But, notwithſtanding the immenſe and almoſt incredible ſums, he raiſed by theſe ſales, he ſtill wanted money, being no leſs boundleſs in his prodigality (U), than iniquitous in his extortions.

By what vile means he raiſed money in Gaul.

When

° Suet. ibid.

(U) In luxury, ſays Suetonius (28), and extravagance, he far outdid all the prodigals of his age. He uſed baths of ſweet oils with the moſt coſtly perfumes that could be purchaſed. At his entertainments he often cauſed the largeſt pearls to be diſſolved in vinegar, to diſplay his grandeur and magnificence. Sometimes to divert himſelf with his gueſts, he cauſed empty diſhes of pure gold to be ſerved up, which he diſtributed among them, ſaying, that at Cæſar's table their bread and meat muſt be nothing but gold. For ſeveral days together he took delight in throwing down from the top of a tower conſiderable ſums among the people. He built certain galleys of cedar, having the ſterns, which were of ivory, adorned with precious ſtones, the ſails of various ſilks, the cabins and galleries ſpacious and convenient, with great variety of vines and fruit-trees, under the ſhade of which he often dined, coaſting along the ſhore of Campania, with great pomp and ſplendor, being entertained by the mixed melody of voices, and all ſorts of inſtruments. In all his buildings he conſidered nothing but his own particular fancy, and thought nothing anſwerable to his grandeur, but what to others ſeemed

(28) Suet. c. 37.

WHEN the death of Lepidus and Getulicus was known at Rome, Flavius Veſpaſianus, then prætor, and afterwards emperor, who ſtudied to inſinuate himſelf by any means into the emperor's favour, was for throwing the bodies of the conſpirators into the Tiber, and depriving them of the honour of ſepulture. Neither did the ſenate omit ſo favourable an opportunity of heaping new honours upon the prince; amongſt others they decreed him an ovation, and deputed his uncle Claudius, with ſeveral other perſons of the firſt rank drawn by lot, to go into Gaul, and congratulate him in their name upon the diſcovery of ſo dangerous a conſpiracy, and the deſerved vengeance he had taken on the conſpirators. But Caius, not ſatisfied with the honours decreed him, eſpecially with an ovation, and complaining of the ſmall number of the deputies, ordered ſome of them to return even before they entered Gaul, as if they had been ſpies, and received the others with great coldneſs. He chiefly reſented their ſending his uncle, as if he were a child, and wanted a governor. He did not, however, ſend him back, but treated him in a moſt ignominious manner [p]; nay, we are told, that he cauſed him to be thrown into a river the moment he arrived [q]. After this the ſenate decreed him greater honours, and ſent him a more numerous deputation; which he received with great marks of ſatisfaction, and even went out to meet the deputies

New honours decreed him by the ſenate.

[p] Dio. p. 658. [q] Suet. in Claud. c. 9.

ſeemed impoſſible. He raiſed pillars and towers in the ſea, cut his way through rocks of the moſt impenetrable flint, levelled mountains, raiſed plains and vallies, &c. (29). Joſephus obſerves, that he never undertook any thing worthy of a prince, that is, uſeful to the public, except an harbour, which he began in the neighbourhood of Rhegium for the convenience and ſafety of the ſhips, which conveyed corn from Alexandria to Italy; but this he left unfiniſhed (30). Suetonius (31) enumerates ſeveral works, which he undertook, but none of any uſe to the public, except a fine aqueduct, which Claudius finiſhed fourteen years after. Frontinus mentions another aqueduct amongſt the works of Caius, but upon what authority we know not. He cauſed an obeliſk to be brought out of Egypt, which Suetonius

(29) Idem, c. 29. (30) Joſeph. antiq. l. xix. c. 2. (31) Suet. c. 21.

deputies [r]. In the mean time, proſecutions were carried on at Rome againſt the friends of Caius's ſiſters, and of thoſe who had been executed for the late conſpiracy. Several ædiles and prætors were obliged to lay down their employments, and appear before the ſenate in the habit of criminals. Among the reſt Sophronius Tigellinus, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of Nero, was baniſhed for a criminal correſpondence with Agrippina. Theſe proceedings terrified the ſenate, who apprehended ſtill greater evils from a prince, who was cruel by nature, and gave ear, as was ſuppoſed, to the pernicious counſels of the kings Agrippa and Antiochus.

He marries Cæſonia.

CAIUS, after the condemnation of his ſiſters, divorced his wife Lollia Paulina to marry Milonia Cæſonia, who was neither beautiful nor young, being already the mother of three children by another huſband, who was ſtill alive. She had, however, a particular talent and addreſs in gaining the affections of all with whom ſhe converſed; inſomuch, that Caius loved her entirely, and lived longer with her than any other [s] (W). He married her, according to Suetonius,

[r] Dio, ibid. [s] Dio, p. 658. Suet. c. 25.

Suetonius (32) calls the great obeliſk, and placed it in the circus on mount Vatican. The ſhip, in which it was conveyed to Rome, was the fineſt and largeſt that had ever appeared on the ſea till Pliny's time, who tells us, that four men could ſcarce fathom the maſt of this extraordinary veſſel (33). He deſigned to rebuild the palace of Polycrates at Samos, to finiſh the temple of Apollo Didymæus at Miletus, and to found a new city on the top of the Alps; but his favourite project was to cut the iſthmus of Corinth, and open a communication between thoſe two ſeas; in which undertaking he was attended with no better ſucceſs than thoſe who attempted it after him (34). Seneca mentions an immenſe ſum expended by him in one banquet (35); and Pliny ſpeaks of a ſplendid and coſtly entertainment, which he gave to fifteen gueſts in the hollow of a plane-tree, framed in the form of a room (36).

(W) Cæſonia was daughter to Veſtilia, who, if Pliny is to be credited (37), was delivered of two children in ſeven months time,

(32) Suet. in Claud. c. 20. (33) Plin. l. xxvi. c. 40. (34) Plin. l. iv. c. 4. Suet. c. 21. (35) Senec. ad Hely. c. 9. (36) Plin. l. xii. c. 1. (37) Plin. l. vii. c. 5.

Suetonius, the ſame day that ſhe was delivered of a daughter, declaring himſelf her huſband, and the father of the child [t]. But Dion ſays, that he married her about a month before her delivery [u]. To the child he gave the name of Julia Druſilla, carried her to the temples of all the goddeſſes in Rome, and put her into the arms of Minerva, as if to that powerful goddeſs he committed the care of her education [w]. He laid her likewiſe at the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus, ſaying, that ſhe was common to him and Jupiter, and leaving all men to judge which of her parents was the greateſt, and from which ſhe derived the more noble origin [x]. But nothing more aſſured Caius, that ſhe was his daughter, for her mother was not renowned for her chaſtity, than her natural fierceneſs, of which ſhe ſoon gave ſufficient indications, by ſcratching and tearing the faces of the little children who played with her [y]. Upon her birth Caius complained of his poverty, as we have hinted above, and obliged the people to contribute large ſums for the educating and marrying her ſuitable to her rank, which he applyed to his own uſe. He likewiſe declared by an edict, that on the firſt of January he intended to receive new-year's gifts, which he did accordingly, ſtanding in the porch of the palace, while the people and nobility with full hands and

His meanneſs.

[t] Suet. ibid. [u] Dio, ibid. [w] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 673. Suet. ibid. [x] Joſeph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. [y] Suet. ibid.

time, of one in eleven, and of Cæſonia in eight. All theſe children lived, as the ſame writer obſerves, to a competent age, and enjoyed good health. Suetonius tells us, that Cæſonia gained and maintained the affections of Caius by her monſtrous lewdneſs (38). After her huſband's death, ſhe was charged with having fixed his affection to her with an amorous potion, which affecting his brain, had diſordered his underſtanding, and occaſioned that fury and madneſs which had brought ſo many calamities upon the ſtate. Whether ſhe adminiſtered to him any ſuch potion, is uncertain; but this ſerved as a pretence for the conſpirators to diſpatch both her and her daughter after the murder of Caius (39). Suetonius tells us, that the emperor often ſhewed her to his ſoldiers habited like them, and to his friends without any garment (40).

(38) Suet. c. 25. (39) Joſeph. ibid. c. 2. Juvenal. ſatyr. 6. v. 515 (40) Suet. c. 25.

and laps poured out their preſents before him [z]. Auguſtus had formerly received new-year's gifts, according to the Roman cuſtom, but not out of covetouſneſs, as Caius, who is ſaid to have ſuch a paſſion for money, that his chief delight was to walk bare-foot, and even to roll himſelf upon heaps of gold, which he had accumulated by all manner of rapine [a].

Galba defeats the Germans.

THIS year, the Germans, having no doubt drawn together their forces to oppoſe Caius, made upon his departure an inroad into Gaul; but were repulſed by Galba with ſuch vigor and expedition, that Caligula could not forbear commending and rewarding both him and his troops, though he generally uſed out of jealouſy and envy, to diſcountenance ſuch of his officers as had gained any conſiderable advantage over the enemy. Caius, who was then in Gaul, aſſumed the whole glory of this action to himſelf, and acquainted the ſenate with it by a letter, which he ſent wrapt up in the branch of a laurel, the ſymbol of victory, boaſting, that he had utterly defeated the enemy's numerous forces, and put them out of a condition of diſturbing for the future the tranquillity of Gaul [b]. Veſpaſian, then prætor, begged he might be allowed to exhibit extraordinary ſports on occaſion of ſo ſignal a victory [c] (X). This year;

Herod Antipas baniſhed.

Herod Antipas was by Caius deprived of his tetrarchy of Galilee, which was given to king Agrippa, and baniſhed to Lions, as Joſephus writes in one place [d], or ſent into Spain, as he tells us in another [e]. Perhaps Caius, who came this year with Agrippa into Gaul, ordered him to remove from Lions to Spain, where he died. He had enjoyed his tetrarchy forty-eight years, during which time he built

[z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem, c. 42. [b] Perſius, ſatyr. 6. [c] Suet. in Veſp. c. 2. [d] Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. [e] Idem, bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.

(X) On this occaſion probably happened what we read in Suetonius, viz. that Caius, upon the news of the motions of the Germans, ſeized on all the ſhips he could get, in order to convey himſelf into the Levant, comforting himſelf with this thought, that he ſhould keep his tranſmarine provinces, though the enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of Italy and Rome itſelf, as the Senones had formerly done (41).

(41) Suet. c. 51.

built a new city in the moſt delightful ſpot of Galilee, which from Tiberius he named Tiberias. But of his actions and cauſe of his diſgrace, we have ſpoken in our hiſtory of the Jews.

THE following year, Caius was conſul without a colleague for the firſt twelve days, not deſignedly, but becauſe he was not acquainted ſooner with the death of the perſon who had been named for his collegue, and died at Rome a few days before he was to enter upon his office [f]. Caius began his third conſulſhip at Lions, and it was probably on that occaſion, that he exhibited the magnificent ſports deſcribed by Dion Caſſius and Suetonius. At the ſame time, he ordained a ſolemn contention of eloquence, both in Greek and Latin, obliging thoſe who were overcome to give rewards to their competitors, and to make ſome compoſition or other in their commendation. Thoſe who gave no ſatisfaction at all were condemned to blot out with a ſponge, and even with their tongues, what they had wrote, unleſs they choſe rather to be whipt like ſchool-boys, or to be thrown into the Rhone [g]. Hence an antient poet, ſpeaking of one who was in fear, ſays, that he trembled like an orator, ready to declaim at Lions before the altar of Auguſtus [h]. Of this altar at Lions, and the ſports yearly exhibited there in honour of the deified Auguſtus, we have ſpoken in the hiſtory of his reign.

Sports exhibited by Caius at Lions.

CAIUS held the conſulſhip only twelve days; and when news of his reſignation was brought to Rome, two new conſuls, probably Publicola and Nerva (Y), were nominated.

[f] Dio. p. 653. Suet, c. 17. [g] Suet. c. 20. [h] Juven. ſatyr. 1.

(Y) Onuphrius takes theſe two to be the conſuls of this year, becauſe S. Proſper marks them as the conſuls of the foregoing year, when, according to the general opinion of the chronologers, that office was diſchaged by Caius Cæſar and L. Apronius Cæſianus. The ſame writer pretends, that Sex. Nonius Celer and Junius Quintilianus, ſet down by Frontinus (42) as conſuls between the years thirty-eight and forty-nine of the chriſtian æra bore that dignity from the firſt of July to the end of this year (43).

(42) Front. de aquæd. p. 119. (43) Onuph. in faſt. p. 298.

nated. The firſt decree they made was, that the anniverſary of the death of Tiberius and Druſilla ſhould be ſolemnized in the ſame manner, as that of Auguſtus. This diſtinction Caius had required in a letter to the new conſuls [i]. As for Caius, he began the year with the murder of Ptolemy, king of Mauritania, and couſin-german to his father Germanicus (Z). He had invited him to his court, and received him at his arrival with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; but obſerving one day, as he entered the theatre to behold the ſports, that the luſtre of his purple drew upon him the eyes of the whole company, he cauſed him, no doubt out of jealouſy, to be immediately arreſted, condemned him to baniſhment, and privately ordered him to be maſſacred on his journey [k]. Dion Caſſius aſcribes his death to the great riches he poſſeſſed [l]. Be that as it will, the Mauritanians, upon the news of his death, revolted, being ſtirred up by Edemon, one of the deceaſed prince's freedmen, deſirous to revenge the death of his maſter. The inhuman and imperious tyrant cauſed likewiſe Mithridates king of Armenia to be arreſted, but only condemned him to baniſhment. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this prince in the following reign.

The murder of Ptolemy king of Mauritania.

Caius's memorable expedition againſt Britain.

Caius, before he left Gaul, gave out, that he deſigned to invade Britain, and accordingly ordered his troops from all quarters to march to the Gauliſh ſhore oppoſite to the iſland. He ſoon came to the place of the rendezvous himſelf, and upon his arrival drew up his men along the coaſt, embarqued on a magnificent galley, and having advanced a ſmall way from the ſhore, returned ſuddenly, and, aſcending his tribunal, ordered the warlike engines to be diſpoſed in order and to the beſt advantage, the trumpets to ſound, and the ſignal of battle to be given.

[i] Dio, p. 659. [k] Suet. c. 35. [l] Dio, p. 659.

(Z) He was the ſon of Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Antony and the celebrated Cleopatra, as Germanicus was the ſon of Antonia, daughter to the ſame Antony. Juba, the father of Ptolemy, was firſt king of Mauritania, which Auguſtus made him exchange for part of Getulia, and the countries formerly poſſeſſed by Bocchus, that is, the two Mauritanias, the Tingitana and Cæſariana (44).

(44) Dio, l. lv. p. 567. Tacit, annal. l. xi. c. 5. & 23.

given. Neither ſoldiers nor officers could conceive what he had in view, till at length, all on a ſudden he ordered them to gather the cockle-ſhells on the ſhore, and to fill with them their laps and head-pieces, ſaying, Theſe are ſpoils of the conquered ocean, due to the palace, due to the capitol. Then, to reward his fellow-ſoldiers for ſo glorious a victory, he diſtributed among them a very conſiderable ſum, bidding them be merry, and enjoy in ſafety the rewards of their valour; and that ſo glorious a conqueſt might never be forgot, he cauſed a high tower to be erected, according to the model of the Pharos at Alexandria, for ſetting up lights to direct ſhips at ſea in the night [m]. A modern writer [n] will have the tower built on this occaſion to be that which ſtands at the entry of the port of Boulogne, and is called by the natives la tour d'ordre.

AND now Caius thought of nothing but the preparations for a triumph due to his noble atchievements. Accordingly he wrote to his officers at Rome, enjoining them to get every thing ready for the moſt magnificent triumph that had ever been ſeen; but at the ſame time warning them, not to put him to any extraordinary expence, ſince every man's eſtate was at their diſpoſal. Before he left Gaul, he choſe the talleſt men of that province, without diſtinction of rank or condition, to grace his triumph, giving them German names, and obliging them to learn that language, to let their hair grow and colour it red, that they might paſs for Germans. He likewiſe commanded the gallies, in which he and his chief officers had put to ſea, to be conveyed to Rome, for moſt part of the way, by land [o]. Before he left Gaul, he took it in his head to put thoſe legions to the ſword that had mutinied after the death of Auguſtus, and in a manner beſieged his father Germanicus and himſelf, then an infant. His officers, with the utmoſt difficulty, diſſuaded him from cutting them all off; but could not by any means divert him from decimating them for a crime, which had been, ſo many years before, committed and forgiven. Notwithſtanding the warm remonſtrances of his friends and chief officers, he ordered them to aſſemble without arms to receive his commands. The legionaries, not ſuſpecting in the leaſt his deſign, readily obeyed, and in the mean time, the cavalry began to ſurround them. This

His folly and ambition.

His cruel deſign.

[m] Suet. c. 46. Dio, p. 659.
[n] Buch. de Belg. l. iv. c. 12.
[o] Suet. c 47.

gave them ſome umbrage, and many of them ſlipt away to take their arms, with a deſign to ſell their lives dear, in caſe any violence was offered them; which the coward no ſooner perceived, than he diſmiſſed the aſſembly and fled, making what haſte he could to reach Rome, that he might vent his rage upon the ſenate, for the wrong he pretended they had done him by not decreeing him a triumph, though he had declared the year before, that they had no right to decree him any honours, and that he would puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity, if they pretended to aſſume it [p]. They chiefly were at a loſs how to behave with reſpect to his pretended conqueſt of Britain. To compliment him on his victory, looked like mockery; on the other hand, they were told, that he ſpoke ſeriouſly of it as a noble exploit. What reſolution they took in the end we find no-where recorded. Suetonius only tells us, that they diſpatched an embaſſy to him, conſiſting of the moſt conſiderable men of their order, entreating him to haſten his return to the city. The deputies met him on his journey towards Rome, not yet recovered from his late fright, and with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion preſented their requeſt to him in the name of their whole body. I will come, anſwered Caius, I will come, and bring this along with me; laying his hand on the hilt of his ſword. He even declared by an edict, which he cauſed to be ſet up in the city, that he would return; but it ſhould be only for the knights and people; as for the ſenate, he would for the future be to them neither a prince nor a citizen. As he drew near Rome, he forbad any of the ſenators to meet him. He would not, however, enter the city in triumph, but contented himſelf with an ovation, making his entry on the laſt of Auguſt, which was his birth-day, four months and ſome days before his death [q]. From this time he reſolved utterly to extirpate the ſenate, and would have put his wicked deſign in execution, had he not been prevented by death. In the four months he lived, he cauſed ſeveral ſenators of diſtinction to be inhumanly murdered, one in particular for no other crime, but becauſe he begged leave to ſhut his eyes, being commanded by him, though nothing was laid to his charge, to aſſiſt at the execution of his ſon [r]. For the bloody and inhuman monſter took great delight, as we hinted above,

Sets out for Rome.

He threatens the ſenate.

[p] Suet. c. 48. [q] Suet. c. 49. [r] Suet. c. 27. Dio, p. 660.

in thus tormenting the moſt innocent parents. It was commonly reported, that he deſigned to cut off the moſt conſiderable men of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, and then remove the ſeat of the empire to Antium, and from thence to Alexandria. This report gained great credit after his death, when two books were found in his cabinet, one with the title of gladius, the ſword, the other of pugio, the dagger, both containing the names of many eminent perſons whom he deſigned to deſtroy [s]. Theſe books were committed to the cuſtody of Protogenes, one of the miniſters of his cruelty [t]. Beſides theſe books was found a great cheſt filled with various ſorts of poiſons, which, being by Claudius's orders thrown into the ſea, infected the waters, and deſtroyed a vaſt quantity of fiſh [u]. However, he was ſomewhat reconciled to the ſenate before his death on the following occaſion: Protogenes, his chief favourite, coming one day unexpectedly into the ſenate, under colour of delivering ſome meſſage from the prince, and all the ſenators crouding round him to pay their court to him, he fixed his eyes on Scribonius Proculus, and with an angry tone; How dare you, ſaid he, preſume to appear before me, you who are an enemy to Cæſar? There wanted no more; the other ſenators inſtantly fell upon him with their daggers, ſtabbed him in ſeveral places, and then delivered him over, as a public enemy, to the mob, who tore him to pieces, and dragged his mangled members about the ſtreets, Caius beholding with great pleaſure ſo diſmal a ſpectacle [w]. Suetonius tells us, that this worthy ſenator was thus inhumanly butchered, merely to ſatisfy Caius, who, taking a fancy to ſee a ſenator thus mangled, had, without the leaſt provocation, pitched upon him. Neither was his cruelty ſatiated, till the limbs and bowels of the innocent victim were brought before him. Being highly pleaſed with ſo diſmal a ſight, and the readineſs the ſenate had ſhewn to take vengeance on his ſuppoſed enemy, he declared himſelf by a public edict reconciled with that body [x]; and the ſenate on their ſide, to acknowledge ſo great a favour, honoured him ſometimes with the title of Hero, and ſometimes of God; which ſcandalous flattery puffed him up to ſuch a degree, that thenceforth he ſhewed himſelf more ambitious than ever of divine honours, puniſhing with death, or dooming to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the public roads, perſons of great merit and diſtinction, for neglecting to invoke his celeſtial genius:

Various inſtances of his cruelty.

[s] Idem, c. 49. [t] Dio, ibid. [u] Suet. ibid. [w] Idem, c. 28. Dio, ibid. [x] Suet. ibid.

genius : nay, ſome, for pretended offences againſt his godhead, were firſt torn and mangled with ſtripes, and then ſawed aſunder (A).

The inconſtancy and fickleneſs of Caius's temper.

DION Caſſius, after a long detail of his cruelties, and the diſmal effects of his pride, avarice, lewdneſs, prodigality, &c. obſerves in this place, that he was chiefly remarkable for the inconſtancy and fickleneſs of his humour, which often hurried him in a moment from one extreme to another ; and concludes his obſervations with the following words : Sometimes he liked to ſee his palace crowded, and ſometimes would ſee no company, not his moſt intimate friends : he was out of humour when any petition was preſented to him ; and more ſo, when no-body appeared to aſk him any favour ; ſometimes he diſpatched buſineſs with great expedition ; at other times he was ſlow and tedious, putting off from day to day matters which required the greateſt diſpatch : he ſquandered away immenſe treaſures with a prodigality which knew no bounds, and amaſſed new ſums with the moſt ſordid avarice : ſometimes he was pleaſed with liberty of ſpeech and abhorred flattery ; but all on a ſudden puniſhed the leaſt liberty, and took delight in being flattered : he often pardoned thoſe who were guilty

y Dio, p. 661.

(A) What Pliny relates (45), if true, might have ſufficiently convinced him both of his folly and weakneſs. For that writer tells us, that the laſt time he left Rome, as he went by ſea from Aſtura to Antium, his galley, which was attended by many others, ſtopt all on a ſudden ; and while the other veſſels purſued their courſe, continued immoveable, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of four hundred rowers. The whole company were greatly ſurpriſed, as we may well imagine, at ſuch an extraordinary accident, and many of the mariners threw themſelves into the ſea to find out the cauſe of it ; when they diſcovered a fiſh about half a foot in length, which ſeemed to be of the ſnail kind, faſtened to the keel of the royal galley. This is the fiſh, to which the Greeks have given the name of echeneis, and the Latins that of remora. It was brought to Caius, who, inſtead of acknowledging his folly, in pretending to be equal in power to the gods, foamed with rage, upon his reflecting that ſo ſmall a creature had thus bid defiance to ſo mighty a prince, to the lord of the univerſe.

(45) Plin. l. xxxi. c. 1.

guilty of moſt enormous crimes, and condemned ſuch as were not charged with any: upon ſome of his favourites he heaped honours and riches, while he treated others, nobody knew why, with the utmoſt contempt: in ſhort, ſo changeable was his humour, ſo various and inconſiſtent was his conduct, that his moſt intimate friends were at a loſs what they ſhould do, what they ſhould ſay, to pleaſe him, ſeeing he was often affronted with what he had taken delight in a few hours before [z] (B).

THE following year, Caius entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having Cn. Sextius Saturninus for his collegue, but held it only to the ſeventh of January, when he reſigned the faſces to Quintus Pomponius Secundus. Rome had now for the ſpace of near four years groaned under the oppreſſions of the moſt cruel and inhuman tyrant, that had ever been inveſted with power; when at length a bloody doom overtook the author of ſo much blood-ſhed and ſlaughter. The conſpiracy, which for the preſent put an end to the public evils, was chiefly formed, carried on, and executed by Caſſius Chærea, tribune of a prætorian cohort, who had ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner, as we have already

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

Caſſius Chærea at the head of the conſpiracy.

[z] Idem, p. 641.—644.

(B) This is entirely agreeable to what we read in Philo, who was well acquainted with Caius's ſtrange and variable humour. There was no depending, ſays that writer, upon the kindneſs and good-will he ſhewed you, however great and in appearance ſincere. When he had granted a favour, he ſoon repented and recalled it; nay his benefits were often the fore-runners of greater evils. Thus he frequently ſet at liberty ſuch as were confined for crimes real or ſuppoſed, and ſoon after ordered them to be dragged back to the place of their confinement, without any new guilt, telling them, to encreaſe their former miſeries, that now they were to expect no mercy. Many he condemned only to baniſhment, when they expected nothing but a cruel death; then, repenting of his clemency, he cauſed them to be executed in the place of their exile. His bounties he often revoked, obliging thoſe, who had received them, to refund them with uſury. Several of his chief favourites he reduced to beggary, that they might not be tempted to retire, and enjoy the wealth which they acquired. Thus the very favours he beſtowed were in the end attended with the ruin of thoſe who received them, and therefore no leſs dreaded than his reſentment (46).

(46) Philo legat. p. 1039.

already obſerved, in the beginning of Tiberius's reign when the legions in Germany revolted. As he was a man of no leſs probity than bravery, the hatred he bore Caius, on account of his cruelties and extortions, firſt inſpired him with the deſign of ridding the world of ſo great a plague. He was already reſolved to reſign his employment, and ſpend the remaining part of his life in retirement, when he received a commiſſion from Caius to gather the taxes; for no commodity eſcaped without paying ſome tax or other, and the emperor levied them not by the publicans, as was uſual, but by the centurions and tribunes of the prætorian cohorts, that they might reap the advantages thence accruing. In this commiſſion Chærea, who was naturally compaſſionate, acquitted himſelf more to the ſatisfaction of the oppreſſed people, than of the emperor, who thereupon reproached him with want of ſpirit; and conceiving an averſion to him, took pleaſure in expoſing him to the deriſions of the ſoldiery. For though he was a man of great courage and reſolution, yet, from his manner of ſpeaking and the tone of his voice, no one would have taken him, ſays Seneca [a], for a perſon of that extraordinary bravery, which he ſhewed on all occaſions, without betraying the leaſt concern in the greateſt dangers. Caius, now incenſed againſt him, laid hold of his outward appearance to reproach him with effeminacy and cowardice, and rally him as one more fit to converſe with women, than command men. When it was his turn to come for the parole, the emperor, by way of raillery, gave him always either ſome obſcene word, or the name of ſome famous proſtitute; inſomuch, that the ſoldiers could not forbear laughing when he brought them the parole, and often diverted themſelves with gueſſing what word Chærea would bring. But, as he was a man of too great ſpirit to put up ſuch groſs affronts, he reſolved to convince the emperor how undeſervedly he was taxed by him with effeminacy and want of courage. Having therefore determined to be revenged at all adventures on the tyrant, for thus attempting to blacken, with his unſeaſonable ſarcaſms, the reputation he had deſervedly acquired by his gallant behaviour, he imparted his deſign to ſome of his intimate friends, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of putting it in execution. In the mean time, a ſenator of great diſtinction, named Propedius, was accuſed by one Timidius of having uttered injurious ſpeeches againſt Caius. The only evidence produced

What provoked him againſt Caius.

[a] Senec. ad Ser. c. 18.

produced againſt him was Quintilia, a celebrated comedian; but ſhe, when ſummoned to appear before the judges, declared, that ſhe had heard no ſuch ſpeeches. Hereupon, Timidius requiring that ſhe might be examined by torture, Caius ordered Chærea to ſee her immediately put upon the rack. Joſephus tells us, that the tyrant commonly charged Chærea with commiſſions of this nature, being perſuaded, that to avoid the imputation of faint-heartedneſs, that is, of good-nature, he would take care to execute them with extraordinary ſeverity [b]. But he was never ſo much at a loſs how to behave as on this occaſion; for Quintilia was privy to the conſpiracy; whence he was afraid ſhe might diſcover it upon the rack, if tortured without compaſſion; on the other hand, to ſhew any mercy to her, might coſt him his life. But Quintilia herſelf delivered him from his uneaſineſs; for meeting, as ſhe was led to the torture, one of the conſpirators, ſhe trod upon his foot, giving thereby to underſtand, that no torments ſhould extort from her a diſcovery of the plot. And truly ſhe bore the rack with unparallelled conſtancy, without ſuffering a ſingle word to eſcape her, in prejudice either of Propedius or the conſpirators, tho' ſhe was reduced to ſo deplorable a condition, that Caius himſelf, when ſhe was brought back to him, being moved with pity and admiring her reſolution, ordered her a ſum of money, and diſmiſſed Propedius untouched. As for Chærea, he was ſo affected with the conſtancy of Quintilia and the torments ſhe had ſuffered, of which he had himſelf been the miniſter, that he immediately imparted his deſign to Papinius and Clemens, the former a tribune, as he was himſelf, of one of the prætorian cohorts, and the latter the commander of the whole body, encouraging them to exert their bravery, and deliver Rome and the world from ſo bloody a tyrant, who employed them, not as the officers of his guards, but as his executioners. They both approved of the deſign; but Clemens, deſiring to be excuſed from bearing any ſhare in the execution of it, on account of his age, promiſed to aſſiſt them with his advice; and taking his leave, left them under no ſmall anxiety and apprehenſion of his betraying the ſecret (C). Chærea therefore, without loſs

The conſtancy of Quintilia.

He gains ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

[b] Joſeph. l. xix. c. 1.

(C) Clemens ſeems to have had no ſhare in the execution of the deſign; ſince Mucianus, in conferring after his death the command

loſs of time, had recourſe to Cornelius Sabinus, tribune likewiſe of a prætorian cohort, whom he knew to be a man of great courage, a lover of liberty, and conſequently highly diſſatisfied with the adminiſtration of Caius. Sabinus had formed the ſame deſign, but had not yet made any one privy to it for fear of being diſcovered. He therefore readily joined Chærea, and with him went immediately to ſound Annius Minucianus, or, as others call him, Vinicianus, a ſenator of great diſtinction and merit, and mortally hated by Caius, who ſuſpected him ever ſince the conſpiracy of Lepidus, with whom Minucianus had lived in cloſe confidence. After the uſual ceremonies were over, Minucianus asked Chærea, What was the parole for that day? which he taking for a ſufficient declaration of his intention, Do you, ſaid he, without any further preamble, but give me the word liberty, and under your conduct I'll revenge my private injuries and the public calamities: do you but give me the word of command, and Rome ſhall no longer groan under the oppreſſions of an inſulting tyrant. At theſe words, which Chærea uttered with great vehemence and ardor, Minucianus embracing him, commended his reſolution, exhorted him to purſue his deſign, and promiſed to aſſiſt, to the utmoſt of his power, both with his ſword and counſel (D).

THE

mand of the prætorian cohorts upon his ſon Clemens Arretinus, told him, that his father had with honour and reputation diſcharged that office under Caius (47). And yet Dion Caſſius names amongſt the conſpirators, Calinus, one of Caius's freedmen, and the commander of the prætorian guards (48); and Suetonius tells us, that the conſpiracy was not executed without the concurrence of the moſt conſiderable amongſt the emperor's freedmen and of the officers of his guards, who joined the other conſpirators the more readily, becauſe they found themſelves ſuſpected and hated by Caius, ever ſince the conſpiracy of Lepidus (49). As for the emperor's freedmen, Joſephus aſſures us, that Calixtus, the moſt wealthy amongſt them, favoured the conſpiracy, being well appriſed, that he could by no other means eſcape the cruelty of Caius, and enjoy the immenſe wealth he had unjuſtly acquired (50).

(D) Joſephus tells us, that as Chærea was about this time entering the ſenate, no doubt to attend Caius, for he was no ſenator, he heard a voice, which ſeemed to come from ſome one in the croud, encouraging him to diſpatch what he deſigned, and aſſuring hi n

(37) Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 68. (48) Dio, l. lix. p 662.
(49) Suet. c. 56. (50) Joſeph. ibid.

THE number of the conſpirators encreaſed daily, which retarded the execution of the deſign, ſome of them being over-cautious, leſt they ſhould miſcarry in an enterprize, on the ſucceſs of which depended their ſafety, and the welfare of their country. If the attempt, ſaid they, ſhould not ſucceed, we ſhall ſoon ſee every houſe in the city floating in blood. Not our lives only, but thoſe of our wives, children, relations, and acquaintance are at ſtake. We muſt expect no mercy from ſo cruel and inhuman a tyrant, who will take care to guard himſelf well for the future againſt any attempts of the like nature. Let us not therefore be overhaſty, but patiently wait for ſuch an opportunity, as may promiſe certain ſucceſs to our undertaking. Chærea did not reliſh this ſpeech; to him every opportunity ſeemed favourable. As he was not in the leaſt ſuſpected by Caius, he offered to diſpatch him, when he went up to the capitol to offer ſacrifices for his daughter, or when in his palace he aſſiſted at certain religious ceremonies, which he himſelf had inſtituted. He was for throwing him headlong from the top of the Julian baſilic, whence he uſed to ſcatter money among the populace; but the reſt of the conſpirators, thinking they could not uſe too much caution, did not judge any of theſe opportunities ſufficiently ſafe and proper for the execution of their deſign. However, they all agreed at laſt to make the attempt during the ſports, which were to be exhibited in honour of Auguſtus in the palace, on the twenty-firſt of January, and the three following days; for after theſe ſports, Caius was to leave Rome and to repair to Alexandria, probably to plunder the wealthy kingdom of Egypt, as he had done the other provinces of the empire (E). But notwithſtanding their agreement and the reſolution

His intrepidity and reſolution.

him, that heaven favoured his deſign. He was at firſt afraid, leſt ſome of his aſſociates had betrayed the ſecret; but afterwards concluded, that either one of his friends, or ſome divinity, puſhed him forward to the ſpeedy execution of his purpoſe (51).

(E) It was perhaps at theſe ſports, that Caius, tranſported with rage againſt Jupiter, becauſe the noiſe of thunder prevented him from hearing the actors, threw out moſt dreadful blaſphemies againſt heaven, and impiouſly defied Jupiter himſelf, with theſe words; Diſpatch me, or I'll diſpatch you (75); for he fooliſhly perſuaded himſelf to be upon a level with, and equal in

(51) Idem ibid.

(75) Senec. de ira, l. i. c. 16.

tion they had all ſhewed at their laſt meeting, they were ſtill for puting off the attempt; but Chærea, having called them together on the third day of the ſports, exhorted them not to let ſlip the preſent opportunity, repreſented the dangers to which their irreſolution expoſed them, and, by a ſpeech full of noble and generous ſentiments, inſpired them with ſuch courage, that they unanimouſly agreed at all adventures to make the attempt the next day, when Chærea was by good luck to be upon guard, and conſequently to receive of the emperor, according to cuſtom, the parole with the ſword by his ſide [b] (F). Caius came that day, the twenty-fourth of January, more early than uſual, to the theatre, and appeared contrary to his cuſtom, gay, affable, and good humoured; inſomuch, that the ſpectators were greatly ſurpriſed at his obliging behaviour, and the complaiſance he ſhewed to all who approached him. After he had ſacrificed to Auguſtus, in whoſe honours the ſports were exhibited, he took his place, having his friends and favourites about him, and Chærea, with the other officers that day upon guard, at ſome diſtance behind him. When the ſports began, one Bathybius, who had been prætor, happening to ſit by a conſular of his acquaintance, named Cluvitus, for at theſe ſhews there was no diſtinction of places,

A day fixed upon for putting Caius to death.

[b] Joſeph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1.

in power to, the greateſt of the gods. This monſtrous impiety, ſays Seneca, probably animated the conſpirators with new courage.

(F) Dion Caſſius tells us, that on the twenty-fourth of January, the day on which Caius was killed, an Egyptian, by name Apollones, was brought to him, having been ſent out of Egypt to Rome for pretending to foretel the emperor's death. Caius not being then at leiſure to examine him, ordered him to be kept under cloſe confinement till the ſports were over. But he being killed in the mean time, the Egyptian was after one day's confinement ſet at liberty (76). Suetonius mentions many prodigies, to warn the emperor of his approaching end; amongſt the others, he tells us, that Caius being admoniſhed by the oracle at Antium to be upon his guard againſt Caſſius, he immediately ſent aſſaſſines to murder Caſſius Longinus, at that time proconſul of Aſia, not remembering that Chærea was likewiſe named Caſſius (77).

(76) Dio, p. 663. (77) Suet. c. 57.

places, he aſked him ſoftly, Whether he had heard any news? None at all, anſwered Cluvitus: But I can tell you ſomething, replied Bathybius, to which you are perhaps a ſtranger; in the piece, which is to be acted to-day, will be repreſented the death of a tyrant. Cluvitus anſwered with a verſe out of Homer, which he whiſpered in his friend's ear; Silence, leſt ſome of the Greeks ſhould overhear us [c]. Hiſtorians obſerve, that this was the day, on which Philip, king of Macedon, was ſlain by Pauſanias, as he was entering the theatre to behold the ſame tragedy that was acted before Caius [d]. Another piece was to be exhibited in the night, repreſenting ſome fabulous accounts of the infernal regions [e]; for Caius, who took great delight in ſuch repreſentations, declared, that as this was the laſt day, the ſports ſhould continue all night, with a deſign, as was believed, to appear on the ſtage himſelf, and there diſplay his ſkill and addreſs in dancing, in which he took great pride (G) [f]. About noon, when the emperor uſed to withdraw

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. & Suet. c. 57. [e] Suet. ibid. [f] Dio, p. 663.

(G) He was, ſays Suetonius, an excellent fencer, dancer, and charioteer; he ſometimes danced on the ſtage, and frequently before his friends in the palace. One night, while he was in that humour, he ſent for three grave conſulars, cauſed them to be awaked out of their ſleep, and by his guards hurried away to his palace; where, while they were waiting in a great hall, and trembling in apprehenſion of immediate death, they ſuddenly heard a great noiſe of muſical inſtruments, and at the ſame time, ſaw the emperor come leaping out in a long robe, to diſplay before them his ſkill and addreſs in dancing. When he was tired, he withdrew, and ſent the three conſulars word, that they might, when they pleaſed, return home. He took ſuch pleaſure in ſeeing Mneſter, the famous mimic, dance, that he puniſhed, with great ſeverity, ſuch as gave him the leaſt diſturbance: a Roman knight making ſome noiſe while he was dancing, the emperor immediately ſent him word by a centurion to depart that inſtant for Oſtia and there wait for a letter, which he ſhould ſoon ſend after him for Ptolemy king of Mauritania. The knight obeyed, croſſed over to Africa, and preſented the letter to Ptolemy, who could not forbear laughing in reading it; for it contained only the following words; To the bearer do neither good nor evil (78).

(78) Idem, c. 54.

draw for a ſhort time to bathe and refreſh himſelf with ſome nouriſhment, Chærea ſtole out with a deſign to fall upon him, as he paſſed from the theatre to his apartment. But Caius, contrary to his cuſtom, ſhewed no inclination to leave the ſports, telling thoſe who ſat by him, that ſince it was the laſt day of the ſhews he had a mind not to bathe till they were over. At the ſame time, he called for ſome refreſhment, which he ſhared with thoſe who were about him, amongſt the reſt with Pomponius Secundus, then conſul, who ſat at his feet and often kiſſed them. Minucianus, who was next to him, and had ſeen Chærea go out, roſe up with a deſign to go out and acquaint the tribune with the emperor's reſolution. But Caius taking hold of his robe, Sit ſtill, my friend, ſaid he, in a very obliging manner; you ſhall go out with me. Minucianus, as it were, out of reſpect, ſat down again, but ſoon after roſe up and went out; neither did Caius offer to detain him, thinking he went away upon ſome neceſſary occaſion, and would ſoon return. He found Chærea waiting in the entry, which led to the theatre, and acquainted him with the emperor's reſolution. Hereupon the reſolute tribune thought it adviſable to fall upon him in the theatre, rather than let ſlip the preſent opportunity, and offered to go in immediately and ſtab him in his ſeat. Minucianus, and ſuch of the conſpirators as were with him, for ſome of them were in the theatre, expecting the ſignal, approved of Chærea's bold propoſal, who was thereupon entering the theatre, when word was brought him, that the emperor, at the perſuaſion of Ampronas, and ſome others who were privy to the conſpiracy, had changed his mind, and was coming out. The conſpirators immediately drew together, and, under pretence of clearing the way for the emperor, removed ſuch as they imagined would lend him any aſſiſtance. Caius at length came out, his uncle Claudius and M. Vinicius, who had married his ſiſter Julia, walking before him, with ſome perſons of great diſtinction. When he entered the palace, inſtead of going ſtrait to his apartment, as he uſually did, and following his officers and attendants, he turned unexpectedly into a gallery, which led to a private apartment, to ſee there certain youths, who had been ſent him out of Aſia, to act and dance upon the ſtage, and were juſt then arrived. He was ſo pleaſed with them, that he would have immediately returned with them to the theatre, being impatient to ſee them perform, had not the chief of them complained, that he was cold, and begged leave to warm himſelf

firſt [f]. While he was entertaining himſelf with the Aſiatic youths, Chærea came for the parole, and Caius gave him one, as uſual, reflecting on his effeminacy and want of courage. Chærea returned him a ſmart anſwer; and at the ſame time drew his ſword, diſcharged a great blow at him, and wounded him in the neck. Though the wound did not prove mortal, yet we cannot give credit to thoſe, who would make us believe, that Chærea did not, as he might, diſpatch him at one blow, leſt he ſhould be too ſoon put out of pain [g]. Caius, ſtruck with amazement at the boldneſs of the tribune, had not preſence of mind enough to call for aſſiſtance; however, he attempted to fly; but Cornelius Sabinus, having puſhed him down upon his knees, Chærea with another blow broke his jawbone; then the reſt of the conſpirators ruſhing in diſpatched him with thirty wounds, he for ſome time crying out, I am ſtill alive; and the conſpirators, Repeat, repeat the blow; which was the ſignal agreed on. We are told, that Aquila was the perſon who gave him the wound that put an end to his life. Some of the conſpirators took delight in mangling his body even after his death; nay, they are ſaid to have carried their rage to ſuch an height, as to cut off and eat pieces of his fleſh [h] (H).

Caius aſſaſſinated. Year after the flood 2040. Of Chriſt 40. Of Rome 789.

SUCH was the end of Caius Cæſar Caligula, the fourth emperor of Rome, a prince ſo monſtrouſly wicked, that nature, ſays Seneca, ſeemed to have brought him forth, to ſhew what miſchief could be effected by the greateſt vices, ſupported by the greateſt authority [i]. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of January; ſo that he reigned about three

[f] Joſeph. ibid. Suet. d. 58. Dio, p. 663. [g] Vide Joſeph. ibid. [h] Dio, p. 663. [i] Senec. de ira.

(H) Some writers, quoted by Suetonius (79), ſay, that while he was ſpeaking with the Aſiatic youths, Chærea came behind him, and gave him a mortal wound on the head, ſaying, Mind this; after which Cornelius Sabinus ran him through the body. Others, cited by the ſame writer, tell us, that Sabinus coming for the parole, and Caligula giving him the word Jupiter, Chærea cried out, Be ſure to remember it: hereupon Caius turning about, Chærea cut off his jaw at one blow, and ſtruck him to the ground. The other conſpirators then ruſhed in, and diſpatched him (80).

(79) Idem, c. 58. (80) Idem ibid.

three years, nine months, and twenty eight days, according to thoſe who fix the death of Tiberius on the twenty-ſixth of March; or three years ten months, and eight days, if we ſuppoſe him, as ſome do, to have begun his reign on the ſixteenth day of the ſaid month. He had lived according to Suetonius [i], twenty-nine years; according to others, twenty-eight years, four months, and twenty-four days [k]. Of the confuſion and diſorders attending his death we ſhall ſpeak in the following reign. His body remained in the place where he had been aſſaſſinated, till the night was far ſpent, when it was privately conveyed to the Lamian gardens, where, being half burnt upon a pile erected in haſte, it was, without any ſolemnity, or even ceremonies, committed to the earth. This laſt duty was paid him, according to the Roman writers, by his wife Cæſonia; but, according to Joſephus, by king Agrippa, who, mindful of the obligations he owed him, cauſed his body to be conveyed away, leſt it ſhould be inſulted by the incenſed populace. Some time after his ſiſters, being returned from baniſhment, took it up again, burnt it to aſhes, and ſolemnly interred it. Suetonius affirms as a thing not to be doubted of, that thoſe who had the care of the above-mentioned gardens were frightened with dreadful apparitions, ſo long as the body remained there; and that in the appartment where he was murdered, a frightful noiſe was heard every night, till it was burnt down to the ground [l]. Chærea, to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, ſent the night after his death a centurion, or rather a tribune, by name Julius Lupus, to diſpatch his wife Cæſonia, and with her his only daughter, an infant; the tribune ſtabbed without mercy the mother, and taking the innocent child out of the cradle, daſhed her brains out againſt a wall [m]. The ſenate, even after Claudius was raiſed to the empire, were for declaring Caius infamous. This Claudius, who was his uncle, would not allow, but nevertheleſs ordered all his ſtatues to be pulled down and broken, diſannulled moſt of his acts, and gave his aſſent to a decree of the ſenate, commanding his money to be melted down, that both his name and features might be unknown to future ages [n].

His body privately conveyed away, and buried.

The birth, education, &c. of Claudius.

As we have hitherto had no opportunity to ſpeak of Claudius, who ſucceeded his nephew, but had led a retired life til

[i] Suet. c. 59. [k] Clem. ſtrom. l. i. p. 539. Eutrop. in vi Claud [l] Suet. c. 59. [m] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 663. Joſeph ibid, c. 2. [n] Joſeph. ibid. Dio. p. 667.

till he was raiſed to the empire, it may not be improper to premiſe to the hiſtory of his reign a ſuccinct account of his birth and education, of his good and evil qualities, and alſo of his wives, children, and freedmen, whom we ſhall have frequently occaſion to bring upon the ſtage. Claudius was born at Lions on the firſt of Auguſt, Iulus Antonius and Fabius Africanus being conſuls, ſo that this year he was in the fiftieth of his age [o]. He was named Tiberius Claudius Nero Druſus Germanicus [p]. Upon his acceſſion to the empire, he aſſumed the names of Cæſar and Auguſtus, as did likewiſe all his ſucceſſors; by which means the name of Cæſar, which was peculiar to the Julian family, became a title of dignity, and was given to the preſumptive heirs of the empire; whereas that of Auguſtus was a mark of the ſovereign power. As for the name of Julius, it was quite laid aſide, and never after aſſumed by any of the emperors [q]. Claudius was, by his mother Antonia, the grandſon of Marc Antony and Octavia, ſiſter to Auguſtus, and by his father Druſus who died in Germany, the grandſon of Livia Auguſta, and conſequently nephew to Tiberius, brother to Germanicus and uncle to Caius. However, no one imagined he would ever have attained to the ſovereign power, till the very day he was inveſted with it; all men being rather deſtined to the empire, to uſe the expreſſion of Tacitus, than he, for whom fortune, or rather providence, reſerved it in the dark [r]. For being very ſickly during the whole time of his childhood and minority, he was thereby ſo weakened both in his body and mind, that he was looked upon as incapable of any public employment, and long after he was of age kept under a governor, of whom he complained in a book, which he publiſhed, as of a barbarous and unmannerly perſon, who had been formerly a groom, and was ſet over him on purpoſe to plague and chaſtiſe him upon every trivial occaſion. His mother Antonia uſed to call him an human monſter, juſt begun by nature, but never finiſhed; and when ſhe upbraided any one with dulneſs and ſtupidity, her common expreſſion was, You are as ſtupid as my ſon Claudius: his grandmother Livia could not bear the ſight of him: his nephew Caligula, when he had butchered many of his kindred, ſaved him purely for a laughing-ſtock; he was held in the ſame contempt by

Deſpiſed by all his relations.

[o] Suet. in Claud. c. 2. Goltz. p. 140. [p] Suet. ibid. Dio, p. 665. [q] Vide [r] Tacit. annal. l. iii. c. 18.

by his ſiſter Livilla, by Auguſtus, and all his family (I): the

(I) Suetonius, to ſhew us what opinion Auguſtus entertained of Claudius, produces ſeveral of his letters to Livia concerning him: I have, ſays he, in one, my dear Livia, adviſed with Tiberius according to your deſire, about what is to be done with your nephew Tiberius, that is, Claudius, at the ſolemnity of Mars. We are both of opinion, that we muſt reſolve without further delay, what courſe to take with him; if his weakneſs be not very remarkable, we ought, without all doubt, to advance him by the ſame ſteps and degrees by which his brother was raiſed. But if we find any weakneſs or incapacity in his body or mind, we muſt not give occaſion to the world to mock and deride both him and us: it is now time to deliberate and conclude, whether he is capable of public employments or not. I think it would not be amiſs to charge him, at the approaching ſolemnity of Mars, with the care of entertaining the prieſts, upon condition, that he ſuffers himſelf to be directed by the ſon of Silanus his kinſman, who will inſtruct him, and prevent his doing any thing notoriouſly ridiculous. But I am utterly againſt his ſeeing the Circenſian games, from ſo conſpicuous a place as the pulvinar, becauſe he will be there expoſed to the eyes of the whole theatre. Neither would I have him to attend his brother on the feriæ Latinæ to mount Albanus; and as to the government of the city, during his brother's abſence, I do not think him at all qualified for ſuch an employment. Thus my dear Livia, I have declared my opinion, which is, that we defer no longer, but come to a final reſolution, whether we are to raiſe him or no. This part of my letter you may ſhew, if you pleaſe to Antonia. In another he writes thus: During your abſence, I ſhall conſtantly invite young Tiberius to my table, that he may not ſup with his Sulpitius and Athenodorus: I wiſh the poor child would propoſe to himſelf the example of ſome well-bred perſon, and imitate him in his geſture, habit, and mien; for though he is not much eſteemed by men of penetration, yet he is not without ſome noble ſentiments. And in a third; may I die, my dear Livia, ſays he, if I am not amazed how your nephew Tiberius could give me ſo full ſatisfaction in his declamation; it is ſurpriſing, that a perſon who talks ſo ill, ſhould write and declaim ſo well. Auguſtus, well appriſed of the weakneſs of his underſtanding, honoured him with no other dignity but that of augur, and in his laſt will mentioned him only amongſt his third heirs who were no-ways related to him, and left him but a legacy of eight hundred ſeſterces. His uncle Tiberius honoured him with the conſular ornaments, but never allowed him to diſcharge the office of conſul; and when the young prince importuned him for ſome real preferment, he wrote him word, that he had ſent him forty pieces of gold againſt the Saturnalia, or feaſts of Saturn, for play-

the kindeſt word Auguſtus gave him was that of Miſellus, poor wretch f. Being thus deſpiſed and utterly neglected by his own relations, he became the jeſt of the court (K), and was treated even by the freedmen of his uncle and nephew with the greateſt diſreſpect imaginable (L). He was not only

f Suet. c. 2, & 3.

play-money, and to lay out, as he pleaſed, in the Sigillaria, which was a kind of fair after the Saturnalia, laſting ſeven days, and ſo called from the little images and puppets, in Latin Sigilla, which were then ſold. Upon this anſwer, Claudius, laying aſide all hopes of riſing to any conſiderable employment in the ſtate, betook himſelf to a retired life, ſpending his time with perſons much below his rank, either in the gardens he had in the ſuburbs, or at his country-houſe in Campania, where he gave himſelf entirely up to gaming and drinking, diverſions ſuitable o the low company he kept. However, the ſenate in conſideration of his high birth, paſſed a decree, enacting, that he ſhould be added, above the limited number, to the college of the prieſts of Auguſtus, into which none had ever before been admitted but by lot; that a houſe belonging to him, which had been burnt down to the ground by accidental fire, ſhould be rebuilt at the public charge; and that he ſhould have a vote in the ſenate, and deliver his opinion amongſt the conſulars. But this decree did not take place, Tiberius alledging againſt his voting in the ſenate the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and promiſing to make good at his private expence the loſſes he had ſuſtained by fire. Nevertheleſs, Tiberius in his laſt will named him amongſt his heirs, and left him a legacy of about two millions of ſeſterces (81).

(K) Suetonius tells us, that if he happened to come to table, when the other gueſts had taken their places, no one ſhewed him the leaſt civility, but diverted themſelves with ſeeing him running about the table to find out a place; if he refreſhed himſelf, as he uſually did after meals, with a ſhort repoſe, they took pleaſure in throwing the ſtones of olives and dates at him; ſometimes, they awakened him with the blow of a rod, or whip; and ſometimes, while he was aſleep, they put his ſandals upon his hands, that, when he waked, he might rub his face with them (82).

(L) He was, as Dion Caſſius obſerves, ſo notoriouſly neglected, that notwithſtanding the prerogative of his birth, he did not riſe

(81) Idem c. 2.—7. Dio, p. 665. (82) Suet. c. 8.

His timoruſneſs.

deſtitute of parts, but moreover extremely timorous; inſomuch, that there was no accident ſo trivial, no man, woman, ſlave, or child, ſo contemptible, as not to frighten him, and when frightened, he was altogether incapable of reaſoning. This timorouſneſs was owing to his education; for he was brought up amongſt women and freedmen, and obliged from his infancy to depend entirely upon them, and ſubmit to their will and pleaſure, without having any paſſions, or even diſcernment of his own [t]. He gave out after he came to the throne, that in the reigns of Tiberius and Caius he had counterfeited folly to eſcape their cruelty; but his conduct too plainly ſhewed, that it was not aſſumed but real [u]. Suetonius taxes him with being naturally cruel [w], while others aſcribe to his wives and freedmen the many executions of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of his reign. Though he had many great faults, yet when compared with Tiberius or Caius, he did not paſs for a bad emperor [x]. From his childhood he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the liberal ſciences, and gave frequently public teſtimonies of his proficiency in them [z]. He arrived

His learning.

at no ſmall perfection in oratory, and his diſcourſe was not without elegance, when it was the reſult of ſtudy. He was well ſkilled both in the Latin and Greek tongues, wrote ſeveral books (M), and added three letters to the antient alphabet

[t] Dio, ibid. [u] Suet. c. 38. [w] Idem c. 34. [x] Dio, l. lx. p. 665. Aur. Vict. c. 4. [z] Suet c. 3. [a] Tacit. annal. l. xiii. c. 3.

riſe above the rank of a knight, till the age of forty-ſix years, when his nephew Caius created him ſenator, in order to honour him with the conſulate (83). Nevertheleſs to this contempt and neglect was owing the power he acquired; for Caius would never have ſpared him, had he imagined him capable of aſpiring at it (84). Beſides, the baſe treatment he met with moved both the people and ſoldiery to compaſſion, and procured him their affections (85).

(M) At the perſuaſion of Livy the celebrated hiſtorian, and with the aſſiſtance of Sulpicius Flavius, Livy dying before he began his work, he wrote in forty-three books the hiſtory of Rome from

(83) Dio, p. 644. (84) Idem, p. 658. (85) Aurel. Vict. c. 3.

alphabet (N), which however, continued in uſe no longer than his reign [b]. Seneca commends his works, and ſpeaks of

[b] Senec. c. 41.

from the death of Cæſar the dictator to his own time. He is ſaid to have wrote with great liberty, and to have been on that account often rebuked by his mother Antonia and his grandmother Livia. He publiſhed alſo ſeven volumes of his own life, which were wrote with more elegance than judgment (86), and a defence of Cicero againſt the writings of Gallus, which, in the opinion of Suetonius (87), was a learned performance. His hiſtory he recited in public, ſubmitting it to the judgment of his auditors. He had a particular value for the Greek tongue, ſpoke it fluently, and wrote in that language the hiſtory of the Tyrrhenians in twenty books, and that of the Carthaginians in eight. To make theſe hiſtories the more famous, he added a new ſchool to the old one at Alexandria, calling it by his own name, and ordering his two Greek hiſtories to be read in both ſchools (88).

(N) Tacitus Quintilian, and Varro agree, that Claudius added three letters to the Latin alphabet, two of which are well known, viz. the Æolic digamma, and the antiſigma; the former was an F inverſed, thus Ⅎ, and founded like the V; as terminaⅎit ampliaⅎitque, and DiⅎDi Auguſti, &c. The Antiſigma ſerved inſtead of the Greek Ψ, or inſtead of P S. and was wrote thus, ↄ. The ſigma of the antient Greeks reſembled our C; whence Claudius, to his new letter, conſiſting of two ſigmas, having their backs turned to each other, thus, ↄc, gave the name of antiſigma. As to the third letter, we are quite in the dark. Some take it to have been the diphthong ai, which is found in moſt inſcriptions of Claudius's time, thus Antoniai, Diⅎai, &c. But it is manifeſt, that this Diphthong was in uſe long before his reign. Others from a corrupt paſſage in Velius Longus, conclude it to have been we know not what letter, invented to ſoften the harſh ſound of the letter R. There are not wanting ſome who pretend the letter X to have been firſt contrived by Claudius; but Iſidorus plainly ſhews, that it was invented and uſed in the reign of Auguſtus (89). The Greek Φ had, as Quintilian obſerves, a different ſound from that of the Latin PH; whence ſome conjecture the third letter invented by Claudius to have anſwered the Greek φ, which is not altogether void of probability. But on this ſubject nothing has been, or can be, offered, except what is merely conjectural. Claudius

 publiſhed

(86) Suet. c. 41. (87) Idem, ibid. (88) Idem, c. 42.
(89) Vide Iſidor. de orig.

His perſon. of him as an encourager of learning [c]. As to his perſon, he was tall and well-ſhaped; but had ſomething very diſagreeable in his mien, ſomething very unbecoming in his action, which, together with his low voice and inarticulate pronunciation, is the chief ſubject of Seneca's railleries [d]. Theſe defects as well as his ſtammering and the trembling of his head, Dion Caſſius takes to be the effect of the infirmities, to which he was ſubject in his childhood and youth [e].

His wives and children. HIS wife, when he came to the empire, was Valeria Meſſalina, his couſin, whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention. He had already by her a daughter, named Octavia, who was afterwards married to Nero. Not many days after his acceſſion to the empire, his wife Meſſalina was delivered of a ſon, named firſt Claudius Tiberius Germanicus, and afterwards Britannicus Cæſar [f]. By his ſecond wife, Ælia Petina, whom he divorced, he had a daughter called Antonia, whom he married firſt to Pompeius Magnus, and afterwards to Fauſtus Sylla, both deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors. His firſt wife, Plautia Urgulanilla, brought him Druſus, and a daughter called Claudia. Druſus loſt his life at Pompeii before he was fourteen, being choaked by an apple, which ſtuck in his throat, while, in play, he was throwing it up into the air, and catching it in his mouth. As for Claudia, though ſhe was born five months before he divorced her mother, yet he would not acknowledge her for his daughter; but ſuſpecting her to be the child of one of his freedmen, called Boter, he cauſed her to be ſtript naked, and to be laid, after the divorce, before her mother's door [g].

His freedmen. MESSALINA, and Agrippina, whom he married after her death, bore an abſolute ſway over Cladius, who acted under

[c] Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 665. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Dio, c. 60. [f] Suet. c. 27. Dio, p. 548. [g] Suet. ibid.

publiſhed a book, when he was yet a private perſon, on the neceſſity of admitting theſe letters, and the uſe of them: when he was advanced to the empire, he obliged all to uſe them; but after his death they were diſuſed and quite laid aſide, though in the times of Suetonius and Tacitus they were ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral records and journals, and in the tables of braſs, on which were publiſhed the decrees of the people (90).

(90) Suet. c. 41. Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 14.

under them more like a slave than a prince [h], disposing of honours, governments, employments, armies, &c. as they and his freedmen, whose power he raised as high as his own, thought fit to direct him. Amongst the latter his chief favourites were Possides the eunuch, Felix, Harpocras, Polybius, and above all Narcissus and Pallas (O). To these we may add, Callistus, or, as others call him, Calixtus, a man

[h] Suet. c. 29.

(O)Suetonius tells us, that Possides was rewarded by Claudius in his British triumph, and amongst the other brave officers presented with a spear; but whether the eunuch deserved that mark of distinction, we find no where recorded. Felix was brother to Pallas, Claudius's reigning favourite, and the most powerful person in the whole empire. He is by most writers named Claudius Felix, but by Tacitus, Antonius Felix, because he was first the slave of Antonia, the mother of Claudius, and afterwards of Claudius himself, whose name he likewise took upon his being manumitted. He was in high favour with Claudius, and by him raised to the first posts of the army, and afterwards to the government of Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and Perea, that is, of the country beyond the Jordan (91). Suetonius observes, that from a slave he became so great and considerable, that he was the husband of three several queens, or rather princesses of royal blood. One of these was Drusilla, the daughter of king Agrippa, whom by means of a magician, named Simon, he persuaded to abandon her husband Azizus, king of Emesus, and marry him (92). In marrying Felix, she renounced, according to Josephus, the Jewish religion, which Azizus had embraced out of complaisance to her. S. Luke, nevertheless calls her a Jew (93). Felix married another Drusilla, grand-daughter to Anthony and Cleopatra, and daughter to Juba, king of Mauritania (94). Who was the third princess we find no where recorded. To Harpocras, another of his favourite freedmen, he granted the privilege of being carried in a litter and of exhibiting plays, which was contrary to the decree passed in Tiberius's reign, and by us mentioned there. Polybius was a man of learning, and had assisted Claudius in his studies, who thereupon heaped extraordinary honours upon him, allowing him often to walk between the two consuls (95). Of Narcissus and Pallas we shall speak anon.

(91) Suet. c. 28. Joseph. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. (92) Idem ibid. (93) Act. c. xxiv. v. 24. (94) Idem ibid. (95) Suet. ibid.

man of great craft and addreſs (P). He was privy to the conſpiracy againſt Caius, as we have related above, and gained the favour of Claudius, by perſuading him, that he had been charged by Caius to poiſon him; but had under various pretences, put off from day to day the execution of his orders [i]. Calixtus's office was to receive the requeſts, which were preſented to the emperor; Narciſſus was his ſecretary, and Pallas had the whole management of the finances. Theſe three divided the ſovereign power amongſt them [k]. Each of them was, according to Pliny [l], richer than Craſſus had ever been; nay, they poſſeſſed

[i] Joſeph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. [k] Zonar. l. v. Suet. ibid.
[l] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10.

(P) Calliſtus had been ſlave to a private citizen, who ſold him to Caius, but was afterwards obliged, as Seneca obſerves (96), to purchaſe his favour at a much higher price than that, at which he had ſold him; nay, he was often ſeen waiting at his door, and courting even his porters, that he might be allowed to enter with the reſt, and attend the levee of one, whom he had formerly kept in chains. Scribonius Largus, a celebrated phyſician of thoſe times, inſcribed to him a work, wherein he ſtyles him Caius Julius Calliſtus (97). Suetonius, in ſpeaking of the freedmen of Claudius, makes no mention of Calliſtus, who, it is certain, bore a great ſway in that reign; but names one Harpocras, who is ſcarce taken notice of by any other writer. This has prompted ſome to believe, that Harpocras and Calliſtus were one and the ſame perſon. But we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that Calliſtus was alſo named Harpocras, ſince Scribonius Largus, names him only C. Julius Calliſtus. Beſides, Seneca ſpeaks in one place of Calliſtus (98), and in another of Harpocras (99); and tells us, that the latter was executed by Claudius's orders. Had this been the end of ſo famous and celebrated a perſon as Calliſtus, Tacitus and Suetonius would not, we conceive, have failed to mention it. Suetonius perhaps makes no mention of Calliſtus in ſpeaking of Claudius's freedmen, becauſe he was not, properly ſpeaking, one of his, but of Caius's freedmen, by whom he was firſt manumitted, and afterwards employed in quality of ſecretary (100). He was alive in the eighth year of Claudius's reign, and died ſoon after (1).

(96) Senec. epiſt. 47. (97) Tacit. annal. l. 11. (98) Senec. epiſt. 47. (99) Idem lud. in Claud. (100) Joſeph. antiq. l. xix. c. 6. (1) Tacit. annal. l. 11. c. 27.

ſeſſed greater wealth than the emperor himſelf, who was thereupon told, as he complained one day of his poverty, that he would be rich enough, if he could but prevail upon his freedmen to take him for their partner [m]. Having premiſed thus much in general concerning Claudius and thoſe who governed under him, we ſhall now reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

The alarm which the death of Caius occaſioned in Rome.

THE unexpected news of Caius's death, which was brought while the people were intent upon the ſhews, and in a trice ſpread all over the city, occaſioned a general uproar. Upon the firſt alarm the deceaſed emperor's littermen haſtened with their poles to his reſcue, and were immediately followed by his German guards, named the Celtic band, who, finding Caius lying dead on the ground and his body mangled, in the manner we have related, vented their rage on all they met, without examining whether they were privy to the conſpiracy or not; and in this confuſion were killed L. Aſprenas, who had been conſul three years before, Norbanus, deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome, Anteius, a ſenator of great diſtinction, and ſeveral others, who came merely out of curioſity to know whether the report was true or no. As for Chærea he retired, before the emperor's death was publicly known, to the houſe of Germanicus, which was contiguous to the palace, and there with the chief of the conſpirators lay concealed, till the Germans, by whom Caius was extremely beloved on account of his prodigality, had vented their firſt fury. The people, ſuſpecting Caius had cauſed the report of his death to be ſpread abroad, on purpoſe to diſcover their ſentiments, continued in the theatre, without taking any notice of what was rumoured about. But they were greatly alarmed, when word was brought them, that the emperor's guards had ſurrounded the theatre, and were ready to enter it ſword in hand, to ſacrifice the whole multitude to the manes of their maſſacred general. And this indeed they deſigned in the firſt tranſports of their rage; but a public herald appearing unexpectedly in the theatre, clad in deep mourning, after having proclaimed the emperor's death, commanded the people quietly to retire to their reſpective houſes, and the ſoldiery to withdraw to their quarters without raiſing any further diſturbance. They both obeyed, which was more than was expected, with great readineſs,

Several perſons of diſtinction killed.

[m] Suet. ibid.

readineſs, ſo that the tumult was ſoon appeaſed, and tran-
quillity reſtored to the city. Then the conſuls, Q. Pom-
ponius Secundus and Cn. Sentius Saturninus, having, at th
head of the city-guards who were under their command
ſeized on the forum and the capitol, aſſembled the ſenate
in order to deliberate with them about the moſt proper mea-
ſures in ſo critical a conjuncture. While they were
aſſembled, both the populace and ſoldiery, whom Caius had
gained with the immenſe ſums he diſtributed amongſt them,
and the magnificent ſhews he exhibited almoſt every day,
cried aloud for vengeance; which ſo terrified the ſenate,
that they were ready to paſs a decree, enacting, that the
conſpirators ſhould be forthwith apprehended and executed,
as traitors and enemies to their country, when Valerius
Aſiaticus, a ſenator of great quality and reputation, riſing
up, ſpoke with great vehemence againſt the meaſures they
were entering upon, commended the zeal of the brave
patriots who had delivered their country from ſo cruel a
tyrant, publicly wiſhed he had had the glory of diſpatching
him with his own hand, and exhorted the fathers to deſpiſe
the clamours of the multitude. Hereupon they took
courage, and by an edict, which they cauſed to be read to
the people, commanded them to return to their ſeveral em-
ployments, and the ſoldiery to their camp. Then the con-
ſpirators appeared publicly, and owned the fact; and Sen-
tius Saturninus, one of the conſuls, having in a ſpeech,
which he uttered with great zeal and ardor, diſplayed the
benefits of liberty and miſeries of tyranny, encouraged the
fathers to reſume their antient authority, and to begin the
exerciſe of that power to which they alone had a juſt
claim, by conferring ſuch honours and rewards on Chærea,
as the eminent ſervice he had rendered the public well de-
ſerved. The ſenators, animated with his ſpeech, agreed to
reſtore Rome to her antient liberty, and utterly to extinguiſh
the name of the Cæſars. They ſpent all that day and the
following night, in deliberating about the meaſures for bring-
ing about ſo great a change, without kindling a civil war
within the very walls of the city, but parted, after long and
warm debates, without agreeing upon any. When the
ſenate roſe, Chærea, whom they had appointed commander
of the city-guards, went to the conſuls for the parole, who
gave him the word "liberty." No ſuch honour had been
paid to the conſuls ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of the mo-
narchy [n].

The conſuls ſeize the capitol.

The ſenate reſolves to reſtore Rome to her antient liberty.

[n] Joſeph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1, & 2. Suet. in Calig. c. 59. Dio l. lx. p. 664.

CLAUDIUS.



NERO.



GALBA.



OTHO.



P. Simms Sc.lpt

Vol. V.

ver against Pag. 490

The ſoldiery find Claudius

In the mean time, the ſoldiers in the camp took ſuch meaſures as utterly defeated thoſe of the ſenate. Claudius, who had been with Caius a few minutes before he was murdered, and was retired to a room in the palace called Hermaum, upon the firſt alarm of his death, ſtole away in a great fright, and hid himſelf behind the hangings in a dark corner of the palace, whence he heard the noiſe of the ſoldiery, and ſaw ſome of the German guards paſs cloſe by him with the head of Aſprenas, which they carried, as it were, in triumph. This ſight encreaſed his fright to ſuch a degree, that he continued motionleſs in the ſame place, ſcarce daring to breathe through fear of being diſcovered, till a common ſoldier, called by ſome Gratus, by others Epirius, but probably Epirius Gratus, running about the palace in queſt of plunder, diſcovered his feet, and dragged him out of his hiding-place. Claudius, not doubting but the ſoldier deſigned to murder him, threw himſelf at his feet, and with many tears begged for mercy, which Gratus, finding who he was, not only granted, but ſaluted him emperor, and carried him to his comrades, who, at his inſtigation, honoured him with the ſame title. They then put him into a chair, and, as his ſervants were fled, carried him upon their ſhoulders by turns to the camp, the people, who imagined they were carrying him to execution, bemoaning his misfortune; for he had hitherto done nothing that could deſerve any man's hatred. He was well received in the camp; but, as he was naturally timorous, he paſſed the night in no ſmall apprehenſion [o]. He was inclined not to accept the empire; but king Agrippa, who had juſt interred the body of Caius, arriving in the camp, and hearing the army deſigned to raiſe Claudius to the ſovereign power, went immediately to him, encouraged him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, and, leaving him in that reſolution, returned home. On the other hand, the ſoldiery, being well appriſed, that the ſtate could not long ſubſiſt without an emperor, and reflecting that it would prove far more advantageous for them to give than to receive one, the very next day, the twenty-fifth of January, took an oath of allegiance to Claudius, who thereupon promiſed them fifteen great ſeſterces a man [p]. He was the firſt emperor, as Suetonius obſerves, who gave money to the ſoldiers upon his acceſſion to the empire; but his example was followed

[o] Suet. in Claud. c. 10.

[p] Joſeph. ibid.

followed by moſt of his ſucceſſors [q]. The people, who had expreſſed great joy upon the hopes of recovering once more their antient privileges, no ſooner heard that Claudius was declared emperor by the army, than they changed their mind, approved with loud ſhouts what had been done in the camp, and openly declared, that they had rather obey one prince, than many tyrants. The ſenate, however, perſiſted in their former reſolution of aſſerting the public liberty, and were even for making war upon Claudius; but afterwards growing cooler on account of the differences that aroſe amongſt them, and not being able to come to an agreement, they ſent for king Agrippa to adviſe with him. The king obeyed the ſummons with great readineſs, and appearing in the ſenate, dreſſed and perfumed, as if he had not been out of his houſe that day, he aſked what was become of Claudius, as if he ſuſpected him to have been murdered together with his nephew. Hereupon the ſenate related to him what had paſſed, to which he pretended to be an utter ſtranger, and at the ſame time aſked his advice (R). The traitor proteſted, that he was ready to ſacrifice his life to the glory of the ſenate and to the public liberty; but at the ſame time ſtarting innumerable difficulties and exaggerating the dangers and evils of a civil war, he craftily endeavoured to deter them, as ſolicitous about their ſafety, from having recourſe to arms. He told them, that in his opinion they were no-ways in a condition to make head againſt the prætorian guards; and that he therefore adviſed them, rather to ſend a deputation to Claudius, begging him not to accept of the empire. This embaſſy he offered to take upon himſelf; the ſenate returned

The people join the ſoldiery.

The ſenate adviſes with king Agrippa

A deputation ſent to Claudius.

[q] Suet. ibid.

(R) Joſephus tells us in his hiſtory of the Jewiſh war, that king Agrippa was at the ſame time ſent for both by the ſenate and by Claudius, and that he choſe to go firſt to Claudius, who ſent him in his name to the ſenate (2). This is not to be eaſily reconciled with what he writes in his antiquities, viz. that Agrippa being ſent for by the ſenate, immediately obeyed the ſummons, but pretended an entire ignorance of what had paſſed either in the palace or camp, relating to Claudius. We have followed him in his antiquities, which he wrote the laſt.

(2) Joſeph. bell. l. ii. c. 28.

eturned him thanks for his zeal, accepted his offer, and iſpatched him the ſame day to the camp with two tribunes f the people, Veranius and Bruchus. The tribunes con-ured him to ſubmit to the authority of the ſenate and people, ut him in mind of the evils and calamities which the re-ublic had ſuffered under the former tyrants, aſſured him, that he ſenate had reſolved at all events to attempt the recovery of their antient privileges, earneſtly entreated him ſeriouſly to reflect on the calamities attending a civil war, and the unhappy end of Caius, &c. The ſpeech of the tribunes made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Claudius, who was naturally timorous; but Agrippa in a private audience encouraged him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity, acquainted him with the fears, perplexity, and irreſolution of the ſenate, and exhorted him to aſſume forthwith the imperial power, and return an anſwer to the deputies becoming an emperor. Claudius followed the advice of Agrippa, which occaſioned no ſmall confuſion in the city, the ſenate declaring, that they were determined rather to riſque a civil war, than ſubmit to the will of one man. This was in effect declaring war, and accordingly Claudius, being acquainted with their reſolution, began to put himſelf in a condition to repel force with force. In the mean time, the people, ſurrounding the place where the ſenate was aſſembled, demanded with threats an emperor, declaring aloud, that they would never acknowledge the authority of the ſenate. This frightened the fathers to ſuch a degree, that they immediately ſeparated; but the conſuls ſummoned them to meet again the next morning before break of day. Only a ſmall number of them obeyed the ſummons, ſcarce an hundred perſons, the reſt being either retired into the country, or keeping cloſe in their houſes, through fear of being inſulted by the populace. While thoſe who met were deliberating how to thwart the deſigns of Claudius, the city guards, the only troops that obeyed the ſenate, joining the populace, began to cry aloud, that they would have an emperor; that the ſenate might chuſe whom they pleaſed; but that they were reſolved to yield obedience to none but an emperor. This put an end to the deliberations of the ſenate; all thoughts of liberty were laid aſide, and Claudius, with the uſual ceremonies, declared emperor (S). After this declaration the ſenators haſtened

The ſenate betrayed by Agrippa.

The people demand an emperor.

And are joined by the city guards.

(S) The ſenate, being well appriſed, that all their efforts towards the recovery of their liberty muſt, in the preſent diſpoſi-

tion

haſtened to the camp, each of them ſtriving to be the foremoſt in paying their court to the new prince. The ſoldiery received them with inſults, wounded ſome of them, and would have killed the conſul Pomponius Secundus, who had been the moſt ſanguine of all in the cauſe of liberty, had they not been reſtrained by Claudius, who received him with the greateſt tokens of reſpect, and placed him next to himſelf[r].

Claudius declared emperor.

And now Claudius, being declared and acknowledged emperor, left the camp, accompanied by the ſenate and prætorian guards, and entering the city in a kind of triumph,

[r] Joſeph. ibid. Dio, p. 666. Suet. c. 10.

tion of the people and ſoldiery, neceſſarily prove ineffectual, reſolved at firſt to name an emperor themſelves, and not accept one from the ſoldiery. Accordingly, ſeveral perſons were propoſed, all better qualified than Claudius for that high ſtation. Joſephus names the three following ſenators, all men of extraordinary parts, and equal to the ſovereignty; viz. Annius Minucianus or Vicinianus, Valerius Aſiaticus, who had been both privy to the conſpiracy againſt Caius, and Camillus Scribonianus, who revolted the following year. Minucianus had moſt votes; but the conſuls, dreading the conſequences of a civil war, which they thought unavoidable, if they named any but Claudius to the ſovereign power, put off, under various pretences, the final deciſion of ſuch an important affair. In the mean time, the gladiators, on whom the ſenate chiefly relied, and the city guards went over, in crouds to Claudius; ſo that Minucianus and the others gave over ſoliciting for a dignity, which they were well appriſed they could not long enjoy. Chærea did all that lay in his power to put a ſtop to the deſertion of the ſoldiery, but to no purpoſe; for while he was encouraging the few who remained, to exert themſelves in the defence of their liberties, inſtead of liſtening to him, they took up their ſtandards, and marching ſword in hand out of the city, joined their comrades in the camp of the prætorian guards. The ſenate, ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned by all their forces, were at length forced to join the people and ſoldiery, and declare Claudius emperor; which they did accordingly, decreeing him at the ſame time all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity. However, Chærea and Sabinus continued proteſting, that they would rather fall by their own hands, than ſubmit to Claudius (3).

(3 Joſeph. antiq. c. 3. Dio, p. 665.

umph, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice in the capitol by way of thankſgiving to the gods, who had thus raiſed him to the empire; and then withdrew to the palace, where he immediately ſummoned a council of his friends to deliberate with them about his conduct, with reſpect to thoſe who had murdered Caius: in his heart he approved of the action; but as he thought it nearly concerned all princes, that the death of one ſhould not paſs unrevenged, with the advice of his friends, he cauſed the brave Chærea (T), Lupus, who had put to death Cæſonia with her daughter, and a few more to be condemned and executed; but pardoned the reſt, and amongſt them Cornelius Sabinus, though he had acted a chief part in the murder of Caius; but the brave tribune, grieved at the death of his friend Chærea and ſcorning to out-live him, laid violent hands on himſelf [s]. After this the emperor cauſed an act of oblivion to be paſſed with reſpect to all that had been tranſacted in the ſenate, from the death of Caius to the time of his acceſſion to the empire, and obſerved it ſo ſtrictly, that he even raiſed thoſe to the firſt employments who had been the moſt ſanguine in the cauſe of liberty. The ſenate immediately decreed him all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modeſtly declined the greater part of them, and cauſed a decree to be paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding any one to pay him divine worſhip, or ſtyle him a god. Having, a few days after he was declared emperor, married

Chærea and ſome of the conſpirators put to death.

Inſtances of Claudius's modeſty, equity, &c.

[s] Joſeph & Dio, ibid.

(T) Chærea died with the conſtancy of a true hero; but Lupus betrayed a great deal of fear, notwithſtanding the great example he had before his eyes. As he was pulling off his garments at the place of execution, he complained of cold; which unſeaſonable complaint Chærea turning into ridicule, told him, that cold had never yet done harm to a wolf, alluding to his name Lupus, which in the Latin tongue ſignifies a wolf (4). They were both beheaded, and the Roman people, a few days after their execution, offering the uſual ſacrifices in the month of February, in honour of their deceaſed friends, did not on that occaſion forget the brave Chærea, acknowledging their obligations to him, for having delivered the republic from ſo deſtructive a tyrant (5).

(4) Idem. ibid. (5) Dio, p. 666.

married his daughter Antonia to Cn. Pompeius, he would not ſuffer the people to make any public rejoicings on that occaſion, nor even on his own birth-day, or on the anniverſary of his acceſſion to the empire [t]. He no ſooner began to exerciſe the authority with which he was inveſted, than he ſuppreſſed the law of majeſty, which under the two preceding emperors had proved ſo fatal to Rome. At the ſame time, he called home all the exiles; eaſed the people of the tributes with which Caius had loaded them; forbad ſuch as had any relations of their own, however diſtant, to name him among their heirs; reſtored the eſtates, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by Tiberius and Caius, to the owners or their heirs: ordered all the ſtatues, which Caius had cauſed to be brought to Rome from Greece and other countries to be carried back, and reſtored to the cities whence they had been taken, &c. With theſe and innumerable other inſtances of his clemency, juſtice and good-nature, he won the hearts of the people to ſuch a degree, that upon a groundleſs report of his being aſſaſſinated, they raiſed dreadful diſturbances in the city, calling the ſoldiers traitors, the ſenate parricides, and loading with horrible curſes and imprecations all whom they ſuſpected to have been any way acceſſory to his death. The tumult continued till the magiſtrates aſſured the people from the roſtra, that Claudius was only gone to Oſtia, whence he would return in a ſhort time [u]. But the zeal, which the people ſhewed on this and ſeveral other occaſions for his ſafety, was not ſufficient to cure his natural timorouſneſs. His friends could not prevail upon him, during the firſt month of his reign, to appear once in the ſenate, becauſe Cæſar the dictator had been murdered there. He cauſed all, whom he admitted to his preſence, to be firſt narrowly ſearched, leſt they ſhould have ſome weapon concealed under their garments. It was a long time before he could be perſuaded to excuſe women, and even children, from being ſearched in a very rude and unbecoming manner. At public entertainments he was conſtantly ſurrounded by his guards, whom he alſo obliged to attend him at table, diſtruſting the domeſtics even of his moſt intimate friends. He never failed to viſit in perſon ſuch of the ſenators as were indiſpoſed, but always ſent his guards before to ſearch every corner of the houſe [w]. However, theſe unneceſſary and ridiculous precautions

Is beloved by the people.

His timorouſneſs.

[t] Dio, p. 667. [u] Suet. c. 12. Dio, p. 669. [w] Suet. c. 35.

cautions did not render him so contemptible in the eyes of the multitude, as the weakness and want of judgment, which he betrayed in the administration of justice. He was no ways qualified for that office; but nevertheless could not be prevented from hearing and deciding the most intricate causes, which served only to expose him to public derision, and often to insults, which he bore with incredible patience. Suetonius tells us, that a Greek, pleading one day before him, not only reproached him with ignorance, but called him to his face an "old fool"; and that a Roman knight, thinking himself wronged by him, had the boldness to throw his pen-knife at him, which wounded him in the cheek [x]. We are not told, that he ever resented those gross affronts; which sufficiently shews the weakness of his understanding(U). Renders himself contemptible.

In the first year of his reign, he enlarged the kingdom of Agrippa, who had greatly contributed to his advancement, with the addition of Judæa and Samaria, which had been formerly possessed by his grandfather Herod the Great. To his brother Herod he gave the principality of Chalcis at the foot of mount Libanus, and granted to both the privilege of entering the senate, allowing Agrippa to appear there with consular, and Herod with prætorial, ornaments [y]. He also restored Mithridates the Iberian to his kingdom, Mithridates the Cilician to the kingdom of Bosphorus, and Antiochus to that of Comagene, who had been all unjustly deprived of their dominions by Caius [z]. Soon after his accession to the empire, he recalled his two nieces, Agrippina and Julia, from the island of Pontia, to which they had been confined by their brother Caius; but his wife Messalina, who Restores several princes to their dominions.

[x] Idem, c. 15. [y] Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 4. Dio, p. 670.
[z] Joseph. & Dio, ibid.

(U) When news of Caligula's death reached Gaul, several persons of distinction in that province solicited Servius Sulpicius Galba, who commanded on the Rhine, to lay hold of that opportunity, and seize the sovereignty for himself. The legions too offered to stand by him, thinking they had as good a right to dispose of the empire as the prætorian guards. But Galba rejected their offers with indignation, which so pleased Claudius, that he received him into the number of his intimate friends, and ever after shewed a particular affection for him (6).

(6) Suet. in Galb. c. 7.

who governed him with an abſolute way, jealous of the power which Julia aſſumed, prevailed upon him to ſend her back this very year to the place of her former baniſhment, under pretence that ſhe was guilty of adultery and ſeveral other crimes, which by the envious Meſſalina were laid to her charge, but never proved. The celebrated Seneca had his ſhare in the misfortunes of the unhappy princeſs, being after his quæſtorſhip baniſhed to the iſland of Corſica, upon a bare, and, as is commonly believed, altogether groundleſs, ſuſpicion of a criminal converſation with her [a]. This year, the Romans gained ſome advantages over the Mauritanians, who had taken arms to revenge the death of Ptolemy their king, barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by Caius's orders [b]. About the ſame time, Sulpicius Galba overcame the Catti, and P. Gabinius Secundus the Marſi, two German nations. Gabinius after his victory had the good luck to diſcover and bring back with him to Rome one of the eagles, which the Germans had taken upon the defeat of Varus. For theſe victories Claudius took the triumphal ornaments and the title of emperor. Gabinius defeated likewiſe the Chauci, another German nation, and was allowed by Claudius, on account of his gallant behaviour on that occaſion, to aſſume the ſurname of Chaucius [c].

Seneca baniſhed.

The following year, Claudius entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having for his collegue C. Largus, but held it only for two months: to whom he reſigned the faſces we are no-where told; Largus continued conſul to the end of the year. The emperor, when he firſt aſſembled the ſenate in quality of conſul, obliged all the ſenators to bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws of Auguſtus; took the ſame oath himſelf; but would not allow any of the magiſtrates or ſenators to lay themſelves under any obligation with reſpect to his own laws [d]. This year the Mauritanians were defeated anew by Suetonius Paulinus, who extended his conqueſts to the river Nigris, which ſeparates Africa from Æthiopia. Cn. Hoſidius Geta, ſucceeding Paulinus in the command of the Roman troops in Africa, gave Salabes, the Mauritanian general, two great overthrows, which obliged the whole country to ſubmit to the yoke. Claudius divided the kingdom of Mauritania into two provinces, viz. the Cæſariana and the Tingitana, the former being ſo called from

Mauritania reduced and divided into two provinces.

[a] Tacit. annal. l. 11. c. 8. Dio, p. 670. [b] Dio, ibid. [c] Suet. c. 24. [d] Dio, p. 671.

from Cæſar, a name now common to all the emperors, and the latter from Tingis, now Tangier, the metropolis of that province. Both theſe provinces were, by the appointment of Claudius, governed by Roman knights [e] (W). This year Claudius cauſed a law to be paſſed, commanding, that thoſe who were named by the ſenate to the government of provinces, ſhould depart from Rome before the beginning of April [f]; but the year following he allowed them to ſtay in Rome, till the middle of that month. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding thoſe, whom he ſhould charge with the government of provinces, to return him thanks, as was cuſtomary in the ſenate, ſince they owed no obligations to him, but he on the contrary was greatly indebted to them, for eaſing him of part of his burden [g]. The great famine, which raged this year at Rome, prompted Claudius to undertake the forming of a large and convenient haven

Claudius makes a harbour at the mouth of the Tiber.

[e] Dio, ibid. Plin. l. v. c. 1. [f] Dio, l. lx. p. 672.
[g] Idem, ibid.

(W) Dion Caſſius tells us, that Geta purſued the Mauritanians beyond mount Atlas; and that while he was in thoſe dry and ſandy countries in great diſtreſs for want of water, a magician, who lived there, taught him certain charms, which, he ſaid, were frequently practiſed by the inhabitants with wonderful ſucceſs, when they wanted water. Geta gave no great credit to the magician; but being prompted, partly by curioſity, partly by the diſtreſs he was in, to make uſe of the charms which the Mauritanian had taught him, he was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee all on a ſudden the ſky overcaſt, and a great quantity of water fall from heaven. The barbarians, concluding from thence, that the gods favoured the Romans, ſent deputies to treat with, and ſubmitted to, Geta, upon his own terms. Thus Dion Caſſius (7). We read in Pliny, that Claudius ſent a colony to Tingis, which city he named Julia Traducta (8). But we are inclined to believe, that this colony was ſent to Tingis by Julius Cæſar, ſince it is mentioned by Strabo (9), who died before the reign of Claudius. Voſſius takes Pliny to have been miſtaken in giving to Tingis in Africa the name of Julia Traducta, which, in his opinion, was peculiar to the city of Tingis in Spain, built in the time of Julius Cæſar, and peopled with inhabitants from Tingis in Africa (10).

(7) Dio, l. lx. p. 671. (8) Plin. l. v. c. 1. (9) Strab. l. iii. p. 140. (10) Voſſ. in hiſt. p. 179.

haven at the mouth of the Tiber, which great work he happily completed, though Cæſar the dictator, if ſome miſtake is not crept into Suetonius, had many years before attempted it in vain [h]. It was an undertaking, ſays Dion Caſſius, worthy of the grandeur of the Roman empire; but the ſucceſſors of Claudius were not able to maintain it, ſo that ſoon after his death it was choaked up with ſand and became quite uſeleſs [i] (X). At the ſame time, Claudius undertook the draining of the lake Fucinus, in the country of the Marſi, and the conveying of its waters, by a deep canal, into the Tiber, or rather the Liris; in which work he employed thirty thouſand men for eleven years together, but to no effect, as we ſhall ſee in the tenth year of his reign.

This year, Meſſalina and Claudius's freedmen began to abuſe the prince's weakneſs and the too great power he allowed them, to the deſtruction of ſuch of the nobility as gave them umbrage, or any ways incurred their diſpleaſure. The firſt who fell by their treachery was Appius Silanus, a perſon of great diſtinction and known integrity. He married to his firſt wife Æmilia Lepida, grand-daughter to Julia the daughter of Auguſtus, and had by her L. Junius Silanus, to whom Claudius had betrothed his daughter Octavia. Upon the death of Æmilia Lepida, which happened this year, Claudius, who held him in the number of his moſt intimate friends, perſuaded him to marry Domitia Lepida, mother to his own wife Meſſalina. But to his great misfortune the empreſs, whoſe lewdneſs knew no bounds, fell in love with him herſelf, and was not aſhamed to diſcloſe to him her paſſion. Silanus rejected with the utmoſt indignation her inceſtuous ſolicitations, which provoked her to ſuch a degree, that

Lewdneſs of Meſſalina

[h] Suet. c. 20. Dio, p. 672. [i] Idem ibid.

(X) Suetonius calls it the port of Oſtia, though it lay on the other ſide of the Tiber over-againſt Oſtia at a place ſtill called by the inhabitants "il porto, the haven." The ſame writer tells us, that at the entrance of the harbour was ſunk the veſſel, in which the great obeliſk we ſpoke of in the preceding reign, was brought out of Egypt, as a foundation for the piles, upon which was raiſed a high tower, according to the model of the Pharos of Alexandria (11).

(11) Suet. c. 20.

that ſhe reſolved upon his ruin, and compaſſed it with the concurrence of the freedman Narciſſus in the following manner. Narciſſus ruſhed into Claudius's chamber one morning by break of day as in a great fright, and told the emperor, who was ſtill in bed, that he had dreamt Silanus deſigned to murder him that very day. Meſſalina, as had been agreed on beforehand, pretending to hear the freedman's account with ſurpriſe and amazement, aſſured the emperor, that ſhe had been for ſeveral nights together frightened with the ſame dream. In the mean time, Silanus, who had been told the day before that he was to wait upon the emperor at that hour, accidenly came in; which ſo terrified Claudius, of all men the moſt timorous, that, without any further enquiries, he commanded him to be immediately ſeized and executed. The ſame day he acquainted the ſenate with what had paſſed, and was not aſhamed publicly to return thanks to his freedman for watching over his ſafety, even in his ſleep [k] (Y). The death of Silanus alarmed the Death of Silanus.

[k] Suet. c. 37. Dio, p. 674. Tacit. annal. xi. c. 37.

(Y) Suetonius tells us, that a perſon, who had a ſuit at law depending before Claudius, in the ſame manner rid himſelf of his adverſary, telling him he had dreamt the night before, that he was aſſaſſinated; and afterwards, when his adverſary appeared, whiſpering him in the ear, that he was the aſſaſſin. This was enough for Claudius to have him immediately apprehended and executed, as if he had been convicted. The poor unmanly wretch was at the leaſt apprehenſion of danger eaſily put upon the moſt cruel and ſanguinary precautions, fear getting the better of his reaſon and temper, which had naturally no bias to cruelty. When returned to himſelf, he often teſtified great grief and concern for the executions which he had commanded in a ſudden fright, without knowing what he did or ſaid: nay, we are told, that he frequently enquired what was become of thoſe very perſons who had been executed by his orders; that he ſometimes ſent to invite them to dine with him the very next day, and was under the utmoſt concern, when informed of their death, proteſting with tears in his eyes, that he had given no ſuch orders (12). Thus was his whole life governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen: hence many bloody executions, according to the degree of his own timorouſneſs, or of their ambition, revenge, and avarice.

(12) Suet. c. 37, 39.

nobility, who thinking their lives and eſtates precarious under a weak prince, entirely governed by his wife and freedmen, reſolved by his death to put an end to their reign, and deliver themſelves from the dangers that threatened. Annius Vinicianus, or, as Joſephus calls him, Minucianus, who had acted a chief part in the murder of Caius, and after his death had been by the ſenate judged equal to the empire, was at the head of the conſpiracy, and drew into it Furius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, who had been conſul ten years before, and with him a great number of knights and ſenators. Camillus, who was at the head of a powerful army, openly declared his deſign, and by aſſuring the troops under his command that he had nothing in view but to reſtore Rome to her antient liberty, perſuaded them to take an oath of allegiance to him; and at the ſame time, as he was well acquainted with Claudius's timorous temper, he wrote a letter to him filled with reproaches, and threatening him with a cruel death, if he did not forthwith reſign the empire, and, betaking himſelf to a private and retired life, ſave him the trouble and charge of making war upon him. The coward was ſo terrified with this letter, that he aſſembled, in the utmoſt conſternation, his friends, to deliberate with them, whether or no he ſhould reſign the ſovereign power to Camillus? But he was ſoon delivered from his fears; for Camillus's ſoldiers, not being able, by ſome ſtrange accident, to remove their enſigns, when they were ordered to march out and meet their new emperor, began upon that omen to repent of their revolt, and being perſuaded that the gods diſapproved of it, fell upon their officers, and cut moſt of them in pieces. Camillus himſelf found means to eſcape to the iſland of Iſſa on the coaſt of Dalmatia, where he was ſtabbed in the arms of his wife Junia by a common ſoldier, named Vologinius, after he had bore the name of emperor for five days [1]. Upon his death, moſt of the conſpirators, and among the reſt Vinicianus, laid violent hands on themſelves; ſome were ſeized and executed, and ſome by purchaſing with large ſums the favour of Meſſalina and the emperor's freedmen, never were, though notoriouſly guilty, enquired after, while many innocent knights and ſenators were, under colour of being concerned in the conſpiracy, ſtript of their eſtates by the rapacious

Camillus revolts, and writes a threatening letter to Claudius.

Is abandoned by his men.

And murdered.

[1] Suet. c. 13. Dio, p. 674. Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 16. Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 75.

rapacious Meſſalina and Narciſſus, and either ſent into baniſhment, or executed without mercy. Dion Caſſius tells us, that one of Camillus's freedmen, by name Goleſos, being apprehended and brought before the ſenate, ſpoke there with great courage and freedom. Whereupon Narciſſus, who was preſent among the emperor's attendants and ſtood behind him, making up to the freedman, aſked him, What would you have done, if your maſter had got poſſeſſion of the empire? I ſhould have kept behind him, ſaid he, and, mindful of my condition, not preſumed to ſpeak in his preſence [m]. The courage and reſolution of Arria is celebrated by moſt of the antient writers. She was wife to Cæcina Pætus, a conſular man, who, having joined Camillus, was ſeized in Dalmatia, and ſent to be tried at Rome. Arria being by the mercileſs ſoldiers denied the ſatisfaction of attending her huſband in the ſame veſſel, followed him in another, and arriving at Rome, there publicly reproached Junia, the wife of Camillus, with want of courage and conjugal affection, in living after ſhe had ſeen her huſband inhumanly murdered in her arms. Her friends, concluding from thence, that ſhe was reſolved not to outlive her huſband, watched her day and night; but ſhe, to convince them that all their precautions were to no effect, beat her head againſt the wall with ſuch violence, that her friends, for ſome time, believed her dead. However, ſhe recovered; but finding ſhe could not, with all her intereſt, for ſhe was in great favour with Meſſalina, ſave her huſband, and that he had not the courage to fall by his own hand, ſhe took a dagger, plunged it into her own breaſt, and pulling it out again, preſented it to her husband, ſaying, "Non dolet"; I don't feel it [n]. Martial makes her ſay, I don't feel my wound, but ſhall feel yours [o] (Z). Otho, father to the emperor

The conſtancy, firmneſs, and death of Arria.

[m] Dio, p. 685. [n] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 16. [o] Mart. l. i. epig. 14.

(Z) This action of Arria is mightily cried up by the antients, eſpecially by Pliny the younger: but nevertheleſs, that judicious writer thinks his heroine far more commendable for the conſtancy and reſolution ſhe ſhewed in diſſembling the extreme grief ſhe felt on the death of one of her children, that her huſband who was dangerouſly ill and tenderly loved the child, might not be acquainted with his misfortune, till he was perfectly recovered. The

conſtancy

emperor of that name, being appointed to ſucceed Camillus in the command of the troops in Dalmatia, had the courage to cauſe the heads of thoſe ſoldiers, who had any hand in the murder of their officers, to be cut off in his preſence; nay in the midſt of the camp, though he well knew, that Claudius had approved of what they had done, and even advanced ſome of them to conſiderable poſts in the army. This conduct diſpleaſed the emperor; but Otho ſoon regained his favour, by diſcovering a conſpiracy formed againſt him by a Roman knight, who was apprehended, convicted, and thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by the conſuls and tribunes of the people [p].

THE following year, Claudius was the third time conſul, having for his collegue L. Vitellius, the ſecond time conſul. Claudius held that dignity, according to Suetonius [q], only two months; but, according to Dion Caſſius, to the beginning of July [r], when both he and his collegue reſigned the faſces to Decimus Haterius Agrippa and C. Sulpicius Galba, as we learn from an antient inſcription [s]. This year, Claudius deprived the Lycians of their liberty, to put a ſtop to the differences that reigned amongſt them, and to puniſh them for having in a tumult put ſome Roman citizens to death [t]. Their country was added to the province of Pamphylia [u] (A). In Rome, Meſſalina, abuſing the abſolute ſway

[p] Suet. in Oth, c. 1. Dio, l. lx. p. 675. [q] Suet. c. 14. [r] Dio, p. 679. [s] Vide Onuph. in Faſt. p. 189. [t] Suet. c. 25. [u] Dio, p. 676.

conſtancy and intrepidity ſhe ſhewed at her death proceeded probably from vanity and a certain fondneſs for fame, ſays Pliny; but her manly behaviour in the height of her grief was the effect of the moſt refined virtue, ſince ſhe could not be prompted to it by any proſpect of fame or glory (13).

(A) The Lycians on this occaſion ſent a deputation to Claudius, at the head of which was one of their country, who enjoyed the rights of a Roman citizen; but Claudius, finding he did not underſtand the Latin tongue, cauſed his name to be razed out of the roll of citizens: he treated in the ſame manner many others, whom he judged unworthy of the Roman name (14). He forbad under

(13) Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 16. (14) Dio, ibid.

ſway ſhe had over her weak huſband, perſuaded him by her malicious inſinuations firſt to put to death his niece Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, whom he had baniſhed the year before to the iſland of Pontia, and afterwards Julia, the daughter of Druſus and grand-daughter of Tiberius: ſhe was likewiſe niece to Claudius, being the daughter of his ſiſter Livilla. They were both condemned and executed, ſays Suetonius, without being allowed to defend themſelves, though no-body could prove the charge that was brought againſt them [w]. However, the latter Julia well deſerved on another ſcore the doom that overtook her; for ſhe was chiefly inſtrumental, as we have related above, in the ruin of her huſband Nero the ſon of Germanicus. When Claudius quitted his conſulſhip, the ſenate decreed him triumphal ornaments, which put him upon undertaking ſome enterpriſe that might intitle him to a real triumph. The theatre he choſe for his warlike exploits was Britain, at that time haraſſed with civil wars. Some Britons of diſtinction having abandoned their own country, to avoid the fury of the factions that raged there, and taken refuge in Gaul, their countrymen complained, not without threats, of the Romans for entertaining them, and inſiſted upon their being ſent

The two Julias put to death.

Claudius deſigns to ſubdue Britain.

[w] Suet. c. 29.

under ſevere penalties ſuch as were not free of the city to aſſume the name of any family in Rome; and even condemned ſome perſons to death, and cauſed them to be publicly executed, for no other crime, but becauſe they had falſely paſſed themſelves upon the world for Roman citizens. But notwithſtanding this rigor, he granted the freedom of the city to an infinite number of perſons of all nations, who had wherewithal to purchaſe it of Meſſalina or his freedmen. It was at firſt ſold at a very high rate, but became afterwards ſo common, that it was purchaſed, as was then ſaid by way of raillery, for a broken glaſs (15). Hence Seneca wrote in the invectives he publiſhed againſt Claudius, that if he had lived longer, he would have made all the Greeks, Gauls, and Spaniards free of Rome (16). This to Seneca ſeemed very abſurd; but was afterwards practiſed by other emperors, and, in the opinion of St. Auſtin, very wiſely (17).

(15) Dio, Suet. ibid. (16) Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 476 (17) Aug. civ. Dei, l. v. c. 17.

ſent back. This ſerved as a pretence to make war upon them, one of the fugitives, by name Bericus, perſuading the emperor by many arguments to attempt the conqueſt of that great iſland, which no Roman had ever dared to invade ſince the time of Cæſar the dictator. At his inſtigation, Claudius diſpatched orders to Plautius, who had ſucceeded Gabinius in the command of the troops in Lower Germany, to convey, without delay, all his forces over into Britain. This order was not reliſhed by the ſoldiery, who, in a mutiny declared, That they would not make war out of the compaſs of the world. Hereupon Claudius ſent his freedman Narciſſus to appeaſe the mutiny, and encourage the diſheartened legions to obey their general. Narciſſus, upon his arrival, aſcended the tribunal, and thence began to harangue the legions, who, provoked at the audaciouſneſs of the ſlave, abuſed him with moſt opprobrious language, bidding him quit the camp, and return to the maſquerades and plays at Rome; for they were determined, without his harangues, to follow their general. Accordingly, they immediately began their march to the ſea-ſide; and embarquing on the veſſels, which Plautius had with incredible expedition got ready for that purpoſe, landed in Britain, before the inhabitants had any notice of their deſign, whom therefore they eaſily defeated in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and advanced as far as the Thames. But Plautius, not thinking it ſafe to penetrate farther into the country, wrote to Claudius, purſuant to his inſtructions, acquainting him with the progreſs he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a farther purſuit of his conqueſts. Upon the receipt of this letter, the emperor, who had drawn together a good number of legions, and kept them in readineſs to march to the aſſiſtance of his lieutenant in Britain, left Rome, and embarquing at Oſtia, ſailed to Marſeilles (B); thence he

(B) Claudius, before he ſet out from Rome, committed the government of the city, and the command of the troops left there, to Lucius Vitellius the father of the emperor of that name, and this year the emperor's collegue in the conſulſhip. He was a man of parts and valour; but, as we have obſerved already, a moſt infamous and ſlaviſh flatterer of perſons in power. Being appointed, we may ſay, regent in the abſence of Claudius, he diſcharged his truſt with great credit and integrity. Suetonius tells us, that Claudius put off his departure from Rome for a few days

he marched by land to Gesſoriacum, now, as is commonly believed, Boulogne [x], and from that place set sail for Britain, where he landed without oppoſition; and joining Plautius, whom he found encamped on the banks of the Thames, which he paſſed, defeated the enemy, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, among the reſt of Camalodunum, now Maldon in Eſſex, according to Cambden, where ſtood the palace of Cynobelinus, one of the Britiſh kings. In this expedition Veſpaſian diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; for partly under Plautius, partly under Claudius himſelf, he fought thirty pitched battles, ſubdued two powerful nations, took twenty ſtrong towns and upwards, and reduced the iſland Vectis, or the iſland of Wight [y]. Claudius, having diſarmed the Britons who had ſubmitted, appointed Plautius governor of the conquered provinces, and, charging him to purſue his conqueſts, returned in great haſte to Rome, which, however, he did not enter till the next year; but the ſenate decreed both to him and his ſon the ſurname of Britannicus (C).

Is followed by Claudius.

His conqueſts there.

THE

[x] Vide Bucher, de Belg. p. 147.

[y] Suet. in Veſp. c. 4. & in Claud. c. 27. Dio, p. 679. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 4.

days upon a ſlight indiſpoſition, which ſeized Sulpicius Galba, afterwards emperor; ſo highly was he favoured and beloved by Claudius after the diſcovery of the above-mentioned conſpiracy. Claudius in his paſſage from Oſtia to Marſeilles was twice in danger of being ſhipwrecked, which induced him to purſue his journey from Marſeilles to Boulogne by land (18).

(C) Claudius ſet out from Rome on his Britiſh expedition about the beginning of July, and returned to the city in the beginning of January (19). He ſtaid in Britain a few days, ſays Suetonius (20); ſixteen days, ſays Dion Caſſius (21). On his return he embarqued on the Po, and, entering by one of the mouths of that river the Adriatic ſea, landed at Oſtia (22). Suetonius tells us in one place, that he left the iſland without fighting one battle, nay without bloodſhed (23); and in another (24), that Veſpaſian, partly under Plautius, partly under Claudius himſelf, fought thirty battles. The latter is agreeable to what we read in Dion Caſſius, whom we have followed. Eutropius (25) and

(18) Suet. c. 17. (19) Dio, p. 680. (20) Suet. ibid. (21) Dio, ibid. (22) Plin. l. iii. c. 16. (23) Suet. ibid. (24) Idem, in vit. Veſpaſ. c. 4. (25) Eutrop. in vita Claud.

THE following year, L. Quinctius Criſpinus being the ſecond time conſul with M. Statilius Taurus, Claudius was
His triumph received at Rome with a moſt magnificent triumph (D); and the ſenate, to encourage the emperor and his lieutenants to purſue their conqueſts, decreed, that all the treaties made by them ſhould have the ſame force, as if made by the ſenate and people of Rome [a]. Claudius after his triumph reſtored to the ſenate the provinces of Achaia and Macedon, which thenceforth began to be governed again by proconſuls [b]. He likewiſe honoured M. Juleus Cottius, prince of the Alps called Cottiæ, with the title of king, and enlarged his barren territories [c]; but deprived the Rhodians of their liberty for crucifying ſome Roman citizens [d], which however, he reſtored to them nine years after, that is, in the fifty third year of the chriſtian æra [e].

THE next conſuls were M. Vinicius, whom Claudius named to that dignity, though he had cauſed his wife Julia the daughter of Germanicus to be put to death, and T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus. As the city was filled with ſtatues,
Some wiſe ordinances of Claudius. Claudius enacted a law, forbidding any new ſtatues to be erected within the walls of Rome, without the conſent of the ſenate, and at the ſame time ordered a great many al-
reac

[a] Dio, p. 680. [b] Suet. c. 25. [c] Dio, p. 68
[d] Suet. c. 25. [e] Idem ibid.

and S. Jerom (26) fix to this year the conqueſt of the iſland Orcades. But Tacitus writes, that they were not ſubdued by, or known, to the Romans, till the reign of Veſpaſian (27). They were not perhaps ſubdued, but they were certainly known this very year to the Romans, ſince Pomponius Mela mentions them in his deſcription of the world, which he wrote while Claudius was waging war in Britain (28).

(D) That the ſhew might be more glorious by the concourſe of people, he not only gave leave to the governors of provinces to be preſent at it, but permitted ſeveral baniſhed perſons to return home on purpoſe to behold it. In the ſolemnity his wife Meſſalina, magnificently adorned, followed him at ſome diſtance in a ſtately chariot. He mounted the ſteps of the capitol on his knees, being ſupported by his two ſons-in-law. Among the ſpoils of the enemy, he placed a naval crown on the top of his palace hard by the civic crown, in token of his victory over the ſea (29).

(26) Hier. in Chron. (27) Tacit. in vit. Agr. c. 10.
(28) Mela, l. iii. c. 6. & Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 25. (29)
Suet. c. 27.

ready raiſed to be taken away [d]. He puniſhed with great ſeverity ſome governors of provinces, who had oppreſſed the people they were ſet over, and enacted ſeveral wholeſome laws for bringing ſuch to juſtice as ſhould for the future be guilty of the ſame fault; ordering all governors to return to Rome, as ſoon as the time of their command was expired, to anſwer there the complaints that might be brought againſt them. The prerogative of granting leave to ſenators to travel out of Italy, which Auguſtus had lodged in the ſenate, he claimed himſelf, and obliged the ſenate to yield it to him by a decree [e]. This year, on the firſt day of Auguſt about an hour after mid-day, happened an eclipſe of the ſun. The emperor, as this was his birth-day, took care to give notice of it to the people before-hand, that they might not be ſurpriſed at that phænomenon, or draw bad omens from it [f].

In the following conſulate of Valerius Aſiaticus and M. Junius Silanus, died M. Vinicius, brother-in-law to Claudius, being poiſoned by Meſſalina. He was a man of a quiet temper and lived retired, concerning himſelf only in the affairs of his family; but, to his misfortune, the lewd Meſſalina conceived a violent paſſion for him, and poiſoned him, becauſe he could not by any ſolicitations be prevailed upon to injure Claudius [g]. Aſinius Gallus, the ſon of Agrippina Tiberius's firſt wife, conſpired this year againſt the emperor, with a deſign to ſeize the ſovereign power for himſelf; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered, Claudius only condemned him to baniſhment, as a perſon from whom he had nothing to apprehend, ſince he was of a very low ſtature, ill-ſhaped, of a very deformed countenance, and ſo inconſiderate, that he had aſpired to the ſovereignty, though quite deſtitute both of friends and money, upon the bare ſuppoſition, that he ſhould be immediately acknowledged by all on account of his noble deſcent. This generous behaviour in Claudius was highly commended by perſons of all ranks; and no leſs pleaſing to the people was the decree, which he got paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding freedmen to appear in judgment againſt their patrons, and impowering their maſters to deprive them of their liberty, and bring them back to the chain, when they proved ungrateful,

Vinicius' poiſoned by Meſſalina.

Claudius's clemency.

[d] Dio, ibid. [e] Suet. c. 23. Dio, p. 682. [f] Dio, p. 682. [g] Dio, p. 683.

grateful, or gave them any juſt motive of complaint [h] (E).

Claudius cenſor.

The next year, Claudius was conſul the fourth time with Vitellius, the third time conſul; but after two months reſigned that dignity, and took upon him the office of cenſor, chuſing for his collegue Lucius Vitellius already conſul, who, as we have often obſerved, had a wonderful talent for flattery (F). In the diſcharge of this important office, Claudius performed ſome things highly commendable, but in others gave ſuch inſtances of his weakneſs and want of underſtanding, as expoſed him to public deriſion. He publiſhed abou

[h] Dio, p. 684. Suet. c. 25.

(E) S. Jerom tells us (30), that Thrace, which had hitherto been governed by kings, was this year, the fifth of Claudius and forty-ſeventh of the Chriſtian æra, reduced to a Roman province. Euſebius likewiſe writes, that Rhemetalces, king of Thrace, being killed by his own wife, Claudius conquered that country. But of this memorable event no mention is made by the Greek or Latin writers, whoſe works have reached our times.

(F) He left no ſtone unturned, ſays Suetonius, to work himſelf into the favour of Claudius: obſerving him entirely addicted to his wife Meſſalina and his freedmen, he begged of the former as the greateſt favour ſhe could beſtow upon him, that ſhe would grant him the honour of pulling off her ſhoes. Meſſalina, well pleaſed to ſee a man of his quality and parts proud of that office, granted him his requeſt; and Vitellius, the firſt time he diſcharged his honourable employment, carried away one of her ſhoes, and wore it conſtantly in his boſom, not being aſhamed to pull it out in public and often kiſs it. The golden images of Pallas and Narciſſus, the emperor's reigning freedman, he worſhipped amongſt his houſhold gods. When Claudius entertained the people with the ſecular games, ſo called, becauſe they were exhibited but once in a century, his compliment to him was, "Sæpe facias;" May you many times exhibit theſe ſports. Not only Claudius, who was a weak prince, but his wives and freedmen, were ſo taken with the groſs and fulſom flattery of this fawning ſlave, that they not only raiſed him to the firſt employments in the empire, but likewiſe his two ſons, whom he had the ſatisfaction to ſee conſuls in the ſame year, the one ſucceeding the other (31). His elder ſon was afterwards raiſed to the empire.

(30) Hier. in chron. (31) Suet. in vit. c. 2.

above twenty edicts in one day, moſt of them quite trifling and ridiculous; by one of them, for inſtance, he warned the ſenate and people to take care that their wine-veſſels were well pitched, ſince there was that year great plenty of grapes; by another he acquainted them, that the juice of the yew-tree was the beſt remedy of all againſt the ſting of a viper. When he came to enquire into the manners of the Roman knights, he diſmiſſed a young man moſt notoriouſly vicious, without any puniſhment, becauſe his father gave him a good character, telling him, You have a cenſor at home. Another, infamous for debauching both married and unmarried women, he only admoniſhed, either to live chaſte, or to be lewd more warily; for why muſt I know, ſaid he, with what women you keep company [i]. This year was remarkable for the deaths of ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, whom Claudius, at the inſtigation of Meſſalina, cauſed to be executed. Cn. Pompeius Magnus, who had married Antonia, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, fell the firſt. He was of an illuſtrious family, but not deſcended from Pompey the Great, being the ſon of Craſſus Frugi, who likewiſe bore the ſurname of Great. His credit with the prince, his great nobility, and extraordinary parts, by giving umbrage to Meſſalina, occaſioned his ruin. He was condemned and had his head cut off by a ſoldier ſent to him for that purpoſe, without ſo much as knowing that he was accuſed [k]: ſo great and abſolute was the ſway, which Meſſalina had obtained over her weak, timorous, and credulous huſband. At the ſame time, Craſſus, the father of Pompeius, and his mother Scribonia were by the order of Claudius put to death, though the former entirely reſembled him, being to uſe the expreſſion of Seneca, as great a monſter as himſelf, and therefore no leſs qualified to be emperor [l]. Several other perſons of this antient and illuſtrious family were at the ſame time ſacrificed to the jealouſy of Meſſalina and the fears of Claudius [m]. Upon the death of Pompeius, the emperor married his daughter Antonia to Cornelius Sylla Fauſtus [n], brother to Meſſalina, if Zonaras is to be credited [o], who had a ſon by her, upon whoſe birth Claudius would not ſuffer any public demonſtrations of joy. Many knights and ſenators of rank were after the death of Pompeius accuſed of conſpiring

Expoſes his unfitneſs in the diſcharge of that office.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus put to death.

[i] Suet. c. 16. [k] Suet. c. 29. Dio, p. 679. Senec. l. 4. in Claud. [l] Senec. ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Suet. c. 27. [o] Zonar. p. 184.

ſpiring againſt the prince, ſome of whom Claudius pardoned, that is ſuch as he did not fear; but Valerius Aſiaticus (G) was proſecuted without mercy for no other crime, but becauſe he poſſeſſed, and had embelliſhed, with extraordinary magnificence, the fine gardens of Lucullus, which Meſſalina coveted. He was charged with a deſign of withdrawing into Gaul, to ſtir up his countrymen to a revolt; for he was a native of Vienne in that province, and ſupported there by numerous and powerful families, all his own relations. He was accuſed by Soſibius preceptor to Britannicus (H), who eaſily prevailed upon the weak and timorous

Valerius Aſiaticus accuſed.

(G) Valerius Aſiaticus was a native of Vienne in Gaul, and very powerful in that province on account of his wealth and numerous dependents. He had been one of Caius's moſt intimate friends; but that prince having firſt debauched his wife, and afterwards bragged of it in public aſſembly in his preſence, the brave Gaul, who had too much ſpirit to put up ſuch an affront, reſolved to be revenged on the outrageous tyrant; and accordingly with great readineſs entered into the conſpiracy, nay became, according to Tacitus, the principal director in the plot; though he had no ſhare as we are told by Joſephus and Dion Caſſius, in the execution of it. When the ſenate, after the aſſaſſination, were for puniſhing the conſpirators, Valerius riſing up commended the action, owned himſelf privy to it, and publicly wiſhed he had had the glory of diſpatching the tyrant with his own hand. The ſenators, animated by his firmneſs and reſolution, took courage; granted impunity to the conſpirators, and were even for decreeing them rewards (32). Valerius had been conſul, the year before, the ſecond time, having been once honoured with that dignity in the preceding reign.

(H) This is probably the Soſibius, whoſe writings are quoted by Arnobius, Clemens of Alexandria, and Suidas. He was inſtructed by Meſſalina to warn Claudius under the maſk of zeal, that great wealth in the hands of private men proved always dangerous to princes; that Valerius was, on account of his immenſe riches and powerful alliances in Gaul, capable of diſputing the empire with him; that he was not only highly eſteemed by his countrymen the Gauls, but in mighty favour with the Roman people; that it was already a prevailing rumour through all the provinces, that he deſigned to put himſelf at the head of the armies, &c. (33). Theſe malicious and groundleſs inſinuations were ſufficient to put the timorous Claudius upon the moſt cruel and bloody precautions.

(32) Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 1. Dio, l. lix. p. 663. (33) Tacit. ibid.

timorous prince to ſecure his life and empire, by the deſtruction of his pretended enemy and rival. Criſpinus, commander of the prætorian guards, was immediately diſpatched with a body of ſoldiers to ſeize him at Baiæ; which he did accordingly, and hurried him to Rome in chains. He was tried, not in the ſenate, but in the emperor's chamber, in the preſence of Meſſalina. However, he pleaded his cauſe with ſuch eloquence and energy, that he forced tears both from Claudius and Meſſalina herſelf. But the empreſs, fearing pity and tenderneſs ſhould get the better of her other paſſions, left the room, and in going out, whiſpered L. Vitellius in the ear not to let the accuſed eſcape [p]. As Valerius declared that he had never before ſeen any of the witneſſes, who were produced againſt him, Soſibius at laſt brought in one, who, he ſaid was well acquainted with him. He had before-hand informed his evidence, that Valerius was bald; and therefore, upon his entering the room, he deſired him in the firſt place to tell them which was Valerius Aſiaticus: I have been long acquainted with him, and that is he, ſaid the witneſs, pointing at another bald perſon, who happened to be preſent. This convinced Claudius, that Aſiaticus was free from all guilt; but while he was deliberating about clearing him, the treacherous Vitellius, throwing himſelf at his feet, and putting him in mind of the good ſervices of Aſiaticus to the common-wealth, of his attachment to Antonia, the prince's mother, of his gallant behaviour in the late Britiſh expedition, &c. begged him in the end with many tears to diſplay his mercy, by granting to ſo worthy and deſerving a citizen the free choice of his own death. Claudius, without further conſideration, complied with his requeſt; which was in effect condemning Aſiaticus, who thereupon opened his veins and bled to death [q] (I). Meſſalina, not ſatisfied with

His trial.

He is condemned by the treachery of Vitellius.

[p] Tacit. ibid. [q] Idem, c. 2, 3.

(I) He behaved with great firmneſs and intrepidity both at his trial and after his condemnation; beſides the charge of treaſon, he was accuſed of winking at the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, of neglecting military diſcipline, of carrying on an adulterous amour with Poppæa, the mother of that Poppæa, who became ſo infamous in the reign of Nero, and laſtly with ſurrendering his perſon, like an harlot, to unnatural luſt. This laſt article Aſiaticus could not brook; but interrupting the accuſer, by name Suilius, a perſon, it ſeems, of ſome rank, Aſk thy

with the ruin of Aſiaticus, ſuborned perſons, who urge Poppæa, with whom he was ſuppoſed to carry a crimin converſation, to lay violent hands on herſelf, to avoid th diſgrace of a ſhameful impriſonment, with which the threatened her. The emperor was ſo utterly unappriſ of her unhappy end, that her huſband Scipio being a fe days after at table with him, he aſked him why he can without his wife? Scipio anſwered, that ſhe was dead; b dared not mention the particulars of her death [r]. Afterwar two illuſtrious Roman knights, ſurnamed Petræ, were a cuſed and condemned, becauſe one of them had had a drea which was ſuppoſed to portend ſome misfortune, either Claudius or the empire (K).

Claudius ſupports the pleaders.

As the pleaders at this time exacted exorbitant fees fro their clients, and often of both parties, a complaint this grievance being begun by Caius Silius, conſul ele the whole ſenate concurred, and demanded, that t Cincian law might be revived, enjoining that no m ſhould, for pleading a cauſe, accept of any gift payment. The demand of the ſenate was with great veh mence promoted by Silius, and with equal ardor oppo

[r] Idem ibid.

thy own ſons, Suilius, ſaid he, they will ſatisfy thee that I a man. After his condemnation, he continued his uſual exerci walking, bathing, and even ſupping chearfully, telling his frie that it would have been more to his credit to have fallen the craft of Tiberius, or the fury of Caius, than thus periſh by the dark devices of a woman, and the treachery ſuch a baſe and proſtitute ſycophant as Vitellius. After ſup he viewed his funeral pile, and ordered it to be removed another place, leſt the heat and ſmoke ſhould hurt his trees, leſſen their cool ſhade. After this he opened his veins without traying the leaſt concern, and bled to death (34).

(K) Some writers ſay, that he ſaw Claudius in a dream crow with a garland of the ears of corn, their beards downwa which was interpreted to foretel a public famine: others wrote, that the chaplet he ſaw was of vine branches with leaves, which he conſtrued to portend the death of the prin the cloſe of autumn. But whatever he dreamt, both he an brother were ſacrificed, partly for a dream, and partly fo commodating, as was pretended, Aſiaticus and Poppæa with uſe of their houſe for their private aſſignations.

(34) Idem c. 5.

by the pleaders (L). Claudius favoured the latter, and

 therefore

(L) Silius urged the examples of the antient orators who had required no other reward for pleading, but preſent applauſe and the praiſes of poſterity. By allowing orators to take fees, we put them upon the level with mechanics, ſaid he, and debaſe eloquence, of all accompliſhments the moſt glorious and honourable, to ſordid lucre: beſides, if eloquence once becomes venal, orators will upon the proſpect of greater gain, be tempted to betray thoſe whom they have undertaken to defend; they will promote enmities, accuſations, mutual hatred, quarrels, &c. as a ſure means of enriching themſelves: if no man finds his advantage in defending ſuits, there will be few ſuits to defend: as diſeaſes are the market of phyſicians, ſo will our quarrels and animoſities prove the revenue of the pleaders, who will therefore take care to inflame us againſt each other, and keep us always at variance. They might remember Caius Aſinius, M. Meſſala, and more lately Arruntius, and Eſerninus, who were raiſed to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate by an unblemiſhed life and an eloquence never expoſed to ſale. Thus ſpoke Silius. In anſwer to him, the pleaders owned, that fame was indeed the greateſt reward a man could wiſh for, but uncertain, and therefore not to be depended upon; that the practice of pleading was intended for the good of mankind, was a common refuge for all men, and prevented the powerful and mighty from oppreſſing thoſe who were not by themſelves in a condition to withſtand them; neither was eloquence acquired without pains and expence; ſince they who profeſſed it, neglected their domeſtic concerns to apply themſelves to the buſineſs of others. Many followed the profeſſion of war, many that of huſbandry, and by both profeſſions a livelihood was acquired; nay, nothing was purſued by any man, but with a view to the advantage it produced. As for Aſinius, Meſſala, &c. they were either enriched by the civil wars, or heirs of wealthy houſes; and therefore might well be above gain, and plead only for glory; but equally obvious where the examples of P. Clodius and Caius Curio, who never pleaded but for extravagant fees; as to themſelves, as the ſtudy of eloquence had proved very chargeable to them, they thought it but reaſonable that they ſhould reap ſome advantage from it. Theſe conſiderations appearing of no ſmall force to Claudius, the revival of the Cincian law was dropt (35). This law was enacted by M. Cincius, tribune of the people in the year of Rome 549, and revived by Auguſtus, who cauſed it to be confirmed by a decree of the ſenate (36).

(35) Tacit. ibid. c. 7. (36) Dio, l. liv.

and therefore the ſenate, inſtead of ſubjecting them, as they deſigned, to the penalties of the law againſt extortion, if they took any fee at all, or even preſent, for pleading, contented themſelves with ſettling their fees, which were not to excced two hundred and fifty crowns, and declaring thoſe who were not ſatisfied with that ſum, guilty of extortion [r]. The ſame year the Cheruſci, who inhabited the dutchy of Brunſwick, had recourſe to Claudius for a king, who ſent them Italicus, ſon to Tilavius the brother of the famous Arminius. Italicus was born at Rome, and brought up there after the Roman manner; which induced the Cheruſci, though they received him at firſt with great joy, to take arms againſt him, and drive him from the throne. He was afterwards reſtored by the Longobards, and, being ſupported by them, oppreſſed in a moſt tyrannical manner the Cheruſcan ſtate.

Wars in Germany.

At the ſame time, Sanguinius, governor of Lower Germany, being dead, the Chauci made incurſions into that province; but Cn. Domitius Corbulo, the greateſt commander of his age, who was ſent to ſucceed Sanguinius, obliged them to retire, purſued them into their own country, and would have forced them to ſubmit to the Roman yoke, had not Claudius, who feared Corbulo more than he did the Germans, put a ſtop to his conqueſts, and ordered him to lead back all the Roman forces over the Rhine. Corbulo obeyed without uttering more than that happy were the Roman commanders in former times. As he had taken great pains to reſtore the antient diſcipline amongſt the legions, whom he found utter ſtrangers to military toils, that they might not relapſe into the habit of idleneſs, he employed them in digging a canal three and twenty miles long between the Meuſe and the Rhine, to receive the high tides, and prevent inundations [s]. A modern writer takes this to be the canal known at preſent by the name of Fliet, which extends from the Sluys on the Meuſe to Leyden on the Rhine [t]. The emperor granted to Corbulo triumphal ornaments, though he would not allow him to proſecute the war. He was ſucceeded by Curtius Rufus, who, though of a mean extraction, arrived at the conſular dignity, commanded armies, and died

proconſul

[r] Idem, c. 5—8.

[s] Idem, c. 19, 20.

[t] Buch. de Belg. l. iv. c. 11.

proconſul of Africa [u] (M). Towards the end of the year, Aulus Plautius, returning from Britain, was received by Claudius with great remarks of diſtinction, and honoured with an ovation, the emperor himſelf attending him in that ceremony, and yielding to him the moſt honourable place [w]. P. Oſtorius Scapula ſucceeded Plautius in the government of Britain, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. About this time, a Roman knight, by name Cneius Novius, was diſcovered armed with a dagger, among thoſe who were paying their court to the prince. When put to the rack, he confeſſed his deſign of murdering the emperor; but, though cruelly tortured, would never diſcover his accomplices, nor even the motives, which had put him upon that attempt [x].

Plautius returns from Britain.

THE following year, Aulus Vitellius, who was afterwards emperor, and Lucius Vipſanius Poplicola being conſuls, Claudius in quality of cenſor created ſeveral new patrician families,

[u] Tacit. c. 20. [w] Suet. c. 24. Dio, p. 685.
[x] Tacit. c. 23.

(M) He was, according to ſome writers, the ſon of a gladiator. When he grew to a man, he attended a Roman quæſtor into Africa, where while he was walking at Adrumetum, in the middle of the day, under a porch, a woman above human ſize appeared before him, and accoſted him with theſe words; Thou, Rufus, ſhalt one day govern this province with proconſular power. Animated with hopes from this preſage, he returned to Rome, where, by the liberality of his friends and his own qualifications, he gained the quæſtorſhip, and afterwards ſtanding for the office of prætor in competition with ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, carried it by the intereſt of Tiberius, who gave him this encomium: "To me Curtius Rufus ſeems to be deſcended from himſelf." He was, ſays Tacitus, a ſervile flatterer to thoſe above him, but arrogant to his inferiors: he lived to a great age, arrived at the conſulate, obtained triumphal ornaments, was in the end proconſul of Africa, and dying there, fulfilled the preſage. This, according to ſome authors, is the Quintus Curtius, whoſe hiſtory of the exploits of Alexander the great has reached us. Voſſius indeed is of opinion, that this hiſtory was wrote in the reign of Veſpaſian, and not of Claudius; but the arguments, with which he ſupports his opinion, are of no force (37).

(37) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 28.

Gauls admitted into the ſenate.

lies, moſt of thoſe which had been raiſed to that dignity by Romulus, L. Brutus, Julius Cæſar, and Auguſtus, being extinct. He likewiſe ſupplied the vacancies in the ſenate, introducing into that body ſome Æduans, that is, natives of Autun in Gaul, and promoting a decree of the ſenate, qualifying ſuch of the Gauliſh nobility as were Roman citizens to be admitted to the ſenatorial dignity. Such ſenators as were of infamous characters he degraded; but proceeded therein with great tenderneſs, adviſing them to reſign their dignity, that their voluntary abdication might ſoften and hide the infamy of their expulſion. For theſe regulations, the conſul Vipſanius propoſed, That Claudius ſhould be ſtyled "The father of the ſenate;" but he modeſtly declined that title. He then numbered the citizens, who in that ſurvey amounted to ſix millions nine hundred thouſand [y]. This year Claudius was at length acquainted with the diſorders of his wife Meſſalina. She was the daughter of Valerius Meſſala Barbatus the emperor's couſin, and of Domitia Lepida, the grand-daughter of M. Antony and Octavia, Auguſtus's ſiſter; ſo that ſhe was Auguſtus's great niece, as Claudius was his great nephew [z]. We have related ſeveral inſtances of her cruelty, which, however great, fell ſhort of her monſtrous lewdneſs. Her chief favourite was Caius Silius, the moſt comely young man in Rome, with whoſe graceful perſon ſhe was ſo inchanted, that ſhe obliged him to divorce his wife Silana, that ſhe might ingroſs him wholly to herſelf. Silius was not unappriſed of the blackneſs of his crime, and the doom which threatened him; but to withſtand Meſſalina was preſent deſtruction. He therefore complied with her vitious inclination, and the empreſs, far from purſuing her amours privately and by ſtealth, openly frequented his houſe with a numerous train, accompanied him inceſſantly abroad, loaded him with wealth and honours, &c. After ſome time, Silius, apprehenſive of the dangers that hung over him, and judging they were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, told the empreſs, without diſguiſe, that they were gone too far to wait for the prince's death; that deſperate attempts were the only ſecurity in glaring guilt that he had accomplices at hand, and was ready to marry her, and adopt Britannicus. This propoſal, bold beyond all example and almoſt all belief, Meſſalina applauded; and a few

[y] Idem, c. 25. [z] Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 478.

a few days after, the emperor being gone to Oſtia to aſſiſt at a ſacrifice, ſhe married Silius with all the uſual ſolemnities in the face of the ſenate, of the equeſtrian order, of the whole people and ſoldiery. Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Caſſius, who relate this memorable incident, being well appriſed how fabulous it would appear, that the emperor's wife ſhould in his life-time dare to eſpouſe another huſband in form, and celebrate with him in the face of the city the nuptial feaſts, declare, that how wonderful ſoever and incredible it may ſeem, they frame no fiction; but only recount what is unqueſtionably true, and what they had learnt from the living and written teſtimony of their fathers. Suetonius tells us, that Meſſalina induced Claudius himſelf to ſign the marriage-contract, as if it were only diſſembled to avert the calamities which certain prodigies portended to hang over his head [a]. Horror ſeized the prince's family, eſpecially thoſe who bore the chief ſway in it. It was no riddle whither ſuch a marriage tended, and they dreaded nothing ſo much as a revolution, which would put an end to their power. On the other hand, when they recollected the ſtupidity of Claudius, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many eminent perſons ſacrificed to her fury, their own apprehenſions deterred them from acquainting him with his public ignominy. Calliſtus and Pallas, the reigning favourites, were ſtill for diſſembling the empreſs's enormities, and frightening her by ſecret menaces from keeping company with her adulterer. Narciſſus thought the emperor ſhould by ſome means or other be immediately acquainted with the monſtrous conduct of his wife; and perſiſting in his opinion, he prevailed by gifts and promiſes upon Calpurnia and Cleopatra, two courteſans in high favour with Claudius, to undertake the diſcovery; which they did the more willingly, as by the fall of Meſſalina they apprehended, that their own authority would be thoroughly eſtabliſhed. Calpurnia therefore, while the emperor was ſtill at Oſtia, upon the firſt occaſion of her being with him in private, falling at his feet, cried out, Meſſalina has married Silius; and at the ſame time aſked Cleopatra, who purpoſely attended to atteſt it, whether ſhe had not found it to be true? Cleopatra confirming it, Claudius, ſtruck with amazement, ordered Narciſſus to be called, who, begging pardon for having concealed from him the diſorders of his wife, told him that he was in a ſtate of di-

Meſſalina openly marries Silius.

[a] Suet. c. 29.

vorce; that it was what all men knew; that the nuptials had been celebrated in the face of the city, and that Meſſalina's new huſband, if he made not diſpatch, would be ſovereign of Rome. He then ſent for his moſt truſty friends, particularly for Turrannius, who was charged with the care of providing the city with corn, and next for Luſius Geta, commander of the prætorian guards, and enquired of them. As they avouched it, all who were about Claudius, inſiſted upon his proceeding without delay to the camp, and, by ſecuring the prætorian cohorts, conſult his preſervation before his revenge. Claudius was ſo confounded and diſmayed, that he often aſked whether he was ſtill emperor? whether Silius was yet a private man? In the mean time, Meſſalina was indulging herſelf, without the leaſt apprehenſion, in all manner of diverſions, not imagining, that any one would dare to diſcloſe her diſorders to the emperor, over whom ſhe had ſo mighty a ſway. As it was then in the middle of autumn, ſhe exhibited in her houſe a repreſentation of the vintage, in which her new huſband Silius perſonated Bacchus, being attended by a choir of mock-prieſts and prieſteſſes, among whom was Meſſalina herſelf with a thyrſus in her hand, and her hair looſe and flowing. But in the midſt of their jollity and revels, meſſengers unexpectedly arrived with tidings, that Claudius was appriſed of all, and approached bent upon ſudden vengeance. Hereupon, the company immediately diſperſed in the utmoſt conſternation; Meſſalina betook herſelf to the gardens of Lucullus; and Silius, who was then prætor and conſul elect, to diſſemble his fear, reſumed the offices of the forum. Meſſalina, finding no other reſource, reſolved to quit her retirement, and boldly to meet her huſband, not doubting but ſhe ſhould be able to avert the ſtorm, if ſhe only obtained to be heard. But in the firſt place, ſhe ordered her ſon Britannicus and her daughter Octavia, to go forth, and embracing their father, to implore his mercy for his injured wife: ſhe beſought Vibidia, the oldeſt veſtal, of whom Claudius entertained an high opinion, to do the ſame. She herſelf paſſed through the city on foot, attended only by three perſons, no one ſhewing the leaſt compaſſion for her in her diſgrace. When ſhe was without the walls, not being able to purſue her journey on foot, and finding no other convenience, ſhe was glad to be taken up by a gardener, in his dung-cart, in which, quite forſaken by all her train, ſhe took the road to

Their ſecurity.

She endeavours to appeaſe Claudius.

to Oſtia. The emperor was not yet recovered from his fright, but was ſtill inceſſantly aſking, whether Silius was yet acknowledged emperor: he likewiſe betrayed no ſmall diſtruſt of Geta, commander of his guards; of which Narciſſus, who entertained the ſame diſtruſt, being appriſed, he ſuggeſted to the emperor, that there was no other expedient to preſerve him, than the transferring of the command of his guards upon one of his freedmen for that day only, and offered to undertake it himſelf. Claudius came readily into his propoſal, and Narciſſus, now commander of the prætorian cohorts, took his place as ſuch in the emperor's coach, in order to prevent L. Vitellius and P. Largus Cæcina, who were in the ſame coach, from interceding in favour of Meſſalina. Upon the road, Claudius ſometimes broke out into bitter invectives againſt Meſſalina; at other times ſhewed compaſſion for her and their common children. Vitellius uttered nothing, but O heinous! O the iniquity! which words might be interpreted equally againſt Meſſalina and her accuſers. Narciſſus urged him to ſpeak plain; but gained nothing: Vitellius ſtill anſwered indirectly, and in terms that might be differently conſtrued; and his example was followed by Largus Cæcina. As they drew near the city, Meſſalina unexpectedly appeared in the road, crying aloud with many tears to Claudius, that he would hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus. Narciſſus no ſooner ſaw her, than to drown her cries, he began to exclaim and ſtorm with great noiſe againſt the impudent and bold conduct of Silius, and the abominations of Meſſalina. At the ſame time, to divert the prince from ſeeing her, he delivered to him a writing, containing a detail of her proſtitutions. As the emperor was entering Rome, ſome attempted to preſent to him his children by her; but Narciſſus ordered them to be conveyed away: he could not, however, remove Vibidia, who inſiſted with great vehemence, that the emperor's wife might not be condemned without being heard; ſo that Narciſſus was obliged to aſſure her, that Meſſalina ſhould be heard, and ſhould have full opportunity of clearing herſelf. He then adviſed the veſtal to withdraw, and attend the ſacred functions of her office. As for Claudius, he kept the whole time a wonderful ſilence, and Vitellius pretended to be amazed; ſo that Narciſſus controuled all things. By his command the houſe of the adulterer was opened, and the emperor carried thither. As he entered the porch, Narciſſus ſhewed him the ſtatue of Silius

The conduct of Narciſſus.

Meſſalina meets the emperor.

He is incenſed againſt her by Narciſſus.

Silius the father ſtanding there, though the ſenate had by a decree ordered it to be broken; for he had been arraigned under Tiberius of treaſon, as we have related in his reign: in the houſe he ſhewed him the rich furniture of the imperial palace, the monuments of his wife's proſtitution and his own diſgrace. Having thus worked him up to threats and fury, he led him without delay to the camp, where by Narciſſus's direction he made a ſhort ſpeech to the ſoldiery, who with a general clamour demanded that the criminals might be immediately executed. Hereupon Silius and ſeveral others, whom Narciſſus had cauſed to be arreſted, were brought before the imperial tribunal; and being convicted as accomplices of Meſſalina's proſtitutions, were all dragged to execution. Silius, without offering any thing in his defence, only begged they would diſpatch him ſoon.

Silius and her other adulterers executed.

Mneſter, the player, who had been likewiſe one of Meſſalina's gallants, created ſome heſitation. He tore off his garments, and deſired the emperor to behold the marks of the ſtripes he had endured, before he could be brought to comply with Meſſalina's impure ſolicitations; he reminded him at the ſame time of his own commands, obliging him to gratify Meſſalina without reſerve (N), adding, that o-

thers

(N) Meſſalina finding ſhe could neither by threats nor promiſes induce Mneſter to comply with her impure ſollicitations, had at length recourſe to ſtripes, and cauſed him to be inhumanly ſcourged; but to no effect, Mneſter dreading to incur the diſpleaſure of the emperor, which he apprehended would ſooner, or later, prove fatal to him, if he granted Meſſalina her requeſt; for her abominations were now ſo public, that he imagined Claudius could not be much longer unappriſed of them. Hereupon the lewd proſtitute, bent upon ſatisfying at all events the paſſion ſhe had conceived for the player; What if the emperor himſelf, ſaid ſhe, ſhould command you to gratify me in what I require? I ſhould, without heſitation, replied Mneſter, obey the emperor's commands. Meſſalina flew to the emperor, and complained to him of the player, who, ſhe ſaid, had unmannerly refuſed her a ſmall favour. Claudius immediately ſent for Mneſter, reprimanded him with great ſeverity, and commanded him to gratify his wife without reſerve. He obeyed, and now alledges this command as a powerful motive to induce Claudius to grant him his life (38). But Narciſſus urging, that his crime was of ſuch enormous malignity, that it availed not how he had committed it, he was executed upon the ſpot.

(38) Dio, l. lx.

thers had been tempted to offend by great preſents, or mighty promiſes; but his offence was owing only to compulſion. Theſe conſiderations biaſſed Claudius to mercy; but his freedmen diſſuading him from ſaving a player after ſo many illuſtrious ſacrifices, Mneſter was condemned and executed with Traulus Montanus, a young knight of extraordinary modeſty and comelineſs, whom Meſſalina had forced to paſs only one night with her, and afterwards caſt off, her paſſion being, as Tacitus obſerves, with equal wantonneſs inflamed and ſurfeited [a].

Claudius ſeems to relent.

When theſe executions were over, Claudius returned to the palace, where he paſſed the beſt part of the night in feaſting and revelling with his freedmen. Being warm with wine, for he uſually drank very plentifully, he ordered one of his attendants to go and acquaint the unhappy woman, for theſe terms he is ſaid to have uſed, that ſhe ſhould attend the next day and plead her cauſe. She was then in the gardens of Lucullus, whither ſhe had retired, finding ſhe could have no acceſs to Claudius, and was there buſy in compoſing a memorial, which ſhe deſigned to preſent to the prince, not without hopes of moving him to compaſſion. But Narciſſus, alarmed at the meſſage he ſent her and obſerving that his reſentment viſibly abated, and his uſual affliction began to return, ran haſtily forth, and directed the tribunes and centurions then upon duty to diſpatch Meſſalina; for ſuch was the emperor's expreſs command. With them he ſent one Evodus a freedman, in whom he could confide, charging him to ſee his orders ſtrictly fulfilled; for he apprehended, and indeed not without reaſon, ſince Claudius began to relent, that the doom which he had prepared for Meſſalina, would, if ſhe lived to the next day, rebound upon his own head. Evodus flew in a moment to the gardens, where he found her lying upon the ground, and her mother Lepida ſitting by her. He immediately acquainted her with her doom, and at the ſame time abuſed her with all the brutal invectives of a ſlave. Her mother encouraged her not to wait the blow of the executioner; but, ſince ſhe could not prolong her life, to die with renown. Hereupon, laying hold of a dagger, ſhe aimed, with a trembling hand, firſt at her throat, and then at her breaſt; but had not courage and reſolution enough

Narciſſus haſtens her execution.

[a] Tacit. c 30——36. Dio, p. 674. Suet. c. 29. Senec. lud. in Claud.

enough for such an attempt. The tribune therefore, who stood before her, without ever opening his mouth, observing her timidity and irresolution, delivered her from her anxiety and fears, by running her through with his sword. Thus just vengeance overtook her at last, in the very gardens for which she had sacrificed, as we have related above, the brave Valerius Asiaticus. She was of all women recorded in history, if not the most lewd, the most amazingly bold in pursuit of her lewdness [b]. Claudius was still at table, when word was brought him, that Messalina was dead; but without any particulars, whether she had suffered by her own, or by the executioner's, hand. Neither did he make any enquiries, but, calling for a bowl of wine, continued the banquet with his usual gaiety, without betraying either then, or in the following days, any symptoms of hatred, joy, anger, sorrow, or any other human passion or affection, tho' he beheld the enemies of his wife triumphing over her death, and his children bewailing with many tears the violent end of their mother [c]. Nay, Suetonius assures us, that, as he was a few days after supping with some of his friends, he asked, why his wife Messalina came not to supper? Many other instances of the like almost incredible forgetfulness, or rather stupidity, are related by the same writer and by Dion Cassius [d].

Her death.

The stupidity of Claudius.

Upon the death of Messalina, Claudius publicly declared, that since he had been so unfortunate in his marriages, he would live a single life for the future: nay, he gave every Roman leave to put him to death, if he continued not in that resolution. But, notwithstanding these protestations, he soon changed his mind, and, not remembering what he had said, declared his intention of marrying. Hereupon great strife and emulation arose among the imperial freedmen, which of them should chuse a wife for one, who had been ever governed by his wives. Callistus proposed to him Lollia Paulina, daughter of M. Lollius, a consular. Pallas recommended Julia Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus; and Narcissus employed all his interest in behalf of Ælia Petina, whom he had divorced before upon a slight trivial occasion. Claudius himself was now bent upon one, then upon another, and always led by his last adviser. Being thus undetermined and perplexed, he at length called together

Claudius declares his intention to marry again.

[b] Tacit. c. 37. Dio, p. 674. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Suet. ibid.

gether his counſellors, ordering them to declare and defend in his preſence their different opinions (O). Claudius heard them all with great attention; but was moſt affected with the arguments of Pallas, enforced by the careſſes and allurements of Agrippina, who, under colour of conſanguinity, was aſſiduous in her viſits to her uncle. This princeſs ſo famous in hiſtory for her ambition and misfortunes, was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder, whoſe courage and chaſtity we have often had occaſion to celebrate. Tiberius married her, in the fourteenth year of his reign, to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom ſhe had a ſon named L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who ſucceeded Claudius, and is known by the name of Nero. Upon the death of her huſband, ſhe abandoned herſelf to all manner of lewdneſs, and was on the point of being puniſhed by her brother Caligula. Claudius recalled her when ſhe married to her ſecond huſband Criſpus Paſſienus, one of an illuſtrious family, and ſoon after murdered him, to enjoy the rich inheritance to which he had named her in his will. She was in high favour with Claudius, even in Meſſalina's time; and therefore would have been ſacrificed, as well as her ſiſter Julia, to her jealouſy, had not the empreſs been diverted from

And prefers his niece Agrippina to all others,

(O) Narciſſus alledged in favour of Ælia Petina the emperor's former marriage with her, and their common daughter, for by her he had Antonia; and that, by recalling one who had already been his wife, he would introduce no innovation into his family, but a wife, who would not exerciſe the hatred of a ſtep-mother towards Britannicus and Octavia, ſince they were ſo nearly allied to her own children. Calliſtus urged, that to recall her after ſo long a divorce and diſlike, would be the very means to heighten her indignation and pride; that Lollia was a much more eligible match, for having no iſſue of her own, ſhe was void of every motive of emulation to his, and conſequently would uſe her ſtep-children with the tenderneſs of a real mother. Pallas recommended Agrippina from the following conſiderations; that with her ſhe would bring the grandſon of Germanicus, and was herſelf worthy of imperial fortune, noble in her deſcent, of tried fruitfulneſs, and in the prime of her age; that by this match would be prevented her carrying into another houſe the illuſtrious blood of the Cæſars (39).

(39) Tacit. c. 2.

from it, by other purſuits [e]. Claudius no ſooner ſhewed himſelf inclined to marry his niece, but ſhe began, as if already married, to exerciſe the power and authority of a wife. Her firſt purpoſe was, to concert a match between her ſon Domitius and Octavia, the emperor's daughter; but Octavia had ſome time ſince been by her father bethrothed to Lucius Silanus, a youth of great quality, and no leſs beloved and eſteemed by Claudius. However, as the weak prince had no judgment, nor choice, nor averſion or affection, but ſuch as were inſpired by others, Vitellius, foreſeeing in whoſe hands the ſovereignty was haſtening, in order to purchaſe the favour of Agrippina, began to deviſe crimes againſt Silanus. That young nobleman had a ſiſter, by name Junia Silana, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and no leſs gaiety; and hence Vitellius, then cenſor, took the accuſation, wreſting to a charge of inceſt the mutual affection of brother and ſiſter; an affection no ways inceſtuous, but ſomewhat too free and unguarded; for while Junia was by others ſtyled Venus on account of her beauty, Silanus choſe, we know not why, to call her Juno, who was both ſiſter and wife to Jupiter. This the infamous ſycophant Vitellius laid hold of; and having firſt prejudiced the undiſcerning emperor againſt the innocent youth, quite unappriſed of any plots againſt him, he ſoon after, in quality of cenſor, degraded him from the rank of a ſenator, tho' the ſenate had been already reviewed, and the number of ſenators fixed a good while before; nay he obliged him by an edict to renounce his prætorſhip though it was of courſe to expire the next day, conferring it for that day upon Eprius Marcellus. Silanus being thus marked with infamy, Claudius broke off the match between him and Octavia [f].

Lucius Silanus diſgraced.

The next conſuls were C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus and Q. Veranius Nepos. Tho' Claudius and Agrippina lived publicly together, yet they durſt not celebrate their nuptials, there being no inſtance among the Romans of a marriage between an uncle and a niece; but that ſcruple was removed by Vitellius, who having firſt prevailed, without much trouble, upon Claudius to promiſe, that he would ſubmit to the authority of the ſenate and the unanimous voice of the people, eaſily perſuaded both orders to approve of the marriage

The ſenate and people approve of Claudius's marriage with Agrippina.

[e] Suet. in Ner. c. 6, 7. Tacit. c. 12, 13. [f] Tacit. c. Dio, p. 677. Suet. c. 29.

riage; nay, some of the senators declared, that, if the emperor delayed longer, they would compel him. Claudius then yielded; but nevertheless did not celebrate the nuptials, till the senate passed a decree, declaring for ever marriages lawful between uncles and their brothers daughters. But notwithstanding this general law, no one followed the example of Claudius, except one Roman knight, by name Titus Alledius Severus, and he only, as was believed, to court the favour of Agrippina. This law was afterwards revoked by the emperor Nerva, as was that legitimating the inter-marriage of cousin-germans, long unknown to the Romans, by Theodosius the Great. The day after the decree of the senate was published, Claudius celebrated his nuptials with the usual solemnity: and on the same day Silanus slew himself, [illegible] choice or constraint, is uncertain. His sister J[illegible]nished Italy; and to her sentence Claudius added an ord[illegible] to the pontiffs, enjoining them to offer expiatory sacrifices in the grove of Diana; a source of mockery to all men, says Tacitus, that penalties and lustrations should be appointed for a pretended incest, while real incest was established by law [g]. From this time the city assumed a different face, all men tamely obeying a woman, who did not, like Messalina, render the Roman state subservient only to her wanton and lewd amours, but to her insatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and unparallelled cruelty. She governed all, and the emperor himself, without controul; appeared with him in the senate; placed herself by him on the same tribunal in all public ceremonies; gave, together with him, audience to foreign princes and embassadors; and did not even abandon him in the courts of justice, which to the Romans was a sight altogether new [h].

Seneca recalled from exile.

To signalize the beginning, we may say, of her reign, with some plausible action, she prevailed upon Claudius, not only to recal from exile, but to honour with the prætorship, L. Annæus Seneca, a man by all greatly esteemed on account of his eloquence and accomplishments. But in this she had also her private views, which were the education of her son Domitius under such a master, and the use of his counsels in the pursuit of his ambitious designs; for she did not doubt, but Seneca would, out of gratitude, continue faithfully attached to her, and maintain, for all his philosophy, an

[g] Idem, c. 8. Senec. lud. in Claud. Dio, p. 687.

[h] Tacit. c. 8.

an irreconcileable hatred to Claudius, by whom he had been baniſhed [k]; and truly his hatred appears but too plainly in his writings. Not long after, Agrippina, purſuing her ambitious deſigns, gained by vaſt promiſes Memmius Pollio, conſul elect, to move the ſenate, that they would unanimouſly beſeech Claudius to bethroth Octavia to Domitius. To this, which was a great ſtep towards the ſovereignty, the ſenate readily agreed; and Claudius, not appriſed of his aſpiring views, with the ſame readineſs conſented. Thus was Domitius, by the efforts and devices of his mother, raiſed almoſt to an equality with Britannicus. He was born on the fifteenth of December in the thirty-ſeventy year of the chriſtian æra; ſo that he was in the beginning of this, the forty-ninth, entered into the twelfth year of his age [l]. In the next place, Agrippina, no leſs implacable in her hatred, than ambitious in her views, being enraged at Lollia Paulina, for having aſpired to the emperor's bed, framed crimes againſt her, and ſuborned an accuſer, who charged her with conſulting the magicians and Chaldeans about the match. Claudius, without hearing her, repreſented her ſuppoſed guilt to the ſenate, and required, that her eſtate might be confiſcated, and ſhe baniſhed Italy [m]. But Agrippina, not ſatisfied with this puniſhment, ſent privately a tribune, with orders to cut off her head, and bring it to her. The tribune obeyed; and Agrippina is ſaid to have with her own hands opened the mouth of the deceaſed, that from her teeth, which had ſomething, we know not what, very ſingular, ſhe might be well aſſured it was her head [n] (P). Calpurnia,

Octavia bethrothed to Domitius.

Lollia Paulina put to death.

[k] Tacit. ibid. [l] Suet. in Ner. c. 6. [m] Tacit. c. 22. [n] Dio, p. 686.

(P) Lollia Paulina was firſt married to Memmius Regulus, governor of Greece and Macedon, from whom ſhe was forced by Caligula, who took her to himſelf. She was grand-daughter to M. Lollius appointed by Auguſtus governor to Caius Cæſar, when he was ſent into the eaſt. Claudius, in repreſenting her pretended guilt to the ſenate, touched upon her noble deſcent, telling the ſenators, that by her mother ſhe was niece to Lucius Voluſius; that Cotta Meſſalinus was her great-uncle; that ſhe herſelf was once the wife of Memmius Regulus, &c. but of her marriage with Caligula he ſaid nothing. He added, that ſhe purſued pernicious deſigns, and muſt be deveſted of the means and opportunities of putting them in execution. Upon this her immenſe wealth was confiſcated,

Calpurnia, another woman of great diſtinction, was likewiſe doomed to ruin, becauſe the prince had praiſed her beauty; but as this was from no paſſion for her perſon, but only in occaſional diſcourſe, her life was ſpared. This year to the ſenators of Narbonne Gaul was granted the ſame privilege with thoſe of Sicily, of viſiting their eſtates there, without aſking leave of the prince. The ſame year the countries of Iturea and Judæa were, upon the death of their kings, Sohemus and Agrippa, annexed to the government of Syria. About the end of the year, Claudius widened the circumference of Rome, incloſing, according to Onuphrius [o], mount Aventine. We are told, that ſuch only as had extended the limits of the empire, were, in virtue of an antient inſtitution, empowered to enlarge alſo the bounds of the city [p]. This power Claudius probably claimed, in regard of his having conquered part of Britain. As for the troubles which happened this year in the kingdoms of Parthia and Boſphorus, we refer our readers to the account we have given of them in our hiſtory of thoſe countries (Q). Rome enlarged.

THE following year, C. Antiſtius Vetus and M. Suilius Nervilianus being conſuls, the freed-man Pallas, who had conducted the late marriage of Agrippina, and was now engaged in a criminal correſpondence with her, and thence wholly addicted to her intereſt, perſuaded Claudius to adopt, in preference to his own ſon, Domitius for his eldeſt, becauſe he was three years older than Britannicus (R). From this

[o] Onuph. in faſt. p. 101. [p] Tacit. c. 23.

confiſcated, and only about thirty-thouſand pounds of our money left her. Tacitus tells us, that the tribune diſpatched by Agrippina had orders to compel her to lay violent hands on herſelf (40).

(Q) Phlegon, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter, tells us, that this year, the ninth of Claudius's reign, a woman was delivered at Rome of an ape (41).

(R) Tacitus tells us, that it was obſerved by perſons ſkilled in antiquity, that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the Claudii; which, from Attus Clauſus, called

(40) Idem, c. 22. (41) Phleg. de reb. memorabil. c. 22.

this time Domitius was named Nero Claudius Cæſar Druſus Germanicus (S). This adoption was applauded by the ſenate, and a decree paſſed confirming it, and conferring upon Agrippina the ſublime title of Auguſta.

The hard treatment of Britannicus.

However, there was no Roman ſo void of compaſſion, as not to be affected with the hard lot of the unhappy Britannicus,

called afterwards Appius Claudius, the firſt who ſettled at Rome, had ſubſiſted upon its own ſtock. Lipſius is not at all pleaſed with this obſervation; but urges againſt it the adoption of Germanicus. However, being prompted by his good nature to excuſe the miſtake, he acquaints us, that Tiberius, when he adopted Germanicus, was not himſelf of the Claudian, but of the Julian family; a poor quibble indeed, and altogether unworthy of ſo learned a critic! It is ſurpriſing, that a writer of ſuch penetration ſhould thus miſtake the meaning of Tacitus, tho' conveyed to him in the plaineſt terms. Some obſerved, ſays the hiſtorian, that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the Claudii, &c. Could Lipſius poſſibly ſuppoſe Germanicus to have been adopted by Tiberius into the Claudian family? We cannot think him capable of entertaining a notion ſo notoriouſly abſurd, ſince Germanicus, Tiberius's own brother's ſon, was, as is manifeſt, by birth, and without any adoption, of the Claudian family. On the other hand, if he does not ſuppoſe him to have been adopted by Tiberius into the Claudian family, but only for his ſon, as he truly was, to what purpoſe can he alledge ſuch an adoption againſt thoſe who obſerved, to the glory of the Claudian family, that it had ſubſiſted upon its own ſtock, ſince its firſt ſettling at Rome, to the adoption of Domitius Ahenobarbus? Beſides, if Tiberius was himſelf no longer of the Claudian, but of the Julian, family, how could he adopt Germanicus into the former? That Tacitus meant not ſuch an adoption as that of Germanicus, but an adoption into the family, is evident both from the context in that writer, and from Suetonius, who tells us that Claudius, when he adopted young Domitius, publicly declared, that no one had ever before been adopted into the Claudian family (42). But "quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus."

(S) Suetonius tells us, that, when Domitius was born, Caligula being deſired by his ſiſter Agrippina to give the child what name he thought proper, the emperor, fixing his eyes upon Claudius, gave him, by way of raillery, his name; which Agrippina took much amiſs, Claudius being at that time the laughing-ſtock of the court; but now ſhe eſteems both herſelf and her ſon highly honoured with a name which ſhe then deſpiſed (43).

(42) Suet. in Claud. c. 39. (43) Suet. in Ner. c. 6.

nicus, whom Agrippina, under colour of tenderneſs for him, kept locked up in a nurſery, tho' now nine years old. By degrees ſhe removed from him his former attendants, and even cauſed ſome of them to be put to death; among the reſt his preceptor Soſibius, putting in their room perſons who were entirely at her devotion, ſhe would never allow him to appear abroad, or even to wait upon his father, giving out, that he was diſordered in his ſenſes, and troubled with the falling ſickneſs. Not long after the adoption of Nero, Britannicus having ſaluted him, as he was uſed to do before, by the name of Ahenobarbus, Nero reſented it to ſuch a degree, that he endeavoured to perſuade the emperor, that he was a ſuppoſititious child. This year Agrippina, to diſplay her power at Rome in foreign countries, procured a colony of veterans to be ſent to the capital of the Ubii, a town in which ſhe had been born, and which ſhe called by her own name Colonia Agrippinenſis. The city is now known by the name of Cologn [p]. About the ſame time the Catti, of whom we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of Tiberius, made incurſions into the Roman territories; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by Pomponius Secundus, commander of the legions in Upper Germany, who on that occaſion, releaſed from bondage ſome Romans who had continued in it ever ſince the maſſacre of Varus and his legions. His vigilance and gallant conduct ſeemed to the ſenate worthy of triumphal ornaments, which were decreed him accordingly; but he did not derive ſo much glory from them, as from his elegant poems, which are greatly cried up by the beſt judges of antiquity [q]. It was at this time too, that Vannius, whom Druſus the ſon of Tiberius had thirty years before created king of the Suevians, was driven out by the Hermundurians and Ligians. Claudius, tho' he had declined engaging in a quarrel among the barbarians, yet granted a ſafe refuge to the depoſed king, and lands in Pannonia both to him and his followers. Vangio and Sido, his own ſiſter's ſons, parted his kingdom between them, and ever continued faithful to the Romans [r].

Colonia Agrippinenſis.

THE following year, Claudius being the fifth time conſul

[p] Tacit. c. 26. Suet. in Ner. c. 7. Dio, p. 667. [q] Tacit. c. 28. [r] Idem. c. 29.

Nero takes the manly robe.

with Servius Cornelius Orfitus (T), Nero, though not yet fourteen, was preſented with the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments. At the ſame time, the ſenate, with the concurrence of Claudius, decreed, that in his twentieth year he might diſcharge the conſulſhip, and in the mean time, as conſul deſigned, be inveſted with proconſular authority out of Rome, and be ſtyled prince of the Roman youth. Claudius moreover beſtowed, in Nero's name, a largeſs upon the ſoldiery, and another upon the people; and to draw the eyes and affections of the people upon him, made him appear at the circenſian games, which were then ſolemnized, in a triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of the imperial ſtate, while Britannicus was carried about in his prætexta, the uſual habit of children. Some of the tribunes and centurions could not help pitying the unhappy youth; but they were all, under various pretences, ſoon removed from the palace; even ſuch of the young prince's freed-men, as were found inviolably attached to his perſon and intereſt, were partly diſcharged, and partly put to death, as if they had inſpired their patron with hatred and emulation againſt Nero, which might in the end flame out into war and public ruin. Upon their removal, Britannicus was committed to the government of others, choſen by his ſtep-mother. The next ſtep, which Agrippina took towards the accompliſhment of her great deſign was, the removing of Luſius Geta and Rufus Criſpinus from the command of the prætorian cohorts. She imagined them grateful to the memory of Meſſalina, and thence zealouſly devoted to her children. She therefore alledged to the emperor, that by the cabals and emulation of two commanders, the guards were

(T) Claudius held this his laſt conſulſhip ſix months (44). Onuphrius adds to his collegue's other names that of Scipio (45), and truly the Orfiti ſeem to have to have been of the family of the Scipios (46). C. Minucius or Minicius Fundanus, and C. Verbenius Severus, were ſubſtituted in the conſulſhip to Claudius and Orfitus (47). Veſpaſian, who was afterwards emperor, was conſul for the two laſt months of this year, as we read in Suetonius (48).

(44) Suet. c. 4. (45) Onuph. in faſt. (46) Grut. p. 1
(47) Onuph. ibid. (48) Suet. in Veſp. c. 4.

were rent into factions; whereas by the authority of one, they would be more eaſily kept to their duty. Hereupon Claudius without any further enquiry, transferred the command of the prætorian bands on Burrhus Afranius, whom ſhe recommended, an officer highly eſteemed by the ſoldiery, but well appriſed to whom he owed his preferment. And now Agrippina began to aſſume a more haughty deportment than ever; ſhe entered the capitol in a chariot, a diſtinction granted to none but prieſts. This, however, heightened the reverence of the people towards one, who was, without example, the daughter of a Cæſar, the mother of one, ſiſter to the late emperor, and wife to the preſent. But in the mean time, her chief companion, L. Vitellius, was by a ſenator named Junius Lupus, accuſed of high treaſon; and Claudius, ever timorous, would have hearkened to the charge, had not Agrippina, by menaces rather than entreaties, turned his reſentment againſt the accuſer, who was baniſhed, Vitellius deſiring no further puniſhment [s]. This year, a great famine raged in Rome, and the populace not confining their complaints to houſes and corners, gathered in tumultuous crouds round the prince, while he was publicly adminiſtering juſtice, and drove him to the extremity of the forum; inſomuch, that with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped their violence, his guards opening him a way through the outrageous multitude [t]. Suetonius tells us, that he was not only reviled with opprobrious language by the enraged populace, but ſo pelted with cruſts of bread, that he narrowly eſcaped being killed [u]. However, inſtead of reſenting ſuch baſe treatment, he took ſuch effectual care to have the city ſupplied with corn, that in leſs than fifteen days no one had occaſion to complain, that winter happening to prove exceeding mild and favourable. That the city might not again be reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, he gave all poſſible encouragement to merchants, granted ample privileges to ſuch as built trading veſſels, and took upon himſelf to make good all the loſſes they ſhould ſuffer.

Burrhus Afranius appointed commander of the prætorian guards.

A famine at Rome.

THIS year, the tenth of Claudius's reign, the proprætor, P. Oſtorius Scapula, landing in Britain (U), was obliged, ſoon

Farther conqueſts in Britain.

[s] Idem, c. 42. [t] Idem, c 43. [u] Suet. c. 18.

(U) Aulus Plautius left Britain, and returned to Rome, according to Dion Caſſius, in the ſixth year of Claudius's reign: whereas

ſoon after his arrival, though the ſeaſon was already far advanced, to take the field againſt the Britons, who broke into the territories of the friends and allies of Rome with ſo much the more violence and confidence, as they ſuppoſed that a new general, not yet acquainted with his army, would not in the beginning of winter dare to take the field and make head againſt them. But Oſtorius, who was an officer of great experience, being well appriſed, that by the firſt events of war confidence or conſternation was raiſed in an enemy, led forth ſuch cohorts as were next at hand, fell unexpectedly upon the unwary Britons with great ſlaughter, and purſued ſuch as were broken ſo cloſe as to prevent their rejoining. Then, as he could not depend upon a peace made by conſtraint, and therefore not ſincere, he deprived of their arms thoſe whom he ſuſpected, and by means of ſeveral forts on the Severn and the two Avons, one of which is alſo called the Nen, he endeavoured to reſtrain the enemy from making any farther inroads into the territories of the Roman allies. This the Iceni, that is, the inhabitants of the preſent counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon could not brook. They were a powerful people, and not weakened by any wars or invaſions; for they had of their own accord entered into an alliance with the Romans. Being therefore joined by the bordering nations, they ſoon raiſed a conſiderable army, and encamped in a place defended by a ditch, and narrow lanes not paſſable by the horſe. Oſtorius, though not yet joined by his legions, reſolved to attack them; and accordingly, having drawn up his auxiliaries and diſmounted his cavalry, he advanced in good order to attack the enemy's ruſtic fortifications. The ditch was ſoon forced, and the Britons put in diſorder, being hampered and entangled with their own incloſures. However, as they were cooped in on all ſides, and no way was left for them to eſcape, being

The Iceni defeated.

[w] Suet. ibid.

as Oſtorius did not arrive in that iſland, as is evident from Tacitus, till three years after. Hence it is plain, that between Plautius and Oſtorius was another governor of this country, whom authors have not mentioned, probably becauſe he performed nothing worthy of notice.

being animated with deſpair, they performed many feats of bravery. In this battle M. Oſtorius, the ſon of the general, acquired the civic crown, by ſaving the life of a Roman citizen. The Iceni being thus overcome, and thoſe unſettled ſpirits, who had hitherto wavered between peace and war, calmed by their overthrow, Oſtorius, advanced into the country of the Cangi, probably the preſent counties of Shropſhire and Cheſhire, laying waſte their territories, and committing general ſpoil, till he approached the Iriſh ſea, when commotions begun among the Brigantes, the inhabitants of Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, the biſhopric of Durham, and the counties of Cumberland and Weſtmorland, drew him back; for the Brigantes had ſubmitted to him before, probably by their deputies, after the overthrow of the Iceni; and the Roman general was determined to proſecute no new enterprize, till his former ones were completed and ſecure. The chief authors of the diſturbance were executed, and the reſt pardoned, which put a ſtop to any farther attempts of the Brigantes. But the Silures, the inhabitants of South-Wales, would hearken to no terms. Oſtorius therefore reſolved to lead his legions againſt them; but firſt conveyed a numerous colony of veterans to Camalodunum, in order to keep the conquered countries in awe, and inure the Roman allies to the laws and juriſdiction of Rome. To Cogidunus, a Britiſh king, and a great friend to the Romans, certain cities were given, to attach him ſtill more to their intereſt; for it was a cuſtom, as Tacitus obſerves *, practiſed in the earlieſt ages by the Roman people, to employ even kings as their inſtruments in eſtabliſhing bondage on nations. After theſe precautions, Oſtorius marched with all his forces againſt the Silures, a people reſolute and fierce by nature, and moreover confiding in the valour and conduct of Caractacus, whom many proſperous, and many doubtful ſucceſſes had rendered famous, and raiſed in renown above all the other Britiſh commanders. As he was better acquainted with the country than the Romans, but inferior to them in number of his troops, he wiſely removed the ſeat of the war into the territories of the Ordovices, now North-Wales. There he choſe a place, againſt which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was no leſs difficult to retire; every way incommodious

They ſubmit.

The Brigantes reduced.

A Roman colony ſettled at Camalodunum.

The Romans march againſt the Silures.

* Tacit. in vit. Agr. c. 4.

modious to the Romans, and every way favourable to his own men; for it was upon the ridges of exceeding ſteep mountains, the ſides of which, where approachable, he fortified with walls of ſtone; at the foot of the mountains flowed a river, dangerous to be forded, and the walls, which he had reared, were defended by numerous bodies of his braveſt men. The place, as Camden conjectures, had thence the name of Caer Caradoc, which is a ſteep hill on the weſt borders of Shropſhire, at the foot of which runs the river Clun: Caradoc in the Britiſh tongue is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Caractacus in Latin. Oſtorius having drawn hither all his forces, ſince the Britiſh commander was reſolved to put the whole to the deciſion of the ſword, began to advance in battle-array towards the enemy. At his approach the leaders of the ſeveral confederate nations, who had joined Caractacus, ran from rank to rank, animating their followers with repreſentations proper to diſpel fear, and rouſe in their breaſts a martial ardor. As for Caractacus, he flew through the whole army, proclaiming, wherever he paſſed, that from this day, from this battle, they muſt date their liberty completely recovered, or their ſlavery eternally eſtabliſhed: he put them in mind of the glorious feats of their anceſtors, who had driven out Cæſar the dictator, and by whoſe valour they yet lived free from tribute and the Roman axes, yet preſerved the perſons of their wives and children from diſhonour. His harangue was anſwered by loud ſhouts and acclamations, which were echoed and doubled by the neighbouring woods and mountains. In the end, every one bound himſelf by the moſt ſacred oath amongſt them, never to yield to force or wounds. The reſolute alacrity of the enemy ſtartled the Roman general, eſpecially when he diſcovered the river before him, the ramparts raiſed upon its banks, the ſteepneſs of the mountains filled with men hanging almoſt over their heads, and in ſhort the moſt diſmal and threatening ſcene of war he had ever beheld. But the ſoldiers preſſed for the attack, crying out, all difficulties are ſurmountable by courage. Oſtorius therefore, having carefully ſurveyed the ground, and tried where the river was fordable, and where not, ordered the trumpets to ſound, and his legionaries to advance. They gained without much difficulty the oppoſite bank; but as they approached the rampart, they were galled with inceſſant ſhowers of darts, which did great execution, till forming themſelves into a teſtudo, they demoliſhed the wall, which

Caractacus oppoſes the Romans.

Engages Oſtorius the Roman general.

which covered the enemy, and encountered them, hand to hand, upon ground equal to both. Then the Britons, not able to ſtand the ſhock of the legions, betook themſelves to the ridges of the mountains, where they made a ſtand againſt the Romans, who purſued them; but as they covered themſelves with no armour, and only fought with diſcharges of arrows, the Romans cloſing with them, eaſily broke their ranks, put them to flight and gained a complete victory. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken priſoners, and his brothers ſurrendered at diſcretion. He himſelf had recourſe to the protection of Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes; but as all things conſpire againſt the unfortunate, he was by her delivered in bonds to the conquerors, according to Tacitus in the ninth, but by a more exact computation in the ſeventh, year, after the commencement of the war in Britain; ſo long had he ſuſtained it; and hence his renown, ſays Tacitus, had reached all the iſlands, ſpread over the neighbouring countries, and was celebrated even in Italy, and at Rome, where all longed to behold the brave commander, who had for ſo many years defied the arms, and baffled all the attempts of the Romans. He was immediately ſent to Claudius, who received him in a kind of triumph. As he drew near the city, the people were ſummoned, as to ſome ſolemn ſpectacle, to ſee the illuſtrious captive; as he paſſed by, the prætorian guards ſtood under arms in the field before their camp. Before the Britiſh king marched his ſervants and followers, carrying the gold chains and military ornaments, which he had taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife, and daughters; and laſtly, himſelf expoſed to view. All but he appeared dejected, and deſcended to ſupplications unworthy of their rank and character. The king himſelf, without betraying the leaſt fear, or uttering a word that implored mercy, being brought before the emperor, who was ſeated on his tribunal, addreſſed him thus:

But is defeated.

And delivered up to the Romans by the queen of the Brigantes and ſent to Rome.

"If my moderation in proſperity and ſucceſs had been equal
"to my quality and fortune, I ſhould have arrived in this city
"under another character, that of a friend, and not a cap-
"tive; nor would you have diſdained to receive into terms
"of alliance a prince, deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors, and
"ruling over ſo many nations. But different is my preſent
"lot, a lot, which reflects no leſs glory upon you, than diſ-
"grace and reproach upon me. I was lately maſter of
"men and arms, horſes and treaſures; and where is the
"wonder, that I was unwilling to loſe them, that I ſtrove to
"retain them? Though you, Romans, aim at extending

His ſpeech to Claudius.

"your

" your dominion over all mankind, it does not thence fol-
" low, that all men will readily and voluntarily ſubmit to
" the yoke. Had I immediately yielded, my misfortune
" would have been leſs remarkable, your conqueſt leſs re-
" nowned: even now, if I am to ſuffer death, the fame
" of my reſiſtance and your victory will die with me; but
" if you preſerve my life, I ſhall be a living monument of
" your clemency". Claudius, compaſſionating the misfor-tunes of ſo brave a man, and admiring the conſtancy with which he bore them, generouſly granted to him, to his wife his daughter, and brothers both their lives and liberty. Being releaſed from their chains, they firſt paid their duty and acknowledgment to the prince, and next to Agrippina, who was ſeated upon another tribunal cloſe to the emperor's [x]. We are told, that Caractacus being aſked, after he had viewed the city of Rome, which was then in the height of its beauty and grandeur, what he thought of that ſtately metropolis? returned the following judicious anſwer: I am amazed that men, who have ſuch magnificent habitations of their own, ſhould leave them, and come ſo far to bereave us Britons of our poor cottages [y]. In the ſenate many pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of Caractacus, ſome of the ſenators extolling it as an event no leſs illuſtrious, than the taking of Syphax by P. Scipio, or of Perſes by Lucius Paulus. To Oſtorius, who continued in Britain, triumphal ornaments were decreed.

Who grants him his life and liberty.

THUS far the adminiſtration of Oſtorius had proved ſucceſsful; but now his fortune began to change; whether it was, that upon the captivity of Caractacus the Romans thought the war concluded, and thence grew leſs vigilant, or that the Britons enraged, rather than diſheartened, at the loſs of their king, ſtrove more vehemently to revenge it. However that be, the Silures fell by ſurpriſe upon the prefect of the camp and ſome legionary cohorts, whom Oſtorius had left to rear forts in their country; and would have cut them all in pieces, had they not received timely aſſiſtance from the neighbouring garriſons: as it was, the prefect himſelf, eight centurions, and a great number of the moſt reſolute ſoldiers were ſlain. Soon after they routed the Roman foragers and the troops ſent to ſupport them. Hereupon Oſtorius diſpatched to their relief ſome cohorts lightly armed; but they not

Some advantages gained by the Silures.

[x] Tacit. ibid. c. 36, 37. [y] Zonar. p. 86.

not being able to put a ſtop to the flight, the legions were drawn out. Their arrival encouraged the fugitives; the fight was renewed, and the ſucceſs, after having been long doubtful, proved in the end favourable to the Romans; the enemy fled, but, as night approached, with ſmall loſs. Thenceforward ſcarce a day paſſed without ſome encounter or ſkirmiſh, ſometimes in the woods, ſometimes in the marſhes; at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge, as deſign or chance gave them an opportunity. What moſt exaſperated the Silures was, a ſaying of the Roman general current among them, that their name muſt be utterly extinguiſhed, as was that of the Sicambri, who had been partly cut off, and partly tranſplanted into Gaul. Being thus animated, they ſurpriſed and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, as they were without due circumſpection pillaging the country, to ſatiate the avarice of their commanders. The ſpoil and captives they diſtributed among the neighbouring nations, with a view to draw them too into the revolt. In the mean time Oſtorius, ſinking under the weight of his cares and anxieties, ended his days to the great joy of the enemy, that ſo renowned a commander had periſhed in the war[z]. Claudius was no ſooner appriſed of the death of his lieutenant, than he appointed Aulus Didius Gallus to ſucceed him, who, notwithſtanding his expeditious arrival, found affairs in a much worſe condition than they had been at the death of Oſtorius. For the Silures, finding the Romans deſtitute of a general, had attacked and defeated a legion commanded by Manlius Valens, a diſaſter magnified both by the enemy and the new general; by the enemy, to terrify and diſcourage him; by Didius, to gain the greater glory, if he put an end to the war, or to have the juſter excuſe, if it continued. In the mean time, the Silures made frequent and wide incurſions into the territories of the Roman allies, committing every where dreadful devaſtations, till Didius, taking the field, ſet upon them, repulſed them, and reſtrained them within more narrow bounds.

Oſtorius dies.

Other advantages gained by the Silures.

Next to Caractacus in merit and valour was Venutius, or Venuſius, one long faithful to the Romans, and protected by them, during his marriage with Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes. That princeſs was amply rewarded by the Romans, and in high favour with them, for having ſeized and

[z] Tacit. c. 38, 39.

and delivered up into their hands king Caractacus. Wherefore preſuming upon their protection, ſhe wantonly deſerted her huſband Venutius, and married his armour-bearer Vellocatus, on whom with her perſon ſhe conferred her crown. This action generally abhorred by the Britons, occaſioned great diſturbances in the ſtate, and kindled a civil war among the Brigantes. The queen, by craft and ſubtil ſtratagems, got the brother and other relations of Venutius into her power. But Venutius on the other hand, being ſupported by the Brigantes themſelves, who were offended at their queen's reproachful conduct and ſcorned to be governed by a woman, and receiving powerful ſuccours from the neighbouring nations, reduced the unfaithful princeſs to the utmoſt diſtreſs. She then had recourſe to her faſt friends the Romans, who immediately diſpatched ſome cohorts and ſquadrons to her aid. Hereupon a bloody battle enſued, which was long doubtful; but in the end proved ſucceſsful to the Romans, who reſcued the queen from impending danger. Venutius, however, maintained himſelf in the kingdom, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the Roman general. Many battles were fought with doubtful ſucceſs, and no great advantages gained on either ſide. At length Didius, who was ſtricken in years, and already ſatiated with a long train of honours, gave over all thoughts of reſtoring the queen, and contented himſelf with acting only defenſively, and reſtraining the enemy by his lieutenants. In this poſture continued affairs here till the ſeventh year of Nero's reign, Didius and his ſucceſſor Veranius thinking it ſufficient juſt to maintain what acquiſitions their predeceſſors had made, or only to raiſe ſome forts further in the iſland, and very few they were, purely for the name and reputation of having enlarged their government. Veranius indeed died in leſs than a year, and was ſucceeded by Suetonius Paulinus [a], whoſe feats in the iſland we ſhall relate in the reign of Nero, when the order of time will oblige us to reſume the detail, which it now cauſes us to interrupt.

The queen of the Brigantes driven out in ſpite of the Romans.

THE following year, Fauſtus Sylla and Salvius Otho Titianus being conſuls, the ſenate paſſed a rigorous decree for expelling the aſtrologers out of Italy, which, however, was never put in execution. Another decree iſſued againſt women

A decree againſt women who marired ſlaves.

[a] Tacit. ibid. c. 40. vit. Agr. c. 14. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 45.

women of rank, who married ſlaves, ordaining, that ſhe, who thus debaſed herſelf without the conſent of the maſter of the ſlave, ſhould herſelf be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery; but where he conſented, ſhe ſhould be held for a ſlave manumitted. Claudius declared in the ſenate, that Pallas was the deviſer of this ſcheme; whereupon Bareas Soranus, conſul elect, moved, that he might be rewarded with the ornaments of prætor, and a preſent of about an hundred thouſand pounds of our money. Cornelius Scipio added, that public thanks ſhould be returned him for deigning, though deſcended from the antient kings of Arcadia, to be reckoned among the emperor's miniſters, and poſtponing this his antient nobility to the ſervice of the ſtate. The haughty ſlave accepted the ornaments of the prætorſhip, and alſo the privilege of wearing a gold ring; but deſpiſed the preſent, and prevailed with Claudius to acquaint the ſenate in his name, that he was ſatisfied with the honours, and choſe to live ſtill in his antient poverty. Hereupon a decree paſſed, was engraven in braſs, and publicly hung up, in which a manumitted ſlave, lately redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters, but now worth near ſeven millions, was extolled for obſerving the venerable parſimony of the primitive ages. This in truth was a compliment, as Pliny the younger obſerves [b], made to a ſlave by a body of ſlaves. Thus was dignity debaſed, infamy exalted, the awful authority of the ſenate proſtituted, and the ornaments of magiſtracy ignominiouſly defiled. It was not enough for the once great and venerable Roman ſenate to heap honours upon the emperor; they muſt likewiſe court, adore, and exalt his ſlaves and freedmen, creatures brought from the chain and oar, inſects naturally doomed to the vileſt offices of the kitchen, ſtable, and privies. This year Claudius finiſhed at an immenſe charge the aqueduct, which Caligula had begun fourteen years before, and conſecrated it, to uſe the expreſſion of the antient writers, on the firſt of Auguſt, his birth day. It was a work of extraordinary magnificence, as appears from its ſtately ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen with an inſcription, in which Claudius is ſtyled emperor the twenty-ſeventh time. Four hundred and ſixty perſons were appointed to keep it in repair, and large ſalaries aſſigned them out of the public treaſury. The ſame year the great canal being finiſhed, which was deſigned for the draining

The ornaments of the prætorſhip decreed to Pallas.

The debaſement of the ſenate.

[b] Plin. l. viii. ep. 6.

ing of the lake Fucinus, and had kept thirty thouſand men conſtantly employed for eleven years together, being at length finiſhed, before the waters were let out, Claudius exhibited a naval fight, in which nineteen thouſand condemned criminals engaged on board an hundred large gallies, repreſenting the Sicilian and Rhodian fleets. The lake was ſurrounded with an incloſure of huge rafts to obſtruct all means of flight or eſcape. Upon the rafts ſtood the emperor's guards; the lake was covered with gallies; the ſhore, the adjacent hills, the tops of the mountains, were crouded with a mighty multitude; many from the neighbouring towns, others from Rome itſelf, either from a paſſion to behold the ſpectacle, or in compliment to the prince: the whole repreſented a vaſt theatre, and that greater numbers of ſpectators might be the better accommodated, a mountain between the lake and the river Liris was levelled. The emperor preſided in a coat of mail, and with him Agrippina in a mantle of cloath of gold. When the two fleets were drawn up and ready to engage, a Triton of ſilver, ſpringing by an ingenious contrivance out of the midſt of the lake, ſounded the charge, and the combat began, which though between malefactors, was fought with all the courage and gallantry of brave ſoldiers; ſo that after a moſt obſtinate conteſt, after many wounds and much blood, Claudius granted ſuch of them as remained, their lives, and redeemed them from ſlaughter (W). When the ſhew was over, the earth between the lake and the canal was removed; but the canal was found not to be ſunk ſufficiently low to receive the water in the centre of the lake. Its bed therefore was dug deeper; and when this work was ended, which happened this year, to draw the multitude once more

A combat exhibited on the lake Fucinus.

(W) Suetonius tells us, that the combatants, when upon the point of engaging, cried out to Claudius, Farewel, good emperor; we, who are going to die, ſalute you: the emperor returned the compliment, bidding them farewel too; which words they conſtrued as if he had excuſed them from the combat and therefore refuſed to engage, ſtanding ſtill, till Claudius, tranſported with rage, leapt down from his ſeat, and running in a most unbecoming manner about the banks of the lake, threatened to deſtroy them with fire and ſword, if they did not immediately engage (48).

(48) Suet. c. 21.

more together, a shew of gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it. After the shew, the emperor made a great banquet just at the fall from the lake; but the water, breaking out unexpectedly with incredible violence, bore down with it whatever was near it, shook the ground to a great distance, and by its impetuosity and roaring, terrified and dismayed Claudius, his guests, and the spectators, who all betook themselves to flight, and narrowly escaped being carried away with the stream. Agrippina, taking advantage of the emperor's fright, charged Narcissus, the director of the work, with avarice, as if he had not laid out, but imbezzled the vast treasures allotted for it: on the other hand, Narcissus did not spare Agrippina, but reproached her with aspiring and boundless views [c]. Dion Cassius writes, that Narcissus let out the waters on purpose to cover another fault, which the desire of saving for his own use the immense sums allowed him for the work, prompted him to commit [d]; but what fault that was, he does not tell us: we only learn from Tacitus, that when the water was discharged, the negligence of the workmen and the insufficiency of the work manifestly appeared. Suetonius seems to insinuate, that Claudius accomplished this vast undertaking, and drained the lake. Pliny likewise reckons the draining of the lake Fucinus amongst the most remarkable works of Claudius; but it was neglected, says he, thro' envy, by his successor Nero. On the other hand, Dion Cassius calls the immense sums, laid out on this stupendous work, useless expences; and Seneca writes, that the lake Fucinus was in his time still full, though the workmen had in Claudius's time with immense labour finished the canal, which if Suetonius is to be credited, they hewed through a rocky mountain for three miles together [f]. Spartianus says, that Adrian drained this lake [g]. However, it is still to be seen in the Farther Abruzzo, and is known by the name of the lake of Celano. Towards the end of the year the Bithynians sent deputies to Rome to accuse Junius Cilo, their governor, of extortion. He had indeed oppressed them in a most cruel and barbarous manner; but the emperor, when they were admitted to his presence, not well understanding what they said, desired Narcissus, when they

A combat of gladiators on the canal.

The undertaking unsuccessful.

The weakness of the prince abused by his freedmen.

[c] Tacit. c. 57. Suet. c. 21, 32. Val. p. 678. [d] Dio, in excerp. l. xxxvi. c. 15. [e] Tacit. ibid. [f] Suet. c. 29. Plin. [g] Spart. in Adr. p. 11.

they withdrew, to acquaint him with the end of their embaſſy. They are come, anſwered frankly Narciſſus, to return you thanks for your kindneſs, in appointing over them a man of ſuch integrity, moderation, and diſintereſtedneſs, as Cilo. Hereupon, Claudius relying entirely upon the faith of his freedman, commanded, that Cilo, ſince he had given ſuch ſatisfaction, ſhould be continued in his government two years longer, during which time he completed the ruin of that unhappy people [h]. A remarkable inſtance this of the prince's weakneſs, and the impudent boldneſs of his freedmen!

THE following conſuls were Decimus Junius Silanus Torquatus, and Q. Haterius Antoninus, during whoſe adminiſtration, Nero, who had entered the ſixteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of December, married Octavia the daughter of Claudius, to whom he had been contracted three years before. Soon after, to acquire the glory of eloquence, he undertook the cauſe of the Ilians, and obtained for them, as the anceſtors of the Romans, an entire immunity from all taxes and tributes whatſoever. He likewiſe made an oration in favour of the Rhodians, and prevailed with Claudius to reſtore them to their antient liberty, which had been often taken from them, and often re-eſtabliſhed. A third oration he pronounced in favour of the inhabitants of Bononia, a Roman colony, which had been utterly conſumed by fire; and they were at his ſuit relieved with a large bounty [i]. The two firſt orations he uttered in Greek, and the third in Latin. At the ſame time the inhabitants of Apamea, Byzantium, and Coos, having recourſe to the young prince, obtained by his mediation ſignal favours; the Coans a general immunity from impoſitions (X), and the inhabitants of Apamea and Byzantium, a diſcharge

Nero marries Octavia.

Several favours granted at his ſuit.

[h] Dio, p. 687. [i] Tacit. c. 48. Suet. in Ner. c. 7.

(X) When Claudius propoſed in the ſenate a general immunity from all manner of taxes and tributes in behalf of the Coans, he made a long deſcant upon their antiquity; how the Argives, or at leaſt Ceus the father of Latona, firſt cultivated this iſland; how Æſculapius arrived thither ſoon after, and with him the art of medicine, an art which had long flouriſhed among his deſcendents, whoſe names he rehearſed, and marked the ſe-

ver-

diſcharge from all tribute for the ſpace of five years, the latter having ſuffered much by the late wars of Thrace and Boſphorus, of which we have ſpoken in the hiſtories of thoſe kingdoms, and the former by an earthquake [m]. All this was done thro' the policy of Agrippina, to gain for her ſon the reputation of a compaſſionate and humane prince. On the contrary, ſhe puſhed Claudius upon all the moſt deteſted meaſures of cruelty. As ſhe was deſirous of poſſeſſing the fine gardens of Statilius Taurus, a ſenator of great diſtinction, who had been proconſul of Africa, ſhe ſuborned Tarquitius Priſcus, formerly his lieutenant, to charge him with having conſulted the magicians concerning the term of the emperor's life. Taurus, finding Agrippina bent upon his deſtruction, laid violent hands on himſelf. The ſenate were to ſuch a degree grieved for the loſs of ſo worthy a citizen, and provoked againſt the accuſer, that exerting themſelves on this occaſion, they expelled him the ſenate in ſpite of the protection and intrigues of Agrippina [n]. Suetonius pretends, that Taurus, entering into a conſpiracy with Gallus Aſinius, corrupted ſeveral of the emperor's freedmen and domeſtics with a deſign to make an inſurrection [o], whereas Tacitus, whom we have followed, tells us, he was proſecuted merely on account of his fine gardens, which upon his death Agrippina ſeized, as Meſſalina had done thoſe of Valerius Aſiaticus. Claudius had often declared, that the ſame force ſhould be allowed to the deciſions of his procurators, or receivers, as to his own; and now to ſhew that this was no declaration at random, he cauſed it

Statilius Taurus accuſed lays violent hands on himſelf.

[m] Tacit. c. 58. [n] Idem, c. 59. [o] Suet. c. 13.

veral ages, in which they lived. He added, that Xenophon, his own phyſician, was deſcended from the ſame family; and that at his requeſt an entire diſcharge for ever from all tributes ought to be granted to his countrymen, that they might attend only the cultivation of an iſland ſacred to that deity. Tacitus obſerves, that he might have alledged many good offices of theirs towards the Roman people, nay, and victories gained by their aid; but had not judgment enough to colour under ſome public conſideration his perſonal partiality to his phyſician (49). We ſhall ſoon ſee what return Xenophon made him for his kindneſs.

(49) Tacit. c. 61.

Claudius equals the power of his freedmen to his own.

it to be confirmed and eſtabliſhed by a decree of the ſenate. Theſe receivers of the emperors were their ſtewards, or perſons entruſted with their domeſtic concerns, and were for the moſt part franchiſed ſlaves; and nevertheleſs to ſuch ſons of earth the weak prince, entirely controuled by them, was not aſhamed to aſſert by a ſolemn decree of the ſenate, a power equal to his own, and to that of the laws. At the ſame time he conferred univerſal juriſdiction upon the equeſtrian order, the ſame juriſdiction, for which ſo many ſeditions had been formerly raiſed, and ſo much blood ſhed. Auguſtus had ordained, that the knights, who governed Egypt, ſhould act judicially; ſoon after their juriſdiction was extended to other provinces; and even in Rome itſelf many things formerly determined by the prætors, were referred to the tribunal of the knights. Claudius now inveſted them with the ſame unbounded juriſdiction, which had been hitherto enjoyed by the ſenatorial order, and was looked upon by them as their peculiar prerogative [P].

Anunlimited juriſdiction granted to the knights.

The following year, M. Aſinius Marcellus and M. Acilius Aviola being conſuls, a change of affairs was portended, if the antients are to be credited, by many prodigies (Y). But Agrippina was not ſo much alarmed by them,

[P] Tacit. c. 50.

(Y) The enſigns of the ſoldiers and their tents were ſcorched with fire from heaven; a ſwarm of bees ſettled upon the ſummit of the capitol; children were born of different forms; a pig was farrowed with the talons of a hawk (50). A blazing ſtar appeared; the monument of the emperor's father Druſus was ſtruck and ſplit with lightning; the number of every order of magiſtrates was leſſened that year; for one of the queſtors, one of the ædiles, a tribune, a prætor, and a conſul, died within a few months. In his deſignation of conſuls he named none for that dignity beyond the month of October, in which he died, as if he had been appriſed of his approaching end. The laſt time he came to the ſenate, having with great earneſtneſs exhorted his natural and adopted ſon to live in unity and concord, he recommended them both to the care and protection of the fathers. The laſt time he adminiſtered juſtice in public, he is ſaid to have told the people from his tribunal, that his courſe was ended (51).

(50) Idem. c. 64. (51) Idem ibid. & Suet. c. 46.

them, as by a saying of Claudius, uttered heedlessly in his wine; That it was his fate to bear the iniquities of his wives for some time, and at last to punish them. About the same time, having condemned a woman for adultery, he answered one of his freedmen, who applauded the justice of his sentence, It is my lot to be unfortunate in my marriages, and to punish adulteries; which plainly shewed, that he was not unapprised of the intrigues and amours of his wife. He likewise betrayed evident tokens of his repenting his marriage with Agrippina, and the adoption of Nero; for his son Britannicus presenting himself to him, he embraced him with more than ordinary kindness, bidding him grow up, for he would give him an account of his whole conduct; adding in Greek, It is love that prompts me; he declared at the same time his intention of giving him soon the manly robe, That the people of Rome, said he, may have at last a true Cæsar [q]. As the emperor let no word drop, which was not immediately carried to Agrippina, she resolved to be before-hand with him; but first to destroy by his means Domitia Lepida, who gave her no small umbrage. She was daughter to Antonia the younger, great niece to Augustus, cousin-german to Agrippina the elder, and sister to Cneius Domitius, the present Agrippina's former husband; so that she accounted herself no ways inferior to Agrippina in nobility, to whom she was equal in beauty, age, and wealth. They were, according to Tacitus, both prostitutes in their persons, infamous in their manners, violent in their tempers, and no less rivals in vices, than in the lustre of their families and the advantages of their fortunes. But their chief contention and struggle was, which of them, the aunt, or the mother, should acquire the sway over Nero. Lepida endeavoured to gain him with caresses and presents, while the imperious Agrippina treated him with severity and threats, like one, who was desirous indeed to raise him to the sovereignty, but seemed determined not to allow him to exercise his sovereign authority over her. To get rid of her troublesome rival, she accused Lepida of having sought by charms and imprecations to destroy the emperor's wife, and of disturbing the public peace of Italy by neglecting to restrain the tumultuous bands of her slaves in Calabria. For these imputations she was by the servile senate doomed to die, and executed in spite of the opposition and interest of

Is apprised of the wickedness of Agrippina.

Domitia Lepida accused and condemned.

[q] Idem, c. 64. Suet. c. 43.

Narciſſus, who grew daily more and more diſtruſtful of Agrippina, and therefore ſtrove to ſave Lepida [r]. We are told by Suetonius, that Nero himſelf was obliged by his mother to appear as a witneſs againſt his aunt, though he had a particular kindneſs and value for her [s]. In the mean time Claudius, being taken ill, for the recovery of his health, had recourſe to the ſoft air and wholſome waters of Sinueſſa; and this occaſion was greedily ſeized by Agrippina long ſince bent upon his deſtruction, and for that purpoſe well furniſhed with wicked agents. She thought it would be ſafeſt to procure his death by poiſon; but ſhe was at a loſs what ſort to uſe; if it were powerful and ſudden in its operation, her crime might thence be betrayed; if ſlow and conſuming by degrees, there was danger, that Claudius, when his end approached, might ſuſpect her, and thence annul the adoption of Nero. At length ſhe adjudged a ſubtile poiſon the beſt, ſuch as would diſorder his ſenſes, and not ſuddenly put an end to his life. An experienced artiſt in ſuch preparations was choſen, by name Locuſta, a woman who had been lately condemned for poiſoning. By her the poiſon was prepared, and Halotus, an eunuch and the emperor's taſter (Z), was charged to adminiſter it; which he did accordingly in a diſh of muſhrooms, of which Claudius was a great lover. But whether it was from his natural ſtupidity, or becauſe he was drunk, he did not ſeem to feel the virulence of the doſe; at the ſame time a looſeneſs ſeemed to relieve him, and to defeat the operation

Claudius is taken ill.

[r] Idem, c. 65. [s] Suet. in Ner. c. 7.

(Z) The office of taſter, utterly unknown in the times of the republic, was probably eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, as we conjecture from the following epitaph ſtill to be ſeen at Rome: Cenio. Cæli. Herodian. Præguſtator. Divi. Auguſti. Idem. Poſtea. Villicus. In. Hortis. Salluſtianis. Deceſſit. Nonis. Auguſtus. M. Cocceio Nerva. C. Vibio. Rufino. Coſſ. Tiberius too had his taſter, as appears from the following inſcription: Ti. Claudius. Flamma. Clauſus. Ti. Aug. Præguſtator. Their example was, no doubt, followed by all the other emperors. This cuſtom obtained among the Perſians, as we read in Xenophon (52), and of them in all likelihood the Roman emperors borrowed it.

(52) Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i.

operation and force of the poiſon. Agrippina therefore, terribly diſmayed, as one who knew that her own life lay at ſtake, had recourſe to Xenophon, the emperor's phyſician, who, being already engaged in her wicked deſigns, under pretence of aſſiſting Claudius in his efforts to vomit, thruſt down his throat a feather dipt in moſt potent poiſon, which ſoon put an end to his life [t] (A). Thus died the emperor Caius Tiberius Claudius Nero, on the thirteenth of October, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, reckoning from the day of Caius's death [u]. He was a weak prince, almoſt a changeling; had no diſcernment or paſſions of his own, but was entirely governed by his freedmen. However, Tacitus ſeems to allow him a ſhare of ſenſe at intervals. Suetonius reproaches him with cruelty, and tells us, that thirty-five ſenators, and above three hundred Roman knights, were by his orders put to death. But it is certain, that the prince himſelf was altogether a ſtranger to moſt of theſe executions; for a centurion bringing him one day word, that, purſuant to his orders, he had executed

Is poiſoned by the contrivance of Agrippina.

His character.

[t] Tacit. c. 69. Dio, p. 688. [u] Idem ibid. Dio, p 689.

(A) Tacitus tells us, that all the particulars of Claudius's death were ſoon after ſo thoroughly known, that the writers of thoſe times were able to relate the moſt minute circumſtances of this black deed. But Suetonius writes, that though it is agreed on all hands, that he died by poiſon, yet authors are not unanimous either as to the place where, or the perſon by whom, it was given. Some, ſays that writer, tell us, that the eunuch Halotus, his taſter, poiſoned him, while he was banquetting among the prieſts in the capitol. Others will have it, that in a feaſt at his own houſe Agrippina, knowing that he was a great lover of muſhrooms, preſented him with one that was poiſoned. Neither are the other circumſtances of his death better known, continues the ſame writer; ſome relate, that he expired ſoon after he had taken the poiſon, others, that he continued all night in great agony, and died about break of day. Some affirm, that he fell aſleep as ſoon as he had taken the doſe, and was afterwards relieved with vomiting, whereupon the doſe was doubled, &c. We have followed Tacitus, who ſeems to have been better acquainted with the circumſtances of Claudius's death than any other writer, ſince he relates them without the leaſt doubt or heſitation, as publicly known in his time.

ſuch a conſular, the emperor, with no ſmall ſurpriſe, anſwered, that he had given no ſuch order; but one of his freedmen ſaying, that the officer had done well in revenging of his own accord injuries offered to the perſon of the emperor, he acquieſced, and without further enquiry approved of the execution [w]. Seneca in the bitter ſatyr he wrote againſt him ſays, among other things, that he no more ſcrupled the killing of a man, than the killing of a fly [x]. But his hatred to Claudius, by whom he had been baniſhed to the iſland of Corſica, and kept there for the ſpace of eight years, prompted him to charge the prince with thoſe crimes, which other writers, free from paſſion and prejudice, lay at the door of his wives and freed-men. He had, according to Tacitus, Dion Caſſius, and Suetonius, many good qualities, was an utter enemy to all pride and oſtentation, a ſtranger to revenge, free from the imputation of avarice, a great lover of juſtice, and when he acted of himſelf, and was not by fear bereft of his ſenſes, inclined to mercy and compaſſion. But Seneca paints him as a monſter, in whom centered all vices, without allowing him one ſingle virtue, one good quality; whence it is but too manifeſt, that his paſſion got the better of his philoſophy.

Agrippina perſonates great ſorrow.

WHILE Claudius lay dead in his apartment, the ſenate, the conſuls, and pontiffs, were offering vows for his recovery, nay, reſtoratives were ſtill applied, and every thing elſe performed, as if they were not without hopes of his recovery, till matters were diſpoſed for ſecuring the empire to Nero. With this view Agrippina, as ſoon as the prince expired, perſonating inconſolable grief, and pretending to ſeek on all hands ſome allay to her ſorrow, claſped Britannicus faſt in her arms, ſtyled him the true image of his father, and by various devices kept him in the chamber, and likewiſe his two ſiſters, Octavia and Antonia. At the ſame time, ſhe poſted guards in all the avenues, ſhut up all the paſſages, and from time to time gave out, that the prince was recovering. At laſt, when ſhe had taken all poſſible precautions to prevent any diſturbance, at noon the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown open, and Nero, accompanied by Burrhus, captain of the prætorian guards, walked forth to the cohort which was then upon duty.

[w] Suet. c. 23. [x] Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 478.

duty. There, by the command of Burrhus, he was received with ſhouts of joy, and inſtantly put into a litter. Some indeed heſitated, frequently looking and aſking, where was Britannicus? but, as he was detained in the chamber of the deceaſed emperor, and no one appeared to propoſe him, they preſently joined the others, and embraced the choice which was offered them. Thus Nero was carried to the camp, where, after a ſpeech ſuitable to the exigency and the promiſe of a largeſs equal to that of the late prince, he was ſaluted emperor. The declaration of the ſoldiers was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the ſenate, which were, without reluctancy, accepted by the people, both at Rome and in the provinces. To Claudius was decreed a ſolemn and pompous funeral, the ſame as had been ordained for Auguſtus, Agrippina emulating the magnificence of her great-grand-mother Livia Auguſta. His laſt will, however, though atteſted by the hands and ſeals of all the magiſtrates, was not read in public, leſt his preferring there the ſon of his wife to his own ſon might be reſented by the people [y].

Procures Nero to be declared emperor.

NERO had ſcarce been ſaluted emperor, when the imperious and revengful Agrippina made what haſte ſhe could to diſpatch Narciſſus, who had ſpoken reproachfully of her, and betrayed no ſmall affection for Britannicus. She cauſed him to be immediately arreſted, and dragged to priſon, where he was, through fear of a more ignominious and cruel death, conſtrained to lay violent hands on himſelf, ſore againſt the will of Nero. He is ſaid to have been at once profuſe and rapacious, to have ſurpaſſed in wealth Croeſus, the kings of Perſia, and Claudius himſelf, and at the ſame time to have excelled all the prodigals of his age. As he bore an abſolute ſway under Claudius, his friendſhip was courted by foreign kings, cities, and provinces, all ſtriving who ſhould make him the moſt magnificent preſents. We have ſeen in the courſe of Claudius's reign, by how many crimes he deſerved the doom that overtook him at laſt. But after all, he was faithful to his maſter, preſerved his life with great care, and was ready, as Tacitus informs us, to lay down his own for his ſervice [z]. Agrippina would never have attempted to poiſon Claudius, if Dion Caſſius is to be credited [a], had ſhe not firſt removed Narciſſus, by

Narciſſus ſacrificed to the revenge and jealouſy of Agrippina.

[y] Tacit. c. 69, Suet. c. 44. [z] Tacit. c. 65. [a] Dio, p. 688.

perſuading him to try the baths of Campania for the recovery of his health. Before he laid violent hands on himſelf, he conſigned to the flames ſeveral letters and ſecret papers againſt Agrippina, which, as the prince's ſecretary, he had in his cuſtody, that her accuſers might not be expoſed to the fury of a woman, whoſe tempeſtuous ſpirit, to uſe his expreſſion, and violent luſt of dominion, if not reſtrained, would ſoon drown Rome in blood [b]. Zonaras tells us, upon what authority we know not, that Narciſſus put an end to his life upon the tomb of Meſſalina [c]. About the ſame time, another victim, far more illuſtrious, was ſacrificed, and indeed unknown to Nero, by the deadly fraud of Agrippina. This was Junius Silanus, proconſul of Aſia, a man of great wealth and equal quality, but of a quiet diſpoſition, and ſo little inclined to raiſe any diſturbances in the ſtate, that he had, during the late reigns, ſpent his life in ſlothful indolence, and even in ſcorn; inſomuch, that Caligula uſed to call him the golden ſheep. However, as upon the death of Claudius, it was whiſpered among the populace, that as Nero was ſcarce out of his childhood, and had by iniquity acquired the empire, ſuch a man as Silanus ought to be preferred to him, one of ripe years, of an unblemiſhed character, and, what was then highly eſteemed, deſcended from the Cæſars; for he too was the great-grand-ſon of Auguſtus; this was enough for Agrippina to diſpatch him; and accordingly ſhe ſent orders, without her ſon's conſent or knowledge, to P. Celer, a Roman knight, and to Helius a freedman, both the emperor's receivers in Aſia, to murder Silanus. Her orders were obeyed, and poiſon was given him at a banquet by the two aſſaſſins, ſo openly, as if they were neither aſhamed nor afraid to own the murder. A torrent of ſlaughter would have followed, had not Afranius Burrhus and Annæus Seneca prevented it. Theſe were the young prince's governors, who was now only in the ſeventeenth year of his age. Though partners in power, yet, by a rare inſtance, they lived free from all jealouſy and emulation, and were of equal weight and authority, though different in their accompliſhments. Burrhus was his inſtructor in the military art, and Seneca in the precepts of eloquence. In theſe different offices they aſſiſted and ſupported each other, the eaſier to manage be-

And Junius Silanus.

Burrhus and Seneca the young prince's governors.

twee

[b] Idem, ibid. [c] Zonar. p. 187.

tween them the dangerous age of the prince, neither of them having any thing in view, any thing at heart, but the ſervice of their illuſtrious pupil and the welfare of the public. They had both one conſtant ſtruggle to maintain againſt the turbulent ſpirit of Agrippina, who, tranſported with the luſt of ruling without controul and ſupported by Pallas, was for ſacrificing, even before the obſequies of her huſband were performed, to her rage and jealouſy, all thoſe who gave her the leaſt umbrage. But Burrhus and Seneca, unanimouſly exerting their authority, reſtrained her blind rage, and kept her within bounds. Nero indeed, heaped all kinds of honours upon her, and to the tribune, who came to attend him, the firſt day of his government, for the word, he gave that of optima mater, excellent mother: the ſenate too, the firſt time they aſſembled, decreed her two lictors, and ſeveral other marks of diſtinction; but the emperor's governors, bearing a greater ſway than ſhe over his youthful mind, prevented her from committing ſuch exceſſes, as ſhe had been guilty of during the late reign [d].

They reſtrain the fury of Agrippina.

NERO's firſt care after his acceſſion to the empire was, to perform, with all poſſible pomp and magnificence, the obſequies of the deceaſed emperor: he pronounced himſelf his funeral oration, in which he diſplayed the antiquity of his lineage, the many conſulſhips, the many triumphs of his anceſtors; he likewiſe touched upon his perſonal accompliſhments, eſpecially his eloquence, and thorough knowledge of the Greek tongue; all which was heard with attention and pleaſure. But when he began to cry up the wiſdom, foreſight, and providence of Claudius, the whole audience broke into a loud laughter; though the ſpeech was of Seneca's compoſing, and diſcovered much accuracy and elegance; for he had, ſays Tacitus, a fine genius and a ſtyle well adapted to the taſte of that time. On this occaſion it was obſerved, that Nero was the firſt Roman emperor who ſtood in need of another man's eloquence; Cæſar the dictator ſtood in rank with the moſt diſtinguiſhed orators, and none of his ſucceſſors wanted eloquence, addreſs, and energy in ſpeaking. But Nero, having from his early childhood applied himſelf to graving, painting, ſinging, and managing

Claudius's funeral praiſes.

[d] Tacit. annal. 13, c. 1, 2. Suet. c. 8. Dio, l. lxi. p. 690.

ing of chariots, was obliged to employ the pen of Seneca, when-ever he had occaſion to ſpeak in public, or even to write letters concerning affairs of any importance. Seneca had one under him, named Beryllus, who is ſtyled by Joſephus [e], Nero's preceptor, but was only his Greek ſecretary.

When the obſequies were over, the young prince repaired to the ſenate, where, after an introduction, in which he acknowledged himſelf indebted for the empire to the authority of the ſenate and the concurrence of the ſoldiery, he declared in what manner he deſigned to govern; that he claimed not the judgment and deciſion of affairs; that the whole power and authority ſhould not be confined to a few perſons, but every magiſtrate ſhould have their peculiar juriſdiction; that nothing ſhould be ſaleable within his walls, nor any acceſs there to informers; that between his family and the republic a juſt diſtinction ſhould ever be be maintained; that the ſenate ſhould preſerve their antient juriſdiction; that Italy and the provinces belonging to the people ſhould apply only to the conſuls, and by them procure acceſs to the fathers; that to himſelf he reſerved what was eſpecially committed to his care, the direction of the armies: he concluded with aſſuring them, that he deſigned to govern his people according to the model of the deified of Auguſtus. The ſenate ordered this ſpeech, which was likewiſe compoſed by Seneca, to be engraved on a plate of ſilver, and to be annually read in the ſenate by the new conſuls [f]. At the ſame time, they accumulated all kinds of honours upon him, which he accepted, without refuſing any, except that of father of his country, in conſideration of his youth [g], which, however, he aſſumed before the ſecond year of his reign expired, as appears from ſome antient medals [h]. He ſeemed at firſt inclined to perform the mighty promiſes, he had made to the ſenate; for this year he gave innumerable inſtances of clemency, moderation, and good-nature: to the people he diſtributed four hundred ſeſterces a man; to ſuch of the ſenators as were deſcended from illuſtrious families, but reduced to poverty, he allowed annual ſalaries, to ſome five hundred thouſand ſeſterces, beſides a certain quantity of corn, which he likewiſe allowed monthly to his guards: many

[e] Joſeph. antiq. l. xx. c. 7. Dio, p. 650. [f] Tacit. c. 3. Suet. c. 10. [g] Suet. c. 8. [h] Vide Goltz. p. 44.

many impoſitions he utterly ſuppreſſed, and retrenched others to a fourth: he redreſſed ſeveral diſorders; reſtrained the profuſe luxury of feaſts and banquets, which had obtained during the late reign, Claudius himſelf being greatly addicted to feaſting; with the approbation of the ſenate he publiſhed an edict, forbidding the ſelling of any thing boiled in public houſes, except pulſe and greens; he ſuppreſſed a kind of ſports, in which certain perſons, running up and down the city, pretended to have by cuſtom a right of robbing, as it were in jeſt, all they met, and carrying off whatever they could ſeize [i]. The ſenate likewiſe depending upon the prince's declaration began to exerciſe their antient juriſdiction, and made various regulations; among the reſt the two following; that no orator or pleader ſhould receive any fee, payment, or preſent, for defending a cauſe; and that thoſe, who were deſigned quæſtors, ſhould be no longer obliged to exhibit public ſhews of gladiators. All this was oppoſed by Agrippina as annulling the acts of Claudius; but Nero preferred the counſels of Burrhus, and Seneca to thoſe of his mother, and the fathers prevailed. However, out of reſpect to her, he cauſed her late huſband Claudius to be ranked among the gods, with all the ſolemnity and pomp of prieſts, altars, and ſacrifices: which gave occaſion to the pleaſantry of Gallio the brother of Seneca, who, hearing of the deification of Claudius, could not help ſaying, that he had been drawn up to heaven with a hook, as the criminals were dragged thro' the Tiber [k]. Towards the end of this year, Nero beſtowed the Leſſer Armenia on Ariſtobulus the ſon of Herod, king of Chalcis; to Sohemus he gave, with the enſigns of royalty and title of king, the country of Sophene, lying between Armenia, Meſopotamia, and Comagene, and added ſome towns of Galilée to the territories which Claudius had given to Agrippa, the ſon of Agrippa, king of Judæa [l]. Before the year expired embaſſadors arrived from Armenia, to plead before Nero a cauſe of their nation; and while the emperor was hearing them, ſeated on the imperial throne, Agrippina appeared all on a ſudden, and was advancing to ſit in joint judgment with the prince. The whole aſſembly was ſtruck with amazement; but no one daring to reſtrain her, Seneca ſuggeſted to him, to deſcend and meet his mother; and thus, under diſguiſe of filial reverence,

Claudius deified.

The unbounded ambition of Agrippina.

[i] Suet. c. 16. Joſeph. ibid. l. xx. c. 5.

[k] Dio, p. 688.

[l] Tacit. c. 5.

verence, that public disgrace was prevented; for the Romans thought it highly ignominious, that foreign nations should believe them to be governed by a woman *. The audience was put off to another day, when Seneca and Burrhus took effectual care to prevent her disturbing it. As her son was but a youth and wholly indebted to her for the sovereignty, she claimed an equal share in it with him, and therefore pretended to answer foreign embassadors jointly with him, to write letters to princes and kings, to dispatch orders to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies; to preside among the Roman eagles, and in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire, which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on her son. She always accompanied him in the same litter, was attended by the same guards, and at first prevailed on the young prince to assemble the senate in the palace, that, posted by a door behind a curtain, she might over-hear the debates without being seen [m]. Seneca and Burrhus, well apprised what dreadful disorders she would raise, if she once got the ascendant over the prince, left no stone unturned to lessen her power; and their attempts were not without success, as we shall find anon. The same year, Nero applied to the senate for a statue to his father, and for the consular ornaments to Asconius Labeo, who had been his tutor. The senate not only complied with his request, but at the same time decreed statues to himself of solid silver and gold, which he absolutely refused, and checked those who proposed them. The senate likewise decreed, that the year should for the future begin on December, the month in which Nero was born; but notwithstanding the ordinance of the senate, he preserved the antient custom of beginning the year with the first of January. Neither would he admit a criminal prosecution against Carinas Celer, a senator, upon the accusation of a slave; nor against Julius Densus, a Roman knight, who was charged with his devotion to Britannicus, as a great crime [n].

Nero's modesty.

Nero's first consulship.

THE following year, Nero, who was by a decree of the senate, to exercise the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, tho' he was now but in his eighteenth, took possession of that dignity, agreeable to the custom of other emperor

* Tacit. ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Idem, c. 11.

emperors, who never failed to aſſume the faſces the year after their acceſſion to the empire. He choſe for his colleague L. Antiſtius Vetus; but would not ſuffer him to ſwear, as was uſual, upon his acts, an action mightily cried up by the fathers, with a deſign to animate his youthful mind to the purſuit of glory reſulting from things of greater moment. At the ſame time he gave a ſignal inſtance of his mercy towards Plautius Lateranus, whom formerly degraded from the order of ſenator for adultery with Meſſalina, he now reſtored to his antient rank. Tacitus obſerves, that he made great profeſſions of clemency in the frequent ſpeeches, which Seneca, the compoſer, uttered in public by his mouth, either to manifeſt what good counſels he gave him, or to diſplay his own wit [o]. After two months he reſigned the faſces; but to whom we are no-where told. This year, Nero firſt began to ſlight the authority of his mother, which was no-ways diſpleaſing to Seneca and Burrhus, who dreaded her violent ſpirit, and expected to ſee the calamities of the late reign renewed, if ſhe came to bear the chief ſway in the adminiſtration. The young prince conceived a violent paſſion for a franchiſed ſlave, by name Acte, and at the ſame time aſſumed as confidents in his amour, Otho and Claudius Senecio; the firſt of a conſular family, the ſame who arrived afterwards at the empire, and the other the ſon of one of the emperor's freedmen. They were both youths of graceful perſons, but utterly abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, and on that ſcore admitted by Nero to an entire intimacy. Seneca and Burrhus were ſoon informed of their pupil's intrigue; but upon mature deliberation thought it adviſeable not to thwart him in his amour, ſince with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the prince ſatisfied his youthful inclinations; whereas, if he were reſtrained from that gallantry, there was room to dread that he would outrageouſly inſult women of the greateſt diſtinction; for he had already conceived an utter averſion to his wife Octavia, however illuſtrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue. Thus reaſoned Burrhus and Seneca, men, without all doubt, of great penetration, experience, and diſcernment [p]. But Dion Caſſius aſcribes to their unſeaſonable condeſcenſion and indulgence the many horrible exceſſes, which will render the name of Nero execrable to the lateſt poſterity.

Begins to ſlight the authority of his mother.

He is indulged by his governors in his paſſion for Acte.

Crimes,

[o] Idem ibid. [p] Tacit. c. 12.

Crimes, ſays that judicious writer, are linked together, and a paſſion when once let looſe, is ſcarce ever again reſtrained within due bounds. The prince's governors meant well; but the prince, finding they did not check the firſt ſallies of his paſſion, took by degrees greater liberties, and at length, impatient of all controul, gave a looſe to his irregular appetites. Thus Dion Caſſius [r]. But, however that be, Agrippina could not diſſemble the irregular conduct of her ſon, not from any motive of virtue, as will ſoon appear, but becauſe ſhe dreaded the extravagant power of a concubine. She left no ſtone unturned to check his growing paſſion; ſhe filled the city with the angry invectives of an incenſed woman, complained, fretted, and ſtormed, that a manumitted ſlave was become her rival, a hand-maid her daughter-in-law. But the fouler her reproaches were, the more they fired his paſſion; ſo that, being at length overcome by its force, he ſhook off all reſpect to his mother, and threw himſelf, without reſerve, into the arms of Seneca, with whom he knew Annæus Serenus (B) lived in cloſe confidence, one who had hitherto cloaked the prince's paſſion for Acte, by pretending to be in love with her himſelf, and had openly preſented her in his own name whatever Nero in ſecret beſtowed upon her. Agrippina was no ſooner appriſed of this, than ſhe changed her arts and addreſs, attempting to regain the confidence of her ſon by ſoft and alluring ſpeeches; ſhe even offered him her own chamber, that there, and, if he pleaſed, within her own arms, he might more privily indulge his paſſion, a paſſion pardonable in one of his youthful years and ſovereign fortune. She even acknowledged her unſeaſonable ſeverity, and made him a tender of all her wealth, which was no much

But checked by his mother.

Who endeavours afterwards to humour him.

[r] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 681.

(B) He was commander of the city guards, and generally eſteemed, notwithſtanding his thus cloaking Nero's paſſion for Acte. To him Seneca inſcribed his book de tranquillitate, and was to ſuch a degree grieved for the loſs of ſo dear and worthy a friend, as he himſelf owns in one of his letters (38), that he deſerved to be ranked among thoſe who had ſuffered themſelves to be overcome by an unmanly grief.

(38) Senec. epiſt. 63.

much ſhort of the imperial treaſures. Thus from being over-ſtrict in checking her ſon, ſhe became all at once beyond all meaſure ſubmiſſive and fawning. This ſudden change deceived not Nero; and his intimate friends, dreading it, beſought him to be upon his guard againſt the ſnares of an implacable and deceitful woman [s].

It happened about this time, that as Nero was ſurveying the rich ornaments, in which the emperors wives and mothers uſed to appear on ſolemn days, he choſe out the moſt pompous and ſtately, and ſent them as preſents to his mother. This the young prince did to convince her, that though he would not be controuled by her, yet he bore her no rancour or ill-will; but Agrippina, tranſported with rage, uttered bitter complaints againſt her ſon, who, ſhe ſaid, by ſending her ſuch trifles, did divide with her what he had wholly received from her. Theſe words, as ſlanderers and tale-bearers are never wanting in courts, were immediately carried to Nero with aggravations, who thereupon provoked with Pallas, by whom chiefly Agrippina was upheld in her ambitious deſigns, diſmiſſed him from his employment, the management of the finances, which he had received from Claudius, and in which he had acted more like the ſovereign director of the empire, than a miniſter. We are told, that as he left the palace, attended by a great throng of followers, Nero ſaid not unpleaſantly, Pallas is going to abdicate the ſovereignty. The emperor, however, aſſured him upon his word, that he ſhould not be queſtioned for his paſt behaviour, and that as to his accounts, the public ſhould have no more demands upon him, than he upon the public. Thus Pallas forfeited his power, but preſerved immenſe wealth, amounting to ſeven millions of our money, to the hour of his death, which happened in the eighth year of Nero's reign, as we ſhall relate in its proper place. The diſgrace of Pallas provoked Agrippina to ſuch a degree, that, not able to refrain her rage, ſhe abandoned herſelf to it without controul, uttering dreadful threats and curſes even in the emperor's hearing. Britannicus, ſaid ſhe, is now grown up, the true and worthy ſon of Claudius; he is now fit to aſſume the empire of his father, an empire, which one, who is a ſon only by adoption, holds to the prejudice of the lawful heir, and exerts his ill-acquired power chiefly by abuſing and inſulting his mother: ſhe threatened

A new motive of miſunderſtanding between Nero and Agrippina.

Pallas diſmiſſed.

His diſgrace highly reſented by Agrippina.

[s] Tacit. c. 13.

threatened to lay open to the world all her infamous practices, all the ſteps ſhe had taken to ſecure the empire to the ungrateful monſter her ſon, the ſurreptitious adoption, her own guilt in poiſoning her huſband, the crying calamities ſhe had brought upon her own family, the unhappy houſe of Germanicus, &c. She added, that only one comfort by the providence of the gods remained to her, that her ſtep-ſon was yet alive; with him ſhe would repair to the camp, and there leave it to the deciſion of the ſoldiery, whether the prating pedagogue Seneca and the maimed Burrhus, or the ſon of the deified Claudius and the daughter of the renowned Germanicus, ſhould have the ſovereign rule of mankind. At the ſame time, ſhe ſhook her fiſt at the emperor himſelf, toſſed her hands, uttered all manner of reproaches, curſes, imprecations; devoted the monſter, as ſhe called her ſon, and his governors to the infernal furies, invoked the manes of her huſband Claudius, of the Silani, and many others, whom ſhe had murdered to no purpoſe. This alarmed Nero, and as Britannicus the next day ended the fourteenth year of his age, when he was to take the manly robe, the emperor began ſeriouſly to reflect with himſelf, now on the violent temper of his mother, then upon the promiſing genius of the youth, of which he had given in the late feaſts of Saturn a glaring proof, and gained by it the favour and eſteem of all. Beſides many other innocent diverſions practiſed on that occaſion by the Roman youth of the like age and condition, it was an ancient cuſtom among them to chuſe a king, whoſe commands, what ever they were, the whole company was bound to obey. The king was choſen by lot, and in the palace, where the emperor, who was himſelf but a youth, Britannicus, and other children of the firſt quality, diverted themſelves with this paſtime; the lot fell upon Nero, who thereupon gave to all the reſt different commands, yet ſuch as expoſed them to no ridicule; but that to Britannicus was to ſtand up in the middle of the company, and then ſing a ſong. He hoped the boy, unaccuſtomed as he was to company, and quite ignorant how to behave himſelf in public, would become an object of laughter. But Britannicus, to the great ſurpriſe of all, with a becoming modeſty, and undiſturbed addreſs, though the eyes of the whole court were upon him, raiſed his voice, and ſung a few verſes importing that he was bereft of his natural inheritance, and unjuſtly deprived of the authority to which he was born.

Nero endeavours to expoſe Britannicus to ridicule.

The modeſt and comely aſpect of the youth, the deep concern which he betrayed in every note, and the reflections which all, who were preſent, made within themſelves, drew ſighs and tears from the whole company. Nero, ſtruck with the addreſs of the youth, but more with the verſes he ſung, immediately withdrew, as did all the reſt in ſilence, to give free vent to their grief in private, and let their tears flow unreſtrained. From that time, Nero conceived an irreconcileable hatred to the innocent youth, and being now alarmed at the threats of his mother, he reſolved to rid himſelf of one, whom he no longer looked upon as a brother, but as a competitor. But not daring openly to command the execution of a perſon of his rank, whom he could reproach with no crime, he ordered poiſon to be privately prepared, employing as his agent Julius Pollio, tribune of a prætorian cohort, in whoſe cuſtody was kept under condemnation for poiſoning the famous Locuſta, who had adminiſtered poiſon to Claudius. As for thoſe who were about the perſon of Britannicus, Agrippina had long ſince taken care, that they ſhould be ſuch as had no ſenſe of honour or honeſty. The doſe was therefore haſtily prepared by Locuſta, and adminiſtered to the young prince by the hands of his governors; but whether it was not powerful enough in itſelf, or, to prevent a diſcovery by its ſudden operation, it had been qualified, it was without effect, being voided by a loſeneſs. Hereupon Nero threatened the tribune with immediate death, and would have ordered Locuſta to be executed, purſuant to her former ſentence, for preferring her own ſafety to the ſecurity of the prince, had ſhe not undertaken to prepare a doſe, which ſhe engaged, ſhould diſpatch him as ſuddenly as a dagger. Accordingly the deadly potion, compounded of ſeveral poiſons, all of experienced energy and quickneſs, was prepared in a chamber next to the emperor's and in his preſence. The opportunity to give it him was taken while he was dining with the emperor; but at a ſeparate table, and more ſparingly ſerved, as it was the manner of the children of the reigning family, who were never admitted to the emperor's table, but took their meals apart with other young noblemen, not in a lying, but ſitting, poſture. Whatever the princes of the imperial family eat or drank, was firſt tried by a ſpecial officer of theirs, a taſter. To the end therefore, that neither this cuſtom might be omitted, nor the iniquity be diſcovered, by the death of both,

Reſolves upon his deſtruction.

the matter was thus concerted. To Britannicus drink was preſented without poiſon, and tried by the taſter, but ſcalding hot, and for that reaſon returned. It was then tempered with cold water, into which poiſon had been poured before-hand, of ſuch force and quickneſs in its operation, that Britannicus had ſcarce drunk it when he fell to the ground, bereft at once of ſpeech and life. Fear and trembling ſeized his companions; ſome inſtantly made off, but others, who comprehended the myſtery, remained with their eyes fixed ſtedfaſtly upon Nero, who with the air of one utterly ignorant, declared, that it was only an uſual fit of the falling ſickneſs, to which Britannicus had been ſubject from his early childhood, and that by degrees his ſight and underſtanding would return. Agrippina and the young prince's ſiſter Octavia were both preſent, but ſtrove to conceal their grief and ſurpriſe; wherein Octavia indeed topped her part, having learnt, however raw in years, art fully to diſſemble every ſymptom of grief and tenderneſs and every other affection of her ſoul. But Agrippina, ſenſible that her laſt refuge was ſnatched from her, could not help betraying manifeſt tokens of dread and conſternation. However, with diſguiſed looks, ſhe endeavoured to ſmother her concern; ſo that after a ſhort ſilence the gaiety of the entertainment was reſumed [t]. Suetonius tells us, that Titus afterwards emperor, being among the other young noblemen at table with Britannicus, when he drank the baneful potion, taſted it, but recovered after a lingering and dangerous illneſs [u]. This is no-ways conſiſtent, as every reader muſt perceive, with the detail, which Tacitus, of all the antient writers the moſt accurate, gives us of that remarkable incident.

Britannicus poiſoned.

His funeral

Upon one and the ſame day were ſeen the untimely fate of Britannicus and his funeral pile, to which the corſe was conveyed in the evening, all things belonging to his funeral having been prepared before-hand. His remains were repoſited in the field of Mars without any pomp, ſolemnity, or even a funeral oration; though he was the laſt branch of the Claudian family, which had ſubſiſted in great ſplendor, and upon its own ſtock, without adoptions, ever ſince the time of Romulus, that is, for the ſpace of eight hundred and three years. During the funeral a violent and tempeſtu-

ſhow-

[t] Idem, c. 16, 17. [u] Suet. in Tit. c. 2.

ſhower of rain fell, which the populace looked upon as a declaration of the wrath of the gods for ſuch a crying iniquity, while others, reflecting on the eternal diſſenſions of rival brothers, and the unſociable genius of ſovereignty, called it a pardonable crime [w]. Nero by an edict juſtified the haſty diſpatch of the obſequies, complained, that in Britannicus he had loſt the ſupport of a brother, and exhorted the fathers to cheriſh with the greater tenderneſs a prince, who alone ſurvived of a family, born to ſuſtain the ſovereign power. He then diſtributed the poſſeſſions of Britannicus, his palaces in Rome, his manors and villas throughout Italy, like ſpoils taken in war, among the chief perſons of his court, to purchaſe by ſuch donations their approbation, or at leaſt their ſilence. Tacitus tells us, that ſome were ſeverely cenſured for ſharing in theſe diſtributions, notwithſtanding the ſeverity and uprightneſs they profeſſed. He means, no doubt, Burrhus and Seneca; but endeavours to excuſe them, by adding, that they were perhaps conſtrained to accept the preſents by the authority of the emperor, who, being ſtung with the guilt of his own conſcience, hoped, that his crimes would be overlooked, if by largeſſes he could engage, as it were, in the ſame guilt, perſons of ſuch credit and reputation. In this diſtribution Nero did not forget his mother, but could by no liberalities calm her tempeſtuous ſpirit. She careſſed Octavia, the deceaſed prince's ſiſter and the emperor's wife; held frequently ſecret cabals with her confidents, and was on all hands amaſſing treaſure, as if ſhe had ſome great deſign to ſupport with it: ſhe paid great court to the tribunes and centurions, and received in the moſt obliging manner ſuch of the nobility as came to wait upon her. Theſe meaſures were known to Nero, who thereupon withdrew the prætorian guards, which attended her, as conſort of the late emperor and mother to this, and alſo the band of Germans, which, as a farther honour, had been added to the former: at the ſame time, he commanded her to quit the palace, and retire to the houſe, which had belonged to her grandmother Antonia. He repaired thither now and then to viſit her, but always ſurrounded with a croud of officers, and withdrew after a ſhort compliment. Agrippina was immediately deſerted in her new habitation; the throng of courtiers, who daily frequented her levee while ſhe lived in the palace, inſtantly vaniſhed;

Nero's hypocriſy.

Agrippina driven out of the palace.

[w] Tacit, c. 17.

vaniſhed; no one appeared to comfort her in her diſgrace, no one to viſit her, except a ſmall number of ladies, and theſe not from any friendſhip or affection, to which inſects, who frequent courts, are commonly no leſs ſtrangers than to virtue and honeſty, but to watch all the words and actions of the diſgraced princeſs, and carry them with the uſual aggravations of tale-bearers to the emperor. Among theſe was Julia Silana, whom Caius Silius had divorced, as we have related above, to marry Meſſalina. She was no leſs infamous for her lewdneſs than renowned on account of her high birth and extraordinary beauty; had been long dear to Agrippina, and had for a conſiderable while lived with her in great intimacy; but being afterwards diſguſted with her for diverting Sextius Africanus, a noble youth, from marrying her, ſhe reſolved now to make Agrippina pay dear for the wrong done her. With this view ſhe inſtructed two of her own creatures, Iturius and Calviſius, to accuſe her, as if ſhe deſigned to marry Rubellius Plautus, great-grandſon to Auguſtus, with a view to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate. This was by Iturius and Calviſius imparted to Atimetus, the freedman of Domitia, Nero's aunt, and by him to Paris, the celebrated player, who was alſo Domitia's freedman. Paris haſtened to the emperor, laid before him a minute detail of the pretended conſpiracy, and ſo terrified him, that without any further enquiries, he reſolved not only to put his mother and Plautus to death, but to remove Burrhus, the captain of his guards, as one who owed his promotion to Agrippina. Some authors write, that a commiſſion was already diſpatched to Cæcina Thuſcus, intruſting him with the command of the prætorian bands; but that Burrhus retained his dignity by the intereſt and mediation of Seneca: others write, that no jealouſy was entertained of that officer's fidelity. However that be, Nero could not be diverted from the cruel purpoſe of killing his mother, till Burrhus took upon him to ſee her executed, in caſe ſhe were convicted of the crimes laid to her charge; but every one, he ſaid, ought to be heard before condemnation, and much more a mother. Early next morning, Burrhus and Seneca, attended by ſome of the emperor's freedmen to watch their diſcourſe, went to wait on Agrippina, and notify to her the charge brought againſt her, and give her the names of her accuſers. She received them with great haughtineſs, and when her crimes were explained to her, defended herſelf with her wonted fierceneſs, but at the ſame time with ſuch

She is accuſed unjuſtly.

Burrhus intercedes for her.

energy

energy, that Seneca and Burrhus, fully convinced of her innocence, not only declared her free from all guilt, but at her requeſt prevailed with the emperor to grant her an interview, during which ſhe took not the leaſt notice of the crimes laid to her charge, as if her innocence were ſufficiently known, nor of the obligations he owed her, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to reproach him with ingratitude; but confidently demanded, that vengeance ſhould be taken of her accuſers and ſuitable rewards conferred on her friends, and obtained both. Among her friends Fenius Rufus was honoured with the charge of ſupplying the city with corn; to Aruntius Stella was given the direction of certain public ſhews; to Caius Balbilius was aſſigned the government of Egypt, and that of Syria to Publius Anteius, who was nevertheleſs under various pretences detained at Rome. Of her accuſers, Silana, Calviſius, and Iturius were ſent into exile; againſt Atimetus ſentence of death was pronounced and executed; but Paris, the emperor's inſeparable companion in his debauchees, was diſmiſſed without any puniſhment [x]. This year Pallas and Burrhus were charged with a deſign of raiſing to the empire Cornelius Sylla, who had married Antonia, the late emperor's daughter; but the charge appearing evidently forged, they were both declared innocent. The arrogance of Pallas, however innocent, gave on this occaſion no ſmall offence; for the accuſer naming to him ſome of his freedmen, whom he pretended to have been his accomplices, the franchiſed ſlave had the impudence to anſwer, that he never condeſcended to ſpeak to any of his domeſtics, but conſtantly ſignified his pleaſure to them by a nod, a motion of his hand, or, if his commands conſiſted of many particulars, in writing, that they might thus learn to keep their diſtance. Burrhus, though accuſed, ſat and voted with the other judges, by whom the accuſer Petus was condemned to baniſhment. Towards the cloſe of the year, the emperor cauſed the cohort to be removed, which uſed to attend, as a guard, at the public ſports, to exhibit thereby a plauſible appearance of popular liberty, and alſo to prevent the ſoldiery from tainting their diſcipline with the licentiouſneſs of the theatre [y]. Such was Nero, during the firſt year of his reign, when he gloried in not having ſhed one drop of blood, as we learn from the books of clemency, which Seneca inſcribed to him ſome time after he had entered the nine-

She is found innocent, and returns into favour.

The arrogance of Pallas.

[x] Tacit. c. 29—22. [y] Idem, c. 22—24.

teenth year of his age, that is, about the fifty-fifth of the Chriſtian æra. The chief aim of that excellent writer throughout the whole work is to imprint deeply in the mind of his pupil, that a general and extenſive beneficence is the genuine characteriſtic of a good prince; that thoſe who are entruſted with the ſovereign power, are not only bound to protect the innocent and guiltleſs, but often extend their mercy and good nature to thoſe who may ſeem unworthy of their favour and protection. This he inſinuates to have hitherto been practiſed by Nero, and relates a celebrated ſaying of the young prince, who being deſired by Burrhus to ſign a warrant for the execution of two public robbers, put it off from time to time; but Burrhus preſſing him to diſpatch that affair, he at laſt ſet his hand to the warrant with the utmoſt reluctance, which he expreſſed with the following words mightily extolled by Seneca: Oh had I never learnt to write [z]!

A ſignal inſtance of Nero's clemency.

The following year, Quintus Voluſius Saturninus and P. Cornelius Scipio being conſuls, Nero began to induge with more liberty his youthful inclinations, his debauched companions, eſpecially Otho and Senecio, of whom we have ſpoken above, inceſſantly repeating in his ears, that he was no longer a child, to be awed by a Burrhus or a Seneca; that they ought to tremble before him, as their ſovereign, and not he before them, as his tutors and maſters, &c. A youth are more ſuſceptible of bad than good counſels, the young prince in ſpite of the wholeſome advice of his governors, abandoned himſelf to unſeaſonable revellings, and filled Rome with innumerable diſorders. For, unmindful of his rank and diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlave, he ſcoured in the night the ſtreets, the public inns, and the ſtews, followed by his debauched companions, who ſeized as a lawful prey whatever they found expoſed to ſale, and aſſaulted whomſoever they met. In theſe frolics he often ran great dangers, and once was ſo wounded in the face, that he ever afterwards bore the ſcar, no one imagining it was the emperor who thus roamed and rioted about the ſtreets. But when that came to be known, his name was falſly aſſumed as a cloak by others, who in ſeparate gangs practiſed the ſame exceſſes; ſo that ſuch combuſtions happened almoſt every night in the city, as if it had been ſtormed by an enemy.

Nero abandons himſelf to revelling and debauchery.

[z] Senec. de clem. l. ii. c. 1. Suet. c. 10.

enemy. The prince having one night offered ſome affront to a woman of diſtinction, as ſhe was returning home in the dark, her huſband, by name Julius Montanus, a ſenator, who attended her, not only repulſed the aggreſſor, but handled him ſo roughly, that he was for ſeveral days obliged to keep his room: Suetonius ſays, he was almoſt killed. However, he diſſembled this treatment ſo long as it remained unknown to whom it had been offered; but Montanus having at laſt diſcovered it was the emperor, and thereupon implored by a letter his forgiveneſs, Nero thinking he reproached him by owning he knew him, obliged him by threats and menaces to lay violent hands on himſelf. Thenceforth the emperor became more cautious, and was conſtantly attended in his nocturnal rambles by a party of his guards, and a numerous train of gladiators, following him at ſome diſtance, who, however, were ordered not to interpoſe, till the princes's party was quite overcome. He likewiſe took great delight in ſtirring up and inflaming the different factions in the play-houſe, that favoured particular players; and when they were engaged, as it were, in battle, it was a great diverſion to him to throw ſtones and pieces of broken benches among them, with which he once dangerouſly wounded a prætor in the head. Theſe tumults rent the whole city into parties and factions, ſome favouring one player, and ſome another; inſomuch that, greater and more dangerous commotions being apprehended, no other remedy was found, but that of driving the players out of Italy, and recalling the ſoldiers to guard the theatre at the celebration of the public ſhews [a]. Under the ſame conſuls, Vipſanius Lenas was accuſed of extortion in his government of Sardinia, and condemned to baniſhment: Ceſtius Proculus, charged with the ſame crime, was acquitted: Clodius Quirinalis, commander of the fleet which rode at Ravenna, being convicted of ſeveral acts of cruelty, prevented by poiſon his impending condemnation: Caninius Rebilus, one of the ableſt civilians and richeſt citizens in Rome, redeemed himſelf from the uneaſineſs of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins, which was thought the more ſurpriſing, as he had ever been infamous for his effeminacy and laſciviouſneſs. The ſame year, died Lucius Voluſius Saturninus, in the ninety-third year of his age, a man of great

Players driven out of Italy.

[a] Tacit. c. 25. Suet. c. 26. Dio, in excerpt, Val. p. 685.

great integrity, wealth, and intereſt, and nevertheleſs, what to Tacitus ſeems a kind of prodigy, never obnoxious to, or diſturbed by, any of the bloody emperors under whom he lived [b]. He was father to Quintus Voluſius, this year's conſul, who was born to him in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age: he was governor of Rome when he died [c].

Several inſtances of Nero's generoſity, good-nature, &c.

THE next conſuls were Nero, the ſecond time, and L. Calpurnius Piſo, who, after ſix months, reſigned the faſces to Ducennius Geminius and Pompeius Paulinus. This year Nero remitted the duty upon the ſale of ſlaves, diſtributed to the populace a largeſs of four hundred ſmall ſeſterces a man, and iſſued an edict, forbidding all governors of provinces to exhibit any public ſhews, being well appriſed, that ſuch acts of munificence were only deſigned to ſtop the mouths of the people, who in the end bore the whole charge; ſo that the liberality of the governors and their avarice concurred equally to undo them. He likewiſe conſented, with great readineſs, to a decree of the ſenate, enacting, that if any one was killed by his ſlaves, thoſe who had been manumitted, if they ſtill continued under the ſame roof, ſhould be executed with his other ſlaves. Lucius Varius, who had been conſul, but formerly degraded for extortion, he reſtored to his rank; and referred Pomponia Græcina, a lady of great diſtinction, but accuſed of having embraced a foreign ſuperſtition, ſays Tacitus, meaning probably the chriſtian religion, purſuant to the antient cuſtom, to the inquiſition of her huſband. She was married to Aulus Plautius, the ſame who, by his conqueſts in Britain in the reign of Claudius, had deſerved an ovation. Plautius aſſembled his relations, took together with them cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, and declared her innocent. P. Celer, was accuſed of many crimes by the province of Aſia; but as he had diſpatched by poiſon the proconſul Silanus, as we have related above, that crime covered all his other enormities; ſo that Nero, aſhamed to diſcharge him and unwilling to condemn him, lengthened out the proceſs till he died of old age. Eprius Marcellus was accuſed by the Lycians of extortion; but abſolved, though evidently guilty; nay, ſo powerful a faction was formed in his favour, that ſome of his accuſers were puniſhed with exile, as if they had conſpired the ruin of an innocent man.

The

[b] Tacit. c. 30. [c] Plin. l. vii. c. 8.

The Cilicians had better ſucceſs in the proſecution of Coſſutianus Capito, who, for his extortions, was condemned to baniſhment [c].

THE following year, Nero entered upon his third conſulſhip; but held it only four months. His collegue was Valerius Meſſala, to whom, as he was of an illuſtrious family but by misfortunes reduced to poverty, Nero generouſly preſented a yearly penſion of five hundred great ſeſterces. At the ſame time he aſſigned annual appointments to other ſenators, who did not deſerve them, having waſted their paternal wealth in voluptuouſneſs and riotous living. This year Publius Suilius, an abandoned accuſer, who had made a great figure during the reign of Claudius, and with his venal eloquence procured the ruin of many illuſtrious citizens, was arraigned of various crimes. He was charged with the death of Poppæa Sabina, of Julia the daughter of Druſus, Valerius Aſiaticus, of Lucius Saturninus, of Cornelius Lupus, and of whole bands of Roman knights condemned at his inſtigation; in ſhort, all the cruelties committed in the late reign were imputed to Suilius. In his defence he urged, that he had engaged in none of theſe accuſations of his own accord, but purely in obedience to the prince. But Nero checked this plea, by declaring, that from the memoirs of Claudius it evidently appeared, that no accuſation whatſoever had been undertaken by his orders. The accuſed then pleaded the commands of Meſſalina: but this too was reckoned a weak defence; for why, it was ſaid, had no other advocate but Suilius been ſingled out to accompliſh the bloody purpoſes of that proſtitute? Seneca ſeems to have been the chief and moſt ſanguine promoter of this proſecution; for againſt him chiefly Suilius inveighed, reproaching him with contaminating the beds of princeſſes, meaning Julia, Germanicus's daughter; with hunting after inheritances, and catching the rich and childleſs as it were, in his net; with his exhauſting all Italy and the provinces by his exceſſive uſury; with amaſſing, by what precept of wiſdom, by what principles of philoſophy, he ſaid, he knew not, a treaſure of more than ſeven millions, in the ſhort ſpace of four years. Theſe reproaches, ſays Tacitus, did not a little taint the reputation and character of his antagoniſt Seneca. Suilius, however, was condemned, and baniſhed

Relieves poor ſenators.

P. Suilius accuſed.

His invectives againſt Seneca.

[c] Tacit. c. 32—34.

niſhed to the Balearic iſlands on the coaſt of Spain. In hatred to him his ſon Nerulinus was alſo arraigned; but Nero interpoſed, alledging that public vengeance was ſufficiently ſatiated by the doom of the father [d]. This year was firſt kindled Nero's paſſion for the celebrated Poppæa Sabina; a paſſion which proved the ſource of heavy calamities to the Roman ſtate. She was the daughter of another Poppæa Sabina, put to death by Meſſalina's orders, as we have related above, and Titus Ollius, a ſenator. As Poppæus Sabinus, her mother's father, had ſhone in the republic, borne the conſular dignity, and been honoured with triumphal ornaments, ſhe borrowed his name, and called herſelf Poppæa Sabina; for to her own father the friendſhip of Sejanus had proved fatal, before he had attained to any dignity. She poſſeſſed every ornament becoming her ſex, except that of virtue; in beauty ſhe excelled all the women of her time; her wit, engaging addreſs, and ſprightly converſation charmed all who converſed with her. But her lewdneſs knew no bounds, nor was ſhe controuled in the purſuit of it by the awe of fame. Between huſband and adulterer ſhe made no diſtinction, ſays Tacitus, but was ever ready to gratify her own inclinations, without regarding any ties, however binding. Hence, tho' ſhe was married to Rufus Criſpinus, a Roman knight, and by him had a ſon, ſhe was not aſhamed to leave him, and live publicly with Otho, a gay youth and the emperor's reigning favourite. This commerce of adultery was ſoon followed by their marriage, Criſpinus readily conſenting to a divorce. Otho, now her huſband, was continually extolling to Nero the beauty and charms of his wife, being prompted thereunto either by the indiſcreet warmth of a lover, or by a deſire of kindling in the young princes's breaſt the like paſſion, and procuring, from their common enjoyment of the ſame woman, an additional ſupport to his preſent authority. Nero's paſſion was eaſily inflamed; he deſired to ſee Poppæa, an interview was appointed, and the emperor, in his firſt converſation with her, was ſo taken with her ſoft arts, with her addreſs and careſſes, that he carried her to the palace and there detained her. But the artful Poppæa, after a night or two, when ſhe had worked up the prince's affection to the higheſt pitch, changed her former behaviour into haughtineſs, importuning the emperor to let her return to her huſband, whom of all men ſhe thought the moſt deſerving, the moſt worthy of her affection. Here-

Poppæa Sabina her character.

She captivates Nero.

upon

[d] Idem, c. 42, 43.

upon Otho was immediately forbidden the palace, debarred of all intercourſe, and even acceſs to the emperor, and ſoon after, to prevent his having any communication with Poppæa, preferred to the government of Luſitania; a government which he adminiſtered for the ſpace of ten years with eminent uprightneſs and honour, having acquired no leſs reputation in authority, by his gravity and regular conduct, than he had deſerved infamy in a private ſtation, by a moſt voluptuous and diſſolute life • (C). Thus Nero enjoyed Poppæa without a rival, and was for ſome time entirely governed by pernicious and deſtructive councils, as we ſhall relate anon. This year Cornelius Sylla, who had married Antonia the daughter of Claudius, being falſly accuſed of forming a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, was baniſhed his country, as if he had been a traitor fully convicted, and confined

Otho ſent into Luſitania.

• Tacit. c. 45, 46. Suet. in Oth. c. 3. Joſeph. antiq. l. xx. c. 7.

(C) Suetonius tells us, that Nero, conceiving a paſſion for Poppæa, took her from her huſband, and ſent her to Otho, who, receiving her into his houſe under colour of marriage, was ſo taken with her charms, that he pretended to ingroſs her wholly to himſelf, and not only refuſed to admit ſuch as were ſent to her from Nero, but once ſhut out the emperor himſelf, tho' he earneſtly entreated him to deliver her up to him, and added menaces to his entreaties. Upon this Nero, to deliver himſelf from ſo troubleſome a rival, preferred him to the government of Luſitania, now Portugal, fearing that a more ſevere puniſhment might diſcover the whole intrigue; yet ſo far it was known, that the following lampoon was made and diſperſed;

Cur Otho mentito ſit, quæritis, exul honore?
Uxoris mœchus cæperat eſſe ſuæ.

That is, Why was Otho baniſhed under colour of an honourable preferment? Becauſe he became the adulterer of his own wife. Plutarch, in the life of Galba, tells us, that Nero would not have been ſatisfied with ſo ſlight a puniſhment, had not Seneca, who had a great friendſhip for Otho, prevailed upon the emperor to condemn him only to an honourable exile, which would put him in full poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs (39).

(39) Plut. in Galb.

confined within the walls of Marſeilles (D). The ſame year, as the people complained loudly of the arbitrary exactions of the publicans, Nero was for entirely ſuppreſſing all taxes and duties, thinking that the greateſt bounty he could beſtow upon mankind; but the ſenate, after many high encomiums on the greatneſs of his ſoul, reſtrained him, by remonſtrating, that the ſuppreſſion of all taxes muſt neceſſarily be attended with a diſſolution of the empire. The prince therefore contented himſelf with ordaining by an edict, that all the regulations relating to the revenues, which till then had been kept ſecret, ſhould be hung up in public, to the end every one might know the preciſe ſum he was to contribute; that the publicans ſhould exact no claims for above a year backward; that all cauſes againſt them ſhould be immediately heard and determined by the prætor at Rome, and in the provinces by the proprætors and proconſuls for the time being, with other the like entirely equitable injunctions, which, however, grew ſoon obſolete, tho' the ſuppreſſion of the quadrageſima or fortieth penny, and of the quinquageſima or fiftieth, as alſo of ſome other impoſitions, continued in force at leaſt till the reign of Adrian. At the ſame time, to encourage the tranſportation of grain from the tranſmarine provinces, it was ordained, that no duty ſhould be paid for the ſame [f].

Nero deſigns to ſuppreſs all taxes.

Iſſues ſeveral equitable regulations.

In

[f] Tacit, c. 51, 52. Suet. c. 10.

(D) Sylla was accuſed by one Graptus, Nero's freedman, an old, ſubtle, and wicked courtier, well practiſed, ever ſince the reign of Tiberius, in the dark devices of the emperors. He, upon this occaſion, forged the following plot. The Milvian bridge was then the ſcene of nocturnal revellings; and thither Nero frequently reſorted, that he might there the more licentiouſly riot without the city. Graptus therefore pretended, that a plot was laid for him, as he ſhould return from thence by the Flaminian way; but he had, by the providence of the gods eſcaped it in coming home through the gardens of Salluſt; and that Sylla was at the head of this conſpiracy. The only foundation of all this was, that certain debauched youths had in ſport filled with groundleſs fears ſome of the emperor's attendants, as they were repairing back to the palace. But Sylla was, by his marriage with Antonia, Claudius's daughter, nearly allied to the family of the Cæſars; and Nero miſtook his natural heavineſs and indolence, which rendered him unequal to any attempt of treaſon for deep artifice and diſſimulation; and hence his ruin (40).

(40) Tacit. ibid.

In Germany, affairs having continued in a ſtate of tranquillity till this time, the commanders of the Roman armies, having no enemy to contend with, kept their troops employed in various works. Paulinus Pompeius, who commanded in Lower Germany, perfected a dam, which Druſus had begun threeſcore and three years before, to reſtrain the overflowing of the Rhine. A modern writer places it in the neighbourhood of Duerſtede or Wick above Utrecht [g]. Lucius Vetus, who commanded in Upper Germany, undertook a work truly great, ſtupendous, and worthy of the Roman grandeur, which was to dig a canal of communication between the Sône and the Moſelle, that the armies from Italy, ſailing by ſea into the Rhone, and then into the Sône, might fall through this canal into the Moſelle, thence through the Rhine into the ocean; ſo that a communication might be opened between the Mediterranean and the ſaid ſea. But Ælius Gracilis, governor of Belgic Gaul, through which the Moſelle flowed, jealous of the glory which Vetus would have acquired by ſo great and uſeful an undertaking, warned him not to bring his troops into another man's province, and at the ſame time threatened him with the diſpleaſure of the emperor, who would be alarmed at ſuch an enterprize, imagining it undertaken with a private view to court the affections of the Gauls. Thus was that glorious project dropped [h]. Theſe things ſeem to have happened in the firſt year of Nero's reign; for our hiſtorian relates in this place the tranſactions of ſeveral years. Afterwards, that is, according to Onuphrius, in the third year of the ſame prince's reign, Paulinus being ſucceeded by Dubius Avitus, and Vetus by T. Curulius Mancias, the Friſians, under the conduct of Verritus and Malarigis, poſſeſſed themſelves of certain lands, which, being void of inhabitants, had been applied to the uſe of the Roman ſoldiers, who were wont to ſend their horſes and cattle to graze there. They had already founded their dwellings and ſown their fields, when Avitus threatened to drive them from thence, unleſs they firſt obtained from the emperor a grant of thoſe territories. Hereupon the two chiefs proceeded to Rome, where, while they waited for acceſs to Nero, among the ſeveral ſights which were uſually exhibited to ſtrangers, they were conducted to Pompey's theatre, to aſſiſt at a public ſhew. There, while they were gazing round

The ſtate of affairs on the Rhine.

The Friſians poſſeſs themſelves of lands belonging to the Romans.

[g] Buch. de Belg. l. v. c. 5. [h] Tacit. c. 53.

round them, ſurveying with aſtoniſhment the multitudes of people, and informing themſelves which were the Roman knights, where ſat the ſenators, &c. They ſpied certain perſons in a foreign dreſs ſitting among the latter, and aſked who they were? This is a diſtinction, anſwered the interpreter, conferred by the Roman people on the embaſſadors of ſuch nations, as have ſignalized their bravery in war and fidelity towards us. If ſo replyed the two chiefs, we claim a right to ſit there too; for amongſt men there is not a nation, which in fidelity and feats of arms ſurpaſſes the Germans; and thus leaving their ſeats, they placed themſelves amongſt the ſenators; a proceeding highly applauded by the numerous aſſembly, as the effect of an honeſt emulation. Nero honoured them both with the rights of Roman citizens; but commanded them to abandon their new poſſeſſions: which their countrymen refuſing to do, Avitus, by a ſudden irruption, put many of them to the ſword, and forced the reſt to comply with the emperor's orders[t].

Are driven from thence by Avitus.

Some time after, the Anſibarii, being driven out of their own country by the Chauci, took poſſeſſion of the ſame lands, being ſupported by the neighbouring nations, who pitied their forlorn condition, and led by a man of great renown and of known fidelity towards the Romans, his name Boiocalus. He alledged to Avitus, in behalf of himſelf and his people, that upon the revolt of the Cheruſci, when Varus and his legions were ſlaughtered, he had been thrown into bonds by Arminius; that he had afterwards ſerved under Tiberius, then under Germanicus, and, to the merit of forty years ſervice, was ready to add that of ſubmitting his people to the empire of Rome. He remonſtrated, that the territory in diſpute was large and lay waſte; that he might allow to an unhappy people, driven from their own habitations, ſettlements in it, and at the ſame time retain wide tracts for the horſes and cattle of the Roman ſoldiers to graze and range in; that it was inconſiſtent with humanity to famiſh men in order to feed their beaſts, and with religion to devote to diſmal deſerts and ſolitude any part of the earth, which was by the gods appropriated to the children of men; that ſuch parts of it as none poſſeſſed, were free and common to all. Then lifting up his eyes to the ſun and the other celeſtial luminaries, he aſked them, how they could bear to behold a deſolate ſoil? and would they not

The Anſibarii poſſeſs themſelves of the ſame lands.

[t] Idem. c. 54.

more juſtly let looſe the ſea to ſwallow up uſurpers who thus engroſſed the earth? Avitus, provoked at this language, made no other reply, than that the weakeſt muſt ſubmit to the more powerful; and that ſince the gods, to whom they appealed, had left the ſovereign judgment to the Romans, other judges than themſelves they would ſuffer none. This anſwer he gave in public; but to Boiocalus in private he offered lands, as an acknowledgment of his long attachment to the Romans. But this offer the brave German looked upon as a price propoſed for betraying his people, and rejected it with indignation, adding, "A place to live in we may want, but a place to die in we cannot." Thus they parted with mutual animoſity. The Anſibarii invited into a confederacy the bordering nations; but Curtilius Mancias, who commanded in Upper Germany, paſſing the Rhine at the head of his legions, threatened them with deſolation and ſlaughter, if they lent any aſſiſtance to the enemies of Rome. On the other hand, they were awed by Avitus, who likewiſe appeared with his legions on the banks of the Rhine; ſo that the unhappy Anſibarii, deſerted by all, had recourſe to the Uſipetes, the Tubantes, the Catti, and the Cheruſci, begging leave to ſettle in their territories; but being every-where driven out as enemies and intruders, in theſe long and various wanderings the people periſhed [k]. This year, the Juhones, a people in alliance with Rome, who are ſuppoſed to have inhabited the countries of Naſſau and Iſemburg, were afflicted with the ſudden eruption of a ſubterraneous fire, which conſumed their farms, towns, and dwellings, and was advancing with great fury to the walls of Cologn, when certain boors, after having in vain attempted to extinguiſh it with the throwing of water and other uſual expedients, tranſported with rage, vented their wrath by attacking it at a diſtance with vollies of ſtones. This, to their great ſurprize, allayed its fury; which no ſooner began to abate, than they proceeded to a cloſer attack with clubs and blows, as in an encounter with an enemy, and at length, which was ſtill more ſurpriſing, they quite got the better of the devouring conflagration, by throwing their garments upon it [l]. This year, Domitius Corbulo, the greateſt general of his age, completed the reduction of Armenia, by driving from thence Tiridates, brother to Vologeſes king of the Parthians, and making himſelf maſter of Artaxata, the

But are utterly exterminated.

Armenia reduced by Corbulo.

[k] Idem, c. 57. [l] Idem ibid. Buragh. numiſ. p. 92.

the moſt important place of the whole kingdom. Of the glorious exploits of this brave officer, we have given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of Armenia; and therefore, not to treſpaſs upon the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we ſhall only add here, that for the ſucceſs which had attended Corbulo's arms, Nero was proclaimed emperor, and by a decree of the ſenate days of public thankſgiving were appointed, with ſtatues of victory to the prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the conſulſhip. It was moreover decreed, that the day when the city of Artaxata was taken, the day when the news arrived at Rome, and the day which produced that decree, ſhould all be for ever kept as feſtivals. This motion was oppoſed by Caius Caſſius, who argued, that were every inſtance of public proſperity to be attended with public thankſgiving, the whole year would not afford days enough for days of devotion; a juſt diſtribution ought therefore to be made between days of devotion and days of buſineſs, that the worſhip of the gods might not interfere with the occupations of men [m].

HITHERTO Nero's adminiſtration was univerſally applauded, and is generally cried up by hiſtorians: nay, Trajan, an excellent prince, is ſaid to have propoſed to himſelf the five firſt years of Nero's reign as the moſt accompliſhed model of an equitable government [n]. This, if true, muſt no doubt, be underſtood under ſeveral reſtrictions. But however that be, this year, the ſixth of his reign, when Caius Vipſanius Apronianus and Caius Fonteius Capito were conſuls, produced an inſtance of the blackeſt and moſt unnatural iniquity recorded in hiſtory, that of a mother murdered by a ſon, who was indebted to her not only for his life, but for the empire, and that very power, which by an apoſtaſy from nature, he impiouſly employed againſt her. This horrid attempt, which will render the name of Nero execrable to the lateſt poſterity, we ſhall relate, as it has been tranſmitted to us by the moſt unexceptionable hiſtorians of antiquity. Agrippina had, after the late groundleſs charge brought againſt her, in ſome degree regained the emperor's favour, and continued to bear no ſmall ſway at court, till Poppæa was introduced there. That ambitious proſtitute aimed at nothing leſs than ſolemnly marrying the emperor; but as ſhe could never hope to ſee Octavia divorced nor herſelf honoured with imperial wedlock during the life of Agrippi

[m] Tacit. c. 34. [n] Aur. Vict. in epit.

Agrippina, ſhe made it her whole ſtudy to inflame Nero againſt her, ſometimes jeering him by the ſarcaſtical name of pupil, one blindly ſubject to the capricious humour of a woman, and ſo far from being ſuffered to ſway the empire, that he was not allowed that liberty, which every private Roman enjoyed as his birth-right. As for herſelf, ſhe deſired to be reſtored to the conjugal embraces of Otho, that ſhe might in any corner of the earth rather hear of the emperor's abaſement and reproach, than ſtay to behold it. She added atrocious calumnies againſt Agrippina, as if ſhe deſigned to attempt upon his life; and threatened to abandon him, that ſhe might not be with him expoſed to the dangers that ſurrounded him. Her complaints and expoſtulations, enforced with ſighs, tears, and all the ſoft artifices, which the deceitful adultreſs poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, pierced the ſoul of Nero, and in behalf of Agrippina no one interpoſed, all at court being overjoyed to ſee her authority cruſhed, and no one imagining the ſon would ever be hardened to ſuch a pitch of iniquity, as inhumanly to ſpill the blood of his mother [o].

Poppæa inflames Nero againſt his mother.

In the mean time, Agrippina, well appriſed of the views and artifices of Poppæa, left nothing unattempted, which thirſt of power could ſuggeſt to retain her wonted dominion. Authors, who lived in thoſe times, and to whoſe authority Tacitus pays great deference, tell us, that the luſt of ruling tranſported her to ſuch extravagant and almoſt incredible lengths, that while Nero was well heated with wine and banqueting, ſhe accoſted him gayly attired; and, without any regard to fame or modeſty, prompted him, we relate it with horror! to a crime no leſs repugnant to nature, than that which he ſoon after committed. Seneca, who was preſent, obſerving the prince, while he was thus drunk, inclined to yield to the ſolicitations of his mother, for an antidote againſt the enticements of one woman, had recourſe to another, and introduced Acte. By this means the unnatural abomination was prevented; but the reputation of Seneca ſomewhat tarniſhed, who might, by ſome other expedient more worthy of a philoſopher, have diverted the prince from ſo monſtrous an impurity. Fabius Ruſticus, a writer of thoſe times, aſcribes this unheard-of paſſion, not to Agrippina, but to Nero, and adds, that he was reſcued from

By what impious means Agrippina ſtrove to retain her power.

[o] Tacit. l. xiv. c. 1. Dio, l. lxviii.

from ſo great an infamy by Acte. But in the detail we have given, all other authors agree, and it was moreover confirmed in Tacitus's time by the teſtimony of popular fame. Be that as it will, Nero dreading the infamy, which the bare ſuſpicion of ſuch a deteſtable iniquity would reflect on his character, and being told, that the ſoldiery would never bear the rule of a prince thus contaminated, began thenceforth to avoid all private conferences with his mother; which gave Poppæa a favourable opportunity of inflaming him more and more againſt her, till at length ſhe worked him to a reſolution of delivering himſelf by a parricide from one, who, ſhe ſaid, was his dread and his torment. He was now therefore only in ſuſpenſe about the means of diſpatching her, whether by poiſon, by the ſword, or by any other effectual method. That of poiſon was preferred at firſt; but to adminiſter it was thought difficult; for if it were done at the prince's table, her death would never be believed ſudden and accidental, ſince in the like manner Britannicus had already periſhed. To apply to her own domeſtics appeared dangerous. As ſhe was a woman long acquainted with frauds and blood, ſhe was upon her guard againſt all ſnares, and armed by counter-poiſons againſt the operation of poiſon. How to diſpatch her with the ſword and cover the execution, no one could contrive. It was feared too, that none could be found ſufficiently hardened for the execution of ſuch iniquitous orders. In this perplexity, Anicetus proffered his ſervice and his dexterity. He was a franchiſed ſlave, had been tutor to Nero in his infancy; but was now commander of the fleet which rode at Miſenum. As he was an implacable enemy to Agrippina, and Agrippina to him, he undertook to contrive a veſſel ſo, that, by a ſudden and artificial burſting in the open ſea, it ſhould overwhelm and drown her, without the leaſt warning or apprehenſion. If ſhe were thus diſpatched by ſhipwreck, no one, he ſaid, could aſcribe her death to the malice and contrivance of men. Nero was pleaſed with this device the more, becauſe he had a favourable opportunity to put it in execution, as he was then celebrating at Baiæ the ſolemn feſtival of Minerva called Quinquatrus, which began on the nineteenth of March, and laſted five days. In order to entice his mother thither, he pretended a deſire to be reconciled to her, declaring, that children ought to bear with the humours of their parents; and that, for himſelf, it behoved him to forget all paſt provocations, and be ſincere reconci

Nero reſolves to deſtroy her.

Is in ſuſpenſe about the means.

He pretends kindneſs for her.

reconciled to a tender mother, whoſe gift was the power and empire which he ſwayed. A general rumour of this pretended diſpoſition was immediately ſpread abroad, reached Agrippina, and found credit with her, women being naturally prone to believe what feeds their wiſhes, and promiſes matter of joy. At the ſame time, he wrote a letter to her, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of filial affection and duty, inviting her to paſs the feſtival with him at Baiæ. Agrippina, not ſuſpecting any treachery, tho' well practiſed in the dark devices of the court, deferred no longer her departure; but embarking at Antium, where ſhe then was, ſailed to Bauli (E), an imperial villa between the cape of Miſenum and the gulf of Baiæ. Thither Nero haſtened to receive her, met her upon the ſhore, preſented her his hand, embraced her and conducted her to the caſtle. Not far from the ſhore, amongſt ſeveral other veſſels belonging the emperor and the noblemen of his court, rode that which had been contrived by Anicetus, more pompous and gaudy than the reſt, as if Nero by that diſtinction intended freſh honour to his mother. But ſhe having had ſome intimation of the plot, tho' doubtful whether ſhe ſhould believe it or not, when invited on board, declared ſhe choſe to go to Baiæ by land; and accordingly was carried thither in a ſedan. Upon her arrival, the behaviour of Nero, obliging beyond expreſſion and free from all manner of affectation, allayed her fears; for Nero, during

His prodigious falſhood and ſhew of filial tenderneſs.

(E) This villa belonged firſt to Hortenſius the celebrated orator, and afterwards to Antonia, the wife of Druſus (41). At this time it was poſſeſſed by the emperor, and long after by Symmachus, who deſcribes it, and gives the etymology of its name in the following verſes:

Huc deus Alcides ſtabulanda armenta coegit
Eruta Geryonis de lare tergemini.
Inde recens ætas corrupta Bauli Baulos
Nuncupat; occulto nominis indicio.
Ab Divo ad proceres dominos fortuna cucurrit;
Fama loci obſcuros ne pateretur heros.
Hanc celebravit opum felix Hortenſius aulam;
Contra Arpinatem qui ſtetit eloquio.

(41) Plin. l. ix. c. 55.

ing her ſtay there, treated her with the utmoſt magnificence, yielded to her at table the moſt honourable place, entertained her with great variety of diverſions, granted her all the favours ſhe aſked in behalf of herſelf or her friends, and, in converſing with her, broke ſometimes out into ſallies of youthful gaiety, diſcourſing at other times with a compoſed and grave air of weighty affairs, as if he repoſed in her an entire confidence and ſought her counſel. Having with theſe inſnaring careſſes, and hollow fondneſs, removed all her ſuſpicions, he drew out the laſt banquet till the night was far ſpent; and in the mean time gave private orders to the commander of one of his galleys, to run foul of that which had conveyed Agrippina to Bauli and diſable it, that ſhe might be obliged to embark in the fatal veſſel. When the banquet was over, Nero acquainted her with the misfortune which had happened to her own veſſel, begged her to accept of the other, and ordered the admiral himſelf, Anicetus, to attend her to Antium. The emperor attended her in perſon to the ſhore, and at parting hung upon her neck, kiſſing her eyes, kiſſing her boſom with ſuch tenderneſs, that he left it uncertain, as our hiſtorian obſerves, whether he meant by that paſſionate behaviour to cloak his horrid deſign, or whether his ſpirit, however fierce and ſavage, could not withſtand the more powerful efforts of nature, at the laſt ſight of a mother juſt going to periſh [p].

The ſea proved ſmooth and calm, the night clear, and the ſtars ſhone in full luſtre, as if all this, ſays our hiſtorian, had been concerted by the providence of the gods, that ſo black a murder might not remain undiſcovered, by being aſcribed to the malignity of winds and waves. Agrippina, when ſhe embarked, was attended only by two perſons, Creperejus Gallus, who ſtood in the ſteerage, and a lady named Aceronia Polla, who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the pleaſing diſcourſe of the remorſe of her ſon and his ſincere reconciliation, when all on a ſudden upon a ſignal given, the deck over that quarter was looſened; and being purpoſely loaded with a great quantity of lead, ſunk violently down and cruſhed Creperejus to death. Agrippina and Aceronia were defended by the poſts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be too ſtrong to yield

[p] Tacit. c. 4. Suet. c. 34. Dio. l. lxi. p. 695.

yield to the weight; neither did the veſſel open as had been concerted, ſuch of the mariners as had not been intruſted with the plot, obſtructing the meaſures of thoſe who were. The latter, finding this expedient defeated, ſtrove to bear the veſſel down on one ſide, and to ſink her; but the other mariners, not privy to the deſign, at the ſame time ſtruggling to preſerve her, by ballancing the contrary way, ſhe was not at once ſwallowed up, but ſunk by degrees; ſo that Agrippina and Aceronia fell ſoftly into the ſea. The latter ſcreaming out, for the more ſpeedy relief, that ſhe was Agrippina, and paſſionately calling upon the mariners to ſuccour the prince's mother, was by them purſued with their poles and oars, and ſo ſlain. Agrippina never opened her mouth, and being therefore leſs known, eſcaped, with one wound only on her ſhoulder; and, what with ſwimming, what with the timely aſſiſtance of ſome fiſher-boats which rowed out to ſuccour her, reached the lake Lucrinus, and was thence conveyed to her own villa. There reflecting upon the danger which ſhe had eſcaped, the fate of Aceronia, miſtaken for herſelf and deſignedly ſlain, the manner in which the veſſel, under the ſhelter of the ſhore, not toſſed by winds, nor ſtriking upon rocks, had yielded in its upper part and been purpoſely overſet, ſhe concluded, that for this very end ſhe had been enticed by the fradulent letters of her ſon, and for this treated by him with ſuch extraordinary marks of honour. However, ſhe thought it adviſeable to diſſemble the whole, and however well appriſed of theſe black devices, to act as if ſhe ſaw them not. With this view ſhe diſpatched Agerinus her freed-man, to acquaint the emperor with the danger ſhe had eſcaped by the providence of the gods and his imperial fortune, and to entreat him, that, however alarmed at the misfortune which had threatened his mother, he would poſtpone the trouble of viſiting her; for what ſhe only ſtood in need of at preſent was reſt. In the mean time, diſguiſing her fear and counterfeiting perfect ſecurity, ſhe cauſed her wound to be dreſſed; and calling for the laſt will of Aceronia, ordered all her effects to be regiſtered and ſealed up [q].

Agrippina deſignedly ſhipwrecked.

She eſcapes.

And diſſembles her apprehenſions.

As to Nero, he had paſſed the night in great uneaſineſs and anxiety, attending the ſucceſs of his deſign; and while he was hourly expecting expreſſes to appriſe him,

[q] Tacit, c. 5. Dio, p. 695.

that the parricide was executed, tidings arrived, that his mother had eſcaped, only with a ſlight wound. At this he was ſtruck with terror and diſmay, not doubting, but her fierce ſpirit, bent upon haſty revenge, would either arm the ſlaves, ſtir up the rage of the ſoldiery againſt him, or recur with a tragical repreſentation of the whole plot to the ſenate and people. Thus terrified and diſmayed, he immediately ſent for Burrhus and Seneca, who perhaps had not before, ſays Tacitus, been acquainted with the conſpiracy. To them he notified his diſappointment, and told them, that in the preſent emergency, he had no reſource, no protection, no one to adviſe with, but them. They both kept long ſilence, either becauſe they thought it was in vain to diſſuade him from a deſign on which they ſaw him bent, or becauſe they believed matters already puſhed ſo far, that unleſs Agrippina ſoon periſhed, Nero certainly muſt. At length Seneca, who uſed always to ſpeak the firſt, looked at Burrhus, as if he aſked him, whether orders for the diſpatching of Agrippina might not be truſted to the ſoldiery under his command? Burrhus underſtood him, and anſwered, that the prætorian guards were ſo zealouſly attached to the name of the Cæſars, ſo fond of the family and memory of Germanicus, that they would never engage in any cruel or bloody attempt againſt their deſcendents. He added, that Anicetus ought to accompliſh what he had begun. Anicetus undertook without heſitation to acquit himſelf of his engagement; and Nero crying out, that Anicetus preſented him that day with the empire, urged him to uſe diſpatch, taking with him whom he pleaſed to aſſiſt him. In the mean time, Agerinus arriving from Agrippina, with the news of her diſaſter and eſcape, was immediately admitted to the emperor, by whoſe orders, as he was delivering his meſſage, a dagger was dropped between his legs; and then, as if he had been ſent to murder the prince, he was immediately loaded with irons, and dragged to priſon. This fable was forged to ſupport another; for Nero intended to give out, that his deſtruction had been concerted by his mother, and that ſhe, upon the diſcovery of her treaſon, had put an end to her own life, to avoid the puniſhment ſhe deſerved [h].

Nero's fears upon the eſcape of his mother.

Anicetus undertakes to finiſh the murder.

In the mean time, the danger which threatened Agrippina at ſea, and was looked upon as the effect of chance, flying abroad, the people from all quarters flocked to the ſho

Zeal of the populace upon diſcovering her danger.

[h] Tacit. c. 6. Dio. p. 695. Suet. ibid.

ſhore to aſſiſt her; ſome crouded into barques and ſkiffs; others entered the ſea, and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, ſome ſtretched out their arms, as it were to catch and receive her: ſo that the whole coaſt reſounded with lamentations for her misfortune, vows for her deliverance, and the indiſtinct clamour of a multitude, ſolicitous about her ſafety. When they underſtood, that ſhe was out of danger, they all haſtened to congratulate her upon her eſcape. But, in the mean time, Anicetus arriving with an armed band of mariners, they all diſperſed; and the franchiſed ſlave, having beſet the villa with a guard, burſt open the gates, ſecured ſuch of her ſlaves as offered to ſtop him, and advanced to the very door of her chamber, which he found guarded by a ſmall number of her friends, who, at the ſight of ſo many armed men, betook themſelves to flight, and left her with one maid only, who lay in the room with her. She was already very anxious and uneaſy, that no ſoul had yet arrived from her ſon, nor had even Agerinus returned, when ſhe heard a ſudden noiſe and tumult at the door of her chamber; which ſo terrified her maid, that ſtarting up, ſhe too was about to depart; which Agrippina perceiving, Thou likewiſe, ſaid ſhe, art going to abandon me: and that moment Anicetus, having forced open the door, entered her chamber, accompanied by Herculeus, captain of a galley, and Oloaritus, a centurion of the navy. The princeſs, tho' well appriſed of their deſign, yet addreſſing them with great intrepidity, "If you are come, ſaid ſhe, from the emperor, to be informed of my health, I can acquaint him that I am well refreſhed and recovered; if upon any bloody deſign, I will never believe you commiſſioned by my ſon; my ſon cannot command a parricide." But the aſſaſſins, without returning her any anſwer, placed themſelves round her bed; for in her chamber was a ſmall light, and Herculeus the firſt diſcharged a blow upon her head with a great club. Oloaritus the centurion inſtantly drew his ſword to diſpatch her; but ſhe, notwithſtanding the blow ſhe had received, ſtarting up, preſented her belly, crying with a loud voice, "Strike me here; this carried and brought forth ſuch a monſter as Nero." In uttering theſe words, ſhe was pierced with a multitude of wounds, and expired [i]. In theſe particulars all authors agree; ſome add, that Nero afterwards ſurveyed

Her houſe beſet with armed men.

Her murder.

[i] Tacit. c. 7, 8. Dio, p. 696. Suet. c. 34.

the naked body of his mangled mother, viewed her limbs, and extolled their ſymmetry and beauty; but this is denied by others, and ſeems inconſiſtent with the concern which he afterwards ſhewed. That very night her corſe was burnt without any pomp or ſolemnity, being carried to the pile upon no other bed than that which ſhe lay upon at her meals. Her bones were interred by her domeſtics, who, after the death of Nero, raiſed her a vulgar tomb upon the road to cape Miſenum, adjoining to a villa which formerly belonged to Cæſar the dictator. Mneſter, one of her freed-men, as ſoon as her funeral pile was lighted, run himſelf thro' with a ſword, whether from grief and affection for her, or from dread of ſome terrible doom, which he apprehended hanging over his head, was never known. Thus died the celebrated Agrippina, daughter to Germanicus, grand-daughter to Agrippa, and great grand-daughter to Auguſtus, ſiſter to one emperor, wife to another, and mother to a third. This doom ſhe had deſerved by a long train of crying iniquities, long before it overtook her; nay, we are told, that ſhe was warned of it many years before by the Chaldeans, who being conſulted by her concerning the fortune of Nero, and anſwering, that he would certainly reign and kill his mother; "Let him kill me, ſaid ſhe, ſo he do but reign" [k].

Her end foretold long before

The ſcene of this horrible iniquity being over, the emperor began to reflect within himſelf on the enormity of his guilt; a mother inhumanly murdered, to whom he owed his life and empire! With this thought he paſſed the reſt of the night in dreadful agonies, now dumb, motionleſs, with his eyes fixed, then ſtarting up amazed and trembling. Thus wild and ghaſtly, he waited the return of day, which, he apprehended, would bring upon him ſome dreadful and final doom. Burrhus was the firſt who afforded him ſome comfort in the midſt of theſe horrors, by perſuading the tribunes and centurions under his command to congratulate the prince upon his thus happily eſcaping the enormous treaſon deviſed by his mother. Their example was followed, firſt by the emperor's friends, and next by the neighbouring communities of Campania, who teſtified their joy by ſacrifices to the gods, and embaſſies to the prince. Nero himſelf, by a quite oppoſite diſſimulation, pretended to be inconſolably grieved for the death of his mother, anſwering thoſe wh

Nero's agonies upon her death.

He affects ſorrow.

[k] Tacit. c. 9. Dio, Suet. ibid.

who ſtrove to comfort him, that he hated a life, which upon ſuch terms had been ſaved. However, as the face and aſpect of places cannot change like the countenances of men, the ſight of that coaſt and thoſe ſhores, where the parricide had been perpetrated, filled him with continual horrors; beſides, there were ſome, who imagined they heard horrid ſhrieks and wailings from Agrippina's tomb, and a mournful ſound of trumpets from the neighbouring clifts and hills. Nero therefore flying from ſuch tragical places, which inceſſantly reproached him with the crying greatneſs and enormity of his crime, withdrew to Naples, whence he ſent letters to the ſenate, acquainting them, that Agerinus, a freedman of Agrippina, had been ſent by her to aſſaſſinate him; but had been timely apprehended, and that ſhe had thereupon laid violent hands on herſelf, with the ſame guilty conſcience which had prompted her to attempt upon the life of her ſon. To this he added a detail of her crimes traced a long way back; he even aſcribed to her all the vile meaſures and black iniquities of the reign of Claudius, and concluded, that her death ought to be looked upon as a public bleſſing, and aſcribed to the auſpicious fortune of the Roman ſtate. This letter was compoſed by Seneca, who thereupon was ſeverely cenſured, and indeed not undeſervedly, by all men of honour and virtue. No one believed the pretended conſpiracy; but nevertheleſs the ſenators, with wonderful heat and competition, ſtrove to ſurpaſs one another in decreeing new honours to Nero on this occaſion. The following ſolemnities were therefore ordained, that at all the altars public devotions ſhould be obſerved; that the feaſt of Minerva, during which the conſpiracy was detected, ſhould be celebrated with anniverſary plays for ever; that the ſtatue of that goddeſs in gold ſhould be placed in the ſenate-houſe, and cloſe by it that of the emperor; and laſtly, that the anniverſary of Agrippina ſhould be inſerted in the number of unlucky days. Thraſea Pætus, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this reign, walked out of the ſenate as ſoon as the emperor's letter was read, chuſing rather to provoke the vengeance of Nero, than give his aſſent to ſuch ſervile, flattering, and iniquitous decrees; but there was not a man in the ſenate, who had ſo much honour and integrity as to follow his example. And now Nero, to heighten the public hatred towards his mother and blacken her memory,

He charges her with many crimes.

The flattery of the ſenate.

Endeavours to blacken her memory.

as if ſhe had checked his natural inclination to mercy, reſtored to their native country and eſtates ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had been formerly by her doomed to exile. He likewiſe pardoned Iturius and Calviſius, of whom we have ſpoken above, and ſuffered the body of Lollia Paulina, who had ended her courſe at Tarentum, to be brought home, and repoſited in the tomb of her illuſtrious anceſtors. Notwithſtanding theſe acts of clemency, the emperor could not prevail upon himſelf to return to Rome, dreading to appear, after his parricide, before the ſenate and people. But the abandoned profligates of his court, and no court upon earth, ſays Tacitus, ever abounded with more, aſſured him, that the very name of Agrippina was generally abhorred; inſomuch that, by her death, he had ſecured for ever the affections both of the people and ſenate. Hereupon he proceeded to Rome, where he was received with a more forward and officious zeal, than even his flattering courtiers had promiſed him. The ſeveral tribes in diſtinct bodies came forth to meet him, and likewiſe the ſenate in their robes, with mighty crouds of women and children, ranged into ſeparate claſſes according to their ſex and age. Where-ever he paſſed, plays and ſhews were exhibited with all the pomp and parade of a ſolemn triumph. Elated with pride upon ſuch a reception, he repaired, like a triumphant victor to the capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations [l]. But all theſe tokens of joy and approbation could not ſmother the reproaches of his own conſcience; the horrors of his guilt never forſook him; he owned, that the furies purſued him with ſtripes, and rage, and burning torches; his dread was ſometimes ſo great, that every joint of him trembled; he applied to the magicians, and endeavoured by one of their ſacrifices, to call up the ghoſt of his mother, and entreat her to forgive him; nay, ſome time after, when he travelled into Greece, tho' he was mighty deſirous of aſſiſting at the Eleuſine ceremonies, yet his heart failed him, and he withdrew as ſoon as he heard the crier commanding, with a loud voice, all impious and profane perſons to depart [m].

He is received at Rome with extraordinary flattery.

As no one would take upon him to give the emperor wholſome advice; but, on the contrary, all conſpired to deceive him with ſervile flattery, and to commend even

[l] Tacit. c. 11——13. Dio, l. lxi. p. 796. [m] Sueton. c. 34.

moſt enormous exceſſes, he abandoned himſelf without controul to all his extravagant paſſions. He was chiefly fond of two diverſions, both highly unbecoming his rank and ſtation, viz. of driving a chariot and ſinging to the harp in a theatrical habit. Seneca and Burrhus had thought it adviſeable to indulge him from the beginning in the former, in order to divert him from the latter, which they thought a more ſhameful and unmanly employment. Thus a piece of ground in the Vatican was incloſed with a wall, that he might exert his dexterity in driving, without being expoſed to the view of a promiſcuous croud of ſpectators; but now he was deſirous of being publicly ſeen, and even invited to the ſight the populace, who failed not to magnify him with encomiums and loud acclamations. As the emperor imagined, that by bringing many others under the ſame infamy he ſhould leſſen his own, he introduced, as actors, into the theatre, ſeveral noble Romans, deſcended from illuſtrious families, but decayed and through indigence become venal. He likewiſe engaged with great rewards ſeveral Roman knights to undertake the acting of parts in public repreſentations. However, that he might not yet debaſe himſelf in the common theatre, he inſtituted a ſort of plays called juvenales, which were exhibited in private houſes or gardens, perſons of the firſt quality, nay, many who had borne the chief offices in the ſtate, acting in them, and degrading themſelves to imitate the port and buffoonry of the Greek and Roman mimics, even in their moſt obſcene geſticulations. The contagion even reached ladies of the greateſt diſtinction, who, in imitation of the prince and his court, had their aſſemblies, and repreſentations too in a grove planted by Auguſtus, where booths were built, and in them ſold whatever incited to ſenſuality and wantonneſs. Thus was even the outward appearance of virtue baniſhed the city, and all manner of avowed lewdneſs, depravity, and diſſoluteneſs introduced in its room, men and women being engaged in a contention to outvie each other in glaring vices and ſcenes of impurity. At length Nero could forbear no longer, but took the harp, and mounted the public ſtage, trying the ſtrings with much attention and care, and ſtudying his part. About him ſtood his companions and a cohort of the guards, with many tribunes and centurions, and Burrhus their commander, ſad on this infamous occaſion, but praiſing Nero while he grieved for him. At this time, he inrolled a body of Roman

He diverts himſelf with chariot-driving.

He engages ſeveral noble Romans to debaſe themſelves upon the ſtage.

Roman knights, intitled the knights of Auguſtus, young men diſtinguiſhed by the bloom of their years and ſtrength of body, but all profeſſed profligates. As the emperor ſpent whole days and nights in ſinging and playing upon the harp, the whole buſineſs of theſe knights was to commend his perſon and voice, to extol the beauty of both by names and epithets peculiar to the gods, and to ſing his airs about the ſtreets [n].

THE next year, Nero entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having Coſſus Cornelius Lentulus for his collegue, and held that dignity for ſix months. This year he inſtituted, for the improvement of wit and genius, conteſts of eloquence and poetry, with other games to be exhibited every fifth year; whence they were ſtyled quinquennial games. On this occaſion the players and pantomimes, who had often cauſed great animoſities, were recalled and reſtored to the ſtage. During theſe ſports a comet appeared, which, according to the perſuaſion of the vulgar, always portended a change of princes; hence, as if Nero had been already depoſed, it became the topic of general enquiry, who ſhould be choſen to ſucceed him, and the name of Rubellius Plautus was on this occaſion in every one's mouth. He was, by his mother Julia the daughter of Druſus, deſcended from the family of the Cæſars, and had acquired great reputation by the integrity of his life, and a ſtrict adherence, notwithſtanding the general corruption, to the venerable inſtitutions and ſevere manners of the primitive Romans. At the ſame time, as Nero was ſitting at an entertainment at a place called Sublaqueum, on the banks of the Simbruine lake, a flaſh of lightning darted upon the repaſt, ſcattered the diſhes, overturned the table, and while the emperor was drinking, ſtruck the cup out of his hand. As this happened in the neighbourhood of Tibur, whence Plautus was originally ſprung by his father's ſide, the people believed, that he was appointed and marked out by the gods to ſucceed Nero. All this alarmed Nero, who thereupon wrote to Plautus, that he would do well to conſult the peace and tranquillity of Rome, by withdrawing to his poſſeſſions in Aſia, where he might enjoy the bloom of his life free from intrigues of faction, fraught with ambiguity and danger. Upon this warning, Plautus, who had long ſince buried himſelf in retirement, ſhunning an

A comet appears.

Nero alarmed.

He adviſes Rubellius Plautus to retire to Aſia.

[n] Tacit. c 15.

nd dreading power, left Rome, and, with Antiſtia his vife and a few friends, haſtened to Aſia. This year, Ne- o appointed Tigranes (F) king of Armenia, which the rave Corbulo had reduced, and beſtowed upon him a body f guards, viz. a thouſand legionaries, three cohorts of con- federates, and two wings of horſe, to ſupport him in main- taining him in his new realm. Corbulo, having thus com- pleted the reduction of Armenia, left that country, and withdrew into Syria, a province aſſigned him upon the death of Numidius Quadratus the late governor °. In the cloſe of the year, Vibius Secundus, a Roman knight, was, upon the accuſation of the Moors, condemned for extortion and expelled Italy.

THE following year, Cæſonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus being conſuls, the Romans ſuffered a dreadful ſlaughter in Britain. A. Didius, who ſucceded Oſtorius, as we have related above, did no more than juſt main- tain what his predeceſſors had conquered. His ſucceſſor Veranius, having only in ſome incurſions ravaged the ter- ritories of the Silures, was prevented by death from any further proſecution of the war. He was highly eſteemed in his life-time for the ſeverity of his manners; but in his laſt-will he betrayed a ſervile ambition and court to power: for after many expreſſions of flattery beſtowed up- on Nero, he added, that to his obedience he would have ſubjected all Britain, had he lived but two years longer. He

The ſtate of affairs in Bri- tain.

° Idem, c. 26.

(F) Tigranes was grand-ſon, or rather great grand-ſon to Ar- chelaus, formerly king of Cappadocia; for he was the grand- ſon of Alexander, who was put to death by his own father Herod king of Judæa, and of Glaphyra, the daughter of Ar- chelaus. His father was likewiſe named Alexander. He was nephew to another Tigranes, likewiſe king of Armenia, who was put to death under Tiberius, in the twenty-ſecond year of that prince's reign, and thirty-ſixth of the chriſtian æra (42). Tacitus tells us, that as this prince had paſſed many years at Rome in the quality of an hoſtage, his ſpirit was miſerably debaſed, even to a degree of abjectneſs and ſervitude (43).

(42) Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. (43) Tacit. annal. l. xiv. c. 26.

Suetonius Paulinus ſent into Britain.

He was ſucceeded by Suetonius Paulinus, Corbulo's competitor in the ſcience of war, and univerſally eſteemed in all reſpects equal to that great commander. Paulinus therefore, hoping to reap as much renown from the entire reduction of Britain, as Corbulo had done from that of Armenia, bent his mind upon that enterprize, tho' Nero had then, as we are told, ſome thoughts of withdrawing the Roman forces and abandoning the iſland. During the firſt two years of his government, the Roman general commanded with no leſs ſucceſs than he had done formerly in Africa, ſubdued freſh nations, reduced with indefatigable pains ſeveral caſtles, and eſtabliſhed garriſons to keep in awe the countries which he had brought under ſubjection. Truſting to theſe garriſons, he left the country behind him expoſed to the enemy, and went to attack the iſland Mona, now Angleſey, which ſupplied the revolters with ſuccours, and was a common place of retreat to the fugitives. He built a great number of boats with broad and flat bottoms, the eaſier to approach a ſhore full of ſhallows. Upon theſe the foot were wafted over, and the horſe followed, partly by fording, partly by ſwimming. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood numerous bodies of men well armed, and amongſt them appeared troops of women, running, like furies, to and fro, diſmally clad in funeral apparel, with their hair flying about their ſhoulders, and torches in their hands. Round them were ſeen their prieſts the Druids, uttering, with their hands lifted up to heaven dreadful imprecations, and invoking vengeance. The amazing novelty of the ſcene ſtruck the Roman ſoldiers with diſmay; they ſtood motionleſs with their bodies expoſed, like ſo many marks, to the darts of the enemy till encouraged by the repeated exhortations of the general to ſhake off the ſcandalous terror inſpired by a band of raving women and fanatic prieſts, they advanced the enſigns, put to the rout the diſorderly rabble, and drove them into the fires they had kindled. The iſland being thus eaſily reduced, a garriſon was eſtabliſhed to bridle the vanquiſhed, and the groves, dedicated to their bloody ſuperſtitions cut down; for in them they ſacrificed the captives taken in war, and conſulted their entrails, in order to diſcover the will of the gods [p].

He reduces the iſland of Angleſey.

WHI

[p] Idem, c. 29. & vit. Agr. c. 14.

WHILE Suetonius was thus employed, tidings were brought him of the ſudden revolt of the province, the occaſion of which is thus related by Tacitus, who lived near thoſe times: Praſutagus, the late king of the Icenians, a prince renowned for his opulence and grandeur, had by his laſt will left the emperor joint heir with his own two daughters, hoping by that ſignal inſtance of loyalty to ſecure his kingdom and family from all injury and violence. But this ſcheme produced a quite contrary effect; for, under colour of taking poſſeſſion of the emperor's new inheritance, the kingdom became a prey to the centurions; the deceaſed prince's houſe was plundered by rapacious officers; his wife Boadicia, or Boudicea, ignominiouſly violated with ſtripes; his daughters, diſhonoured; all the principal Icenians ſtripped of their hereditary poſſeſſions, and the relations of the late king kept in bonds and treated like ſlaves. Enraged by thoſe indignities and dreading oppreſſions ſtill more ſevere, they took advantage of the abſence of Paulinus, and began to deliberate about ſhaking off the yoke, which they could no longer bear. In their private aſſemblies they ſtrove to inflame one another, by recounting their ſeveral grievances, exaggerating the miſeries of bondage, and heightening the injuries they muſt expect, when reduced to a province. "Our patience, ſaid they, avails us "nothing, further than to encourage our tyrants to lay "heavier burdens upon a people, who thus tamely bear any. "To ſuch height is our oppreſſion grown, that nothing "whatever is exempt from their avarice, nothing from their "luſt. They ſeize our houſes, inſult our wives, force a-"way our children, and oblige our youth to liſt; and to "all this we tamely ſubmit, tho' it be in our power to re-"deem ourſelves from ſuch contumelious tyranny; for what "a ſmall force would all the ſoldiers arrived in the iſland ap-"pear, would the Britons but compute their own numbers? "It was from this conſideration that Germany threw off the "yoke, tho' defended only by a river, and not, like this, by "the ocean. Our country, our wives, our parents and chil-"dren, animate us to take arms, and behave like men; "whereas our oppreſſors are only prompted by their for-"did avarice and brutal ſenſuality. Let us but imitate the "bravery of our forefathers, and not be diſmayed with the "iſſue of an encounter or two, and we ſhall ſee theſe robbers "withdraw from the iſland, as their deified Julius did for-"merly." With theſe and the like ſpeeches, they eaſily prevailed upon the Trinobantes, and ſeveral other nations,

The occaſion of the revolt of the Britons.

Their grievances.

to

to join their forces, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, as the only means to redeem themſelves from the oppreſſions they groaned under; for the Britons, even in thoſe days, chearfully complied, as Tacitus obſerves, with the impoſition of taxes and all duties enjoined by their governors, provided they received no illegal treatment. This they could not brook, nor did the Romans, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, any further ſubdue them, than to bring them to obey juſt laws: they abhorred unjuſt encroachments, and would never ſubmit to be ſlaves [q]. The Trinobantes were moreover animated to take arms by their implacable hatred towards the veterans lately planted in the colony of Camalodunum, who, encroaching upon the inhabitants, thruſt them out of their houſes, ſpoiled them of their hereditary lands, and, adding ſcorn to oppreſſion, treated them with the vile titles of captives and ſlaves. Another alarming grievance was a temple built and dedicated to the late emperor Claudius, which was a great eye-ſore to them, and looked upon by all as a badge and bulwark of eternal ſlavery. Beſides, the prieſts appointed to miniſter in the temple, under the cloak of religion, devoured the whole ſubſtance of the inhabitants, and reduced the moſt wealthy amongſt them to beggary. Neither did it appear an arduous undertaking to deſtroy a colony no-wiſe ſecured by fortifications; for the Romans, not yet well acquainted with the temper of the Britons, had conſulted only their accommodation and pleaſure. To theſe grievances Dion Caſſius adds, that Catus Decianus, the imperial procurator, exerciſed a tyranny no leſs cruel over their ſubſtance and fortunes, than the governor did over their bodies and lives: and that Seneca, having with fair promiſes inveigled the Britons to borrow vaſt ſums of him, telling them, that for repayment they ſhould take their own time, all on a ſudden demanded both principal and intereſt, which iniquitous demand reduced the injured Britons to deſpair [r]. Thus provoked by the heavieſt ſufferings, and invited by the opportunity of the abſence of Paulinus, the Iceni ans and Trinobantes, the former inhabiting the preſent counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, and the latter thoſe of Eſſex and Middleſex, and all thoſe who hated ſervitude unanimouſly

[q] Tacit. annal. c. 31. & vit. Agr. c. 15, 16. [r] Dion. l. lxii. p. 701.

unanimously took arms under the conduct of Boudicea, a princess of royal descent. Tacitus tells us, that the ensuing troubles were foretold some time before by several signs and prodigies. At Camalodunum the statue of Victory fell down of itself, with her face towards the enemy; certain women, transported with prophetical fury, terrified the people with denunciations of impending calamities; in the place, where the colony assembled for the business of the public, was heard a tumultuous noise and the accent of strangers; the theatre echoed with dismal howlings; in the river Thames dreadful appearances were seen; the ocean appeared all dyed with blood; and at the departure of the tide, shapes of human bodies were left imprinted on the strand. The veterans in the colony, alarmed at these omens, sent to Catus Decianus, procurator of the province, for succours, Suetonius being then at a great distance; but he could spare them only two hundred men, and those not completely armed; and in the colony itself was but an handful of soldiers. The veterans indeed, were for securing themselves by a ditch and palisade against any sudden assault, and removing out of the colony their women and old men; but were diverted from these and all other measures tending to their safety by some Britons, in whose fidelity they reposed too much confidence. So that while they were utterly unprepared, and as void of circumspection as if full peace had reigned, the Britons, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, flew unanimously to arms, assailed on every side the soldiers dispersed in the forts, and having stormed and sacked the several garrisons, fell upon the colony itself, as the seat and centre of public servitude, took it at the first assault, and after two days siege the temple, whither the Romans were retired in body. The colony, with the temple, they razed, and put every Roman to the sword. After this, upon intelligence that Petilius Cerealis, commander of the ninth legion, was advancing to relieve his friends, they hastened to meet him, routed his legion, and cut the infantry, all to a man, in pieces; but Cerealis escaped with the horse to the camp, and there defended himself in his intrenchments. Catus Decianus, the procurator, who had by his rapacious avarice driven the province into despair, and was universally hated, upon the first notice of the revolt, fled, like a coward, over into Gaul [s].

They rise under the conduct of queen Boudicea.

Great slaughter of the Romans.

[s] Tacit. c. 32, 33.

Suetonius marches againſt them.

SUETONIUS, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, left the iſland of Angleſey, and with undaunted bravery marched through the heart of the enemy's country quite to London, a city, not honoured indeed with the title of colony, but full of Roman inhabitants, and even then highly famed for the vaſt conflux of traders, and plenty of all commodities and proviſions. Here he deſigned at firſt to ſettle his head quarters, and make this place the ſeat and centre of the war: but afterwards reflecting on the ſmall number of his men, he reſolved to abandon it, and retire to ſome more advantageous poſt. This reſolution threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation; but Suetonius, hoping by the loſs of one town to ſave the whole province, was not, by the tears and wailing of multitudes emploring his protection, diverted from ordering the ſignal for departure to be given, taking with him all thoſe who were able or willing to accompany him. He was no ſooner gone, than the enemy made themſelves maſters of the place, and maſſacred, without diſtinction of ſex or age, all who had ſtaid behind. The like ſlaughter befel the municipal or free city of Verulamium, now St. Albans, and ſeveral other towns, in which ſeventy thouſand ſouls periſhed, all Romans, or the confederates of Rome. For the provoked Britons gave no quarter, and neither took, nor ſold, nor exchanged priſoners, nor obſerved any other law of war, but killed, burnt, or crucified all who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, being more inflamed with a deſire of revenge, than of victory or booty. In ſhort, no kind of cruelty was omitted, with which rage and victory could poſſibly inſpire the hearts of an injured people. Suetonius, having in the mean time, drawn together an army of about ten thouſand men, viz. the fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the various garriſons, reſolved without further delay to put the whole, as he was diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, to the iſſue of a battle. With this view he choſe a place acceſſible only by a narrow vale, and defended behind by a wood, being well appriſed that the enemy would attack him only in front, and that in the open vale no ſtratagems or ambuſhes were to be dreaded. He drew up the legionaries in thick ranks, placing round them the light-armed ſoldiers, and the cavalry on each wing. The Britiſh army, which was drawn up in great ſeparate bands, ſome of foot, ſome of horſe, appeared an immenſe multitude. They amounted, according to Dio,

He abandons London, which is taken and plundered.

Suetonius reſolves to give the Britons battle.

Dion Caſſius, to 230,000 men, and, according to Tacitus, exhibited the greateſt multitude, that till then had been ſeen in arms, and withal, ſo confident of victory, that they had brought their wives with them to be ſpectators of it from their waggons, which they had placed round the borders of the field. Boudicea, who had chiefly ſtirred up the Britons to this war, was carried about in a chariot with her two daughters ſitting before her. As ſhe traverſed the field from nation to nation, ſhe declared to all, that though it was uſual for the Britons to war under the conduct of a woman, yet upon this occaſion ſhe aſſumed not the authority of one deſcended from ſuch illuſtrious anceſtors, but appeared upon the ſame foot with one of the vulgar, ſeeking vengeance, not for the loſs of her kingdom, but for the extirpation of public liberty, for the ſtripes inflicted upon her perſon, and the brutiſh affronts offered to her virgin daughters, ſince the Romans were arrived at ſuch a pitch of unbridled violence, that no age nor ſex could eſcape their fury and contamination: ſhe enlarged on the evils of tyranny and ſervitude, and concluded, that in the impending battle the Britons muſt either remain utterly victorious, or utterly periſh; that to do one of theſe was the firm purpoſe of her, who was a woman; for the men, they might, if they pleaſed, ſtill live, and be doomed to ſlavery. Suetonius, though he confided in the bravery of his men, yet he failed not to join to it exhortations mixed with entreaties, that they would deſpiſe the ſavage clamours of the barbarians with all their impotent menaces, keep their ranks, and after having diſcharged their darts, cloſe in with the enemy, and purſue the ſlaughter with their ſpears and ſwords, without any thought of the ſpoil, as well knowing, that after victory all muſt fall to their ſhare. The general's ſpeech was followed with ſuch ardor in his men, long inured to all the arts and events of battles, that Suetonius, not doubting of the iſſue, gave the ſignal for the onſet. The legion kept their ground immoveable, ſheltering themſelves within the ſtreights of the place, till the enemy, advancing within arrow-ſhot, had ſpent all their darts: upon this advantage they ruſhed out upon them all at once in the form of a wedge, and being ſupported by the cavalry and auxiliaries, overthrew all who ſtood next to them: hereupon the reſt turned their backs and fled, but found it difficult to eſcape, the incloſure, made by their own carriages, obſtructing their retreat. The Romans gave

Boudicea's ſpeech to her army.

no quarter, but put all to the ſword, not ſparing even the lives of women, nay they pierced with their darts the very beaſts of burden, which helped to ſwell the mighty heaps of the dead: for we are told, that of the Britons were ſlain near eighty thouſand; whereas the Romans loſt only four hundred men. Boudicea, reſolved not to outlive that fatal day, is ſaid by ſome to have ended her life by poiſon; but others write, that ſhe died a few days after the battle of a natural death. Poenius Poſthumius, prefect of the camp to the ſecond legion, upon tidings of the exploits and ſucceſs of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, ſtruck with remorſe for having defrauded his own of equal honour, and diſobeyed, contrary to the laws of military duty, the orders of his general, ran himſelf through with his ſword [t]. Dion Caſſius differs from Tacitus, whom we have followed in his account of this battle; for he tells us, that the victory continued long doubtful, that the Britons, though only a diſorderly rabble, led on by a woman, ſtood their ground againſt the embattled legions with great intrepidity, and would have tried the fortune of a ſecond battle, had they not in the mean time been diſheartened by the unexpected death of Boudicea [u]. The Roman army, after a general review, kept the field under tents, to put an end to the war. Their forces were moveover encreaſed by Nero, who ordered two thouſand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thouſand horſe, to paſs from Germany over into Britain. By their arrival the ninth legion was recruited, and thereupon the auxiliaries ſent into different parts to deſtroy with fire and ſword ſuch nations as continued in arms, or appeared ſuſpicious. But nothing afflicted the unhappy Britons ſo much as famine; for all their hands being employed in the war, they had utterly neglected to cultivate and ſow the ground, reckoning upon the ſtores and proviſions of the Romans as their own. However, they continued ſtill in arms, and became daily more backward in their inclinations to peace from the behaviour of Julius Claſſicianus, who ſucceeding Catus Decianus as procurator of the province, and being at variance with Suetonius, obſtructed the public good to gratify his private pique, giving out, that a new governor would be ſent who, free from the arrogance of a conqueror, and unacquainted with the preceding conduct of the enemy, would

The Britons defeated with great ſlaughter.

The Britons, though afflicted with famine, continue in arms.

[t] Tacit. c. 36, 37. Dio, p. 701. [u] Dio, ibid.

treat ſuch as ſubmitted with more gentleneſs and mercy. And truly Suetonius, as Tacitus obſerves, though in other reſpects a ſignal commander, yet treated ſuch as ſurrendered themſelves in a very imperious manner, as one who likewiſe avenged his private injuries. At the ſame time, Claſſicianus wrote to Rome, that there would be no end of war and bloodſhed, unleſs Suetonius was removed, aſcribing all the diſaſters to his ill conduct, and the happy ſucceſs to the auſpicious fortune of the republic. Hereupon Polycletus, one of the emperor's freedmen, was diſpatched to inſpect the ſtate of Britain. Nero, conceiving great hopes, that by the authority of his domeſtic, not only a reconciliation would be brought about between the governor and procurator, but the minds of the diſcontented Britons would be calmed and inclined to peace. Polycletus was not backward to aſſume the employment, but immediately ſet out with ſuch an immenſe train, that he was a burden, as Tacitus tells us, even to the wealthy nations of Italy and Gaul, through which he paſſed: thence he croſſed the channel, and travelled in Britain with ſuch awful ſtate and attendance, as ſtruck even the Roman ſoldiers, accuſtomed to the grandeur of Rome, with amazement. But to the Britons, among whom reigned popular liberty, he proved an object of deriſion; as they were utter ſtrangers to the power of the imperial freedmen, they were amazed, that a victorious general and army, who had fought ſuch battles, ſhould obey a manumiſed ſlave; his authority was therefore of no weight with men, who, being brought up in the noble principles of liberty, ſcorned to pay any deference or reſpect to ſuch ſons of earth, however diſtinguiſhed and exalted by the favours of a court. Hereupon Polycletus, finding the Britons were not to be dazled with outward appearances, returned to Rome, where he repreſented to the emperor the tranſactions and conduct of Suetonius in ſo favourable a light, that he was continued in the government. However, having ſome time after loſt a few gallies on the ſhore with the men who rowed them, as if this accident had been a proof, that the war ſtill continued, he was ordered to reſign the goverment to Petronius Turpilianus, who had juſt ended his conſulſhip. As this new governor neither provoked the Britons by any act of hoſtility, nor was provoked by them, he beſtowed on this cowardly inaction the ſpecious name of peace. This tranquillity continued till the time of Veſpaſian, the governors,

Polycletus ſent into Britain.

Suetonius recalled.

who ſucceeded Turpilianus, following his example, and carefully avoiding to give any juſt cauſe of complaint to the Britons; nay, they did not even attempt to recover the iſland of Angleſey, which about this time ſhook off the yoke [w]. We ſhall reſume the detail of the Britiſh affairs in the hiſtory of the above-mentioned emperor's reign, when we ſhall ſee the Britons enter the liſts with noble armies ſent againſt them from Gaul and Italy, and conducted by generals of great renown.

Several perſons condemned at Rome, for forging a will.

During theſe tranſactions in Britain, ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction at Rome were either degraded or baniſhed for forging a will. Among theſe was Antonius Primus, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of Veſpaſian, and Aſinius Marcellus, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, being the great grand-ſon of the celebrated Aſinius Pollio, and himſelf without any other blemiſh in his conduct and manners, ſave that he believed poverty to be the greateſt of evils. The illuſtrious memory of his anceſtors, and the entreaties of the emperor, procured him an exemption from the puniſhment due to his crime. With the others privy to theſe deteſtable practices was condemned and interdicted Italy one Valerius Ponticus, a pleader or lawyer, for endeavouring to ſave the criminals by the quibbles of the law; and it was decreed, that whoever ſhould take a fee for ſuch vile employment, ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as one publicly condemned for calumny.

The governor of Rome murdered by one of his ſlaves.

Not long after the death of Pedanius Secundus, governor of Rome, murdered by a ſlave of his own, occaſioned no ſmall diſturbances in the city. According to the antient laws of Rome, all the ſlaves, who lived under the ſame roof, were to be involved in the ſame penalty with the criminal; but ſuch was on this occaſion the uproar of the populace, zealous to ſave ſo many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to ſedition. The ſenate too was rent into parties, ſome rejecting with great warmth ſuch exceſſive rigour, while others voted againſt any innovation. After a long and warm debate, it was carried that, without compaſſion for the number of ſlaves, for the age of ſome, for the ſex of others, for the undoubted innocence of moſt, they ſhould be all condemned to death and executed

[w] Tacit. c. 38, 39, & vit. Agr. 16, 17. Suet. c. 18. Dio p. 707.

executed. As they were no fewer than four hundred, the populace flocked tumultuouſly together to prevent the execution of ſo many innocent perſons. But Nero reprimanded them by an edict, and with lines of ſoldiers ſecured the way thro' which they were led to the place of execution. Cingonius Varro moved, that the freedmen too, who abode under the ſame roof ſhould be for ever expelled Italy; but Nero oppoſed that motion, urging that ſince the rigour of the antient cuſtom had not been ſoftened by mercy, it ought not to be heightened by cruelty[x].

All his ſlaves are executed.

The following year, P. Marius and L. Aſinius were conſuls; but reſigned the faſces, according to Onuphrius, Goltzius, and others, in the month of July, to Trebellius Maximus and Seneca. A decree in the digeſts, dated the 25th of Auguſt, ſeems to favour this opinion. However, ſome writers, and among the reſt Auſonius, maintain, that Seneca never attained the dignity of conſul. During the adminiſtration of theſe conſuls, the prætor Antiſtius, having compoſed a poem full of contumelious invectives againſt the prince, and read it to a numerous aſſembly at a banquet in the houſe of Oſtorius Scapula, was arraigned upon the law of majeſty by Coſſutianus Capito, a law, which after long diſuſe was upon this occaſion firſt revived. Oſtorius declared before the ſenate, when he was called upon to give his evidence, that he knew nothing of the imputed crime; but the contrary teſtimony of the other witneſſes being credited, Julius Marullus, conſul elect, voted, that the accuſed ſhould be deveſted of his prætorſhip and put to death. But Thraſea Pætus, after high encomiums upon Nero, and many bitter invectives againſt Antiſtius, argued, that ſince under ſuch an excellent prince the ſenate was in its deciſions influenced by no biaſs or compulſion, and halters and executioners were long ſince baniſhed, the only puniſhment they could inflict, without bringing themſelves under the imputation of cruelty, and the times under that of infamy, was, to confiſcate the eſtate of the criminal, and confine him to a ſolitary iſland. The generous freedom of Thraſea, animated the other ſenators, ſo that they all went readily into his motion, except a ſmall number of abandoned flatterers, among whom was the famous ſycophant Vitellius. The conſuls, however, before they gave the laſt ſanction to the decree, thought it adviſeable to acquaint the emperor with their unanimity,

Antiſtius writes a ſatyr againſt Nero.

The generous freedom of Thraſea Petus.

[x] Tacit. c. 42—44.

who after having long ſtruggled between ſhame and reſentment, at laſt anſwered, that ſince Antiſtius had, without any provocation, uttered ſo many black invectives againſt the prince, it was the duty of the ſenate to decree a puniſhment ſuitable to the crime. However, as he would certainly have oppoſed any rigorous ſentence, ſo he would now by no means defeat their mercy; they might therefore determine as they thought beſt, nay, from him they had full leave to diſcharge the criminal. From this anſwer it plainly appeared, that the emperor was piqued; but, notwithſtanding his diſpleaſure, neither Thraſea, nor the others departed from the meaſures which they had approved. At the ſame time Fabricius Veiento was expelled Italy for writing a ſatyr againſt the ſenate, and making traffick of the prince's favour by ſelling the great offices of the ſtate. His writings being doomed to the flames, were, as Tacitus obſerves, univerſally ſought and read, while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them; but when every one was free to poſſeſs and peruſe them, they ſunk into contempt and oblivion [y]. This year died, to the unſpeakable grief of all good men, the celebrated Burrhus, one of the chief friends and ſupporters of the public; but whether by poiſon or a diſeaſe, is not certainly known: the latter was imagined, becauſe a ſwelling in his throat gradually encreaſed, till by a total ſtoppage of reſpiration he died ſuffocated. Suetonius [z] and Dion Caſſius [a] tell us, that Nero, having promiſed him a remedy againſt his diſtemper, ſent him a venomous medicine. This, ſays Tacitus, was aſſerted by many; and it was likewiſe a common report, that Burrhus, being well appriſed of it, when the prince came to viſit him, turned his face another way, and to his repeated enquiries about his health, returned no other anſwer than this, I am well. The loſs of ſo great and worthy a man was long regretted in Rome, as well from the memory of his own virtues, as from the different character of his joint ſucceſſors; for Nero appointed two captains of the prætorian guards, Fenius Rufus and Soſonius Tigellinus. The former was a man of great integrity, but indolent, and an utter enemy to all trouble; the other infamous for lewdneſs, cruelty, avarice and all the moſt flagrant iniquities; but in high favour with Nero

Antiſtius is only baniſhed

The death of Burrhus.

The character of Tigellinus.

y Idem, c. 48.—50. z Suet. c. 35. a Dio, l. 1 p. 706.

Nero, and by him aſſumed into power from a fellowſhip in all his ſecret debauches and revels [b].

AND now, one of the champions of virtue being removed, the many wicked and evil connſellors, who abounded in the emperors court, attacked the other, viz. Seneca, with many criminal imputations; namely, that he had already accumulated wealth far above the condition of a citizen, and was inſatiably accumulating more; that ſuch was the magnificence of his gardens, ſuch the ſplendor of his ſeats, that in theſe inſtances of grandeur he excelled even the emperor; that he was labouring to attach to his own perſon the veneration of the Roman people; that he diſparaged his ſkill in managing horſes, turned his voice into mockery whenever he ſung, and to himſelf alone arrogated the praiſe and perfection of eloquence: they added, that Nero was no longer a child, and therefore ought now to begin to reign, to diſmiſs his pedagogue, and to be governed by more famous tutors, his glorious anceſtors. Seneca was not unappriſed of the efforts of his enemies, and therefore finding the emperor had withdrawn his uſual affability, and ſhewed himſelf daily more and more reſerved towards him, he begged an audience; and having obtained it, he beſought the emperor to give him leave to retire, and apply himſelf wholly to the cultivation of his mind and the ſtudy of philoſophy, entreating him at the ſame time to accept of his immenſe wealth, his ſtately ſeats and gardens, his ample poſſeſſions, &c. which were too great rewards for the ſmall ſervice he had rendered him, and adminiſtered freſh fuel to the raging envy of his enemies. Nero replied that he ſtill ſtood in great need of the wiſe rules, wholeſome counſels, and uſeful precepts, with which he had cheriſhed his infancy and youth, and therefore could not by any means grant him his requeſt.

Several charges brought againſt Seneca.

He begs leave to retire.

" As to your gardens, ſeats, and wealth, ſaid he, there " are many favourites, no-wiſe equal to you in worthy ac- " compliſhments, diſtinguiſhed with larger poſſeſſions. I " bluſh to quote freedmen, who are eſteemed more wealthy " than you; and am aſhamed, that one who is dear to " me above all others, does not yet ſurpaſs all others in " fortune. If you forſake your prince, and to him ſur- " render your wealth, the treaſure returned will be aſcribed, " not to your moderation, but to my rapaciouſneſs, and " your retreat, to the dread of my cruelty. But ſuppoſe " this

Nero's deceitful ſpeech to him.

[b] Tacit. c. 52.

" this diſintereſtedneſs of yours, this contempt of riches, be
" generally applauded, yet ſurely it will reflect no honour
" upon a wiſe man to ſeek glory from a proceeding, which
" muſt unavoidably bring infamy upon his friend." To theſe words he added kiſſes and embraces, ſwearing ſeveral times in a moſt ſolemn manner, that he would rather periſh himſelf a thouſand times, than ſuffer him to be any ways injured. Seneca returned him thanks for his kindneſs and generoſity; but nevertheleſs altered his former conduct, received few viſits at home, avoided any train of attendance abroad, and appeared ſeldom in public, as if he were confined to his houſe by ill health, or the ſtudy of philoſophy. The retreat of Seneca doubled the authority of Tigellinus, who diving curiouſly into the ſecret fears of the prince, and finding, that he chiefly dreaded Plautus and Sylla, the one removed lately into the eaſt, the other into Gaul, perſuaded him to put them both to death, hoping to bear a ſtill greater ſway with the emperor, by thus ſeeming to conſult his defence and ſecurity. Sylla was diſpatched while he was at table, without any apprehenſion of danger, by aſſaſſins, who in ſix days arrived expreſs at Marſeilles, to which city he had been confined. When his head was preſented to Nero, its untimely hoarineſs is ſaid to have moved him to unbecoming jeſts and deriſion. The ſentence awarded againſt Plautus was not ſo ſucceſsfully concealed. Lucius Antiſtius, his father-in-law, receiving private notice of it, diſpatched to him a freedman of his own, who outſailing the fatal centurion, brought him from his maſter the following advice; that he ſhould be ſure to ſhun a cowardly death; that he had yet leiſure to eſcape, and could not fail of finding compaſſion from all worthy and generous men; that if he had once repulſed the ſixty ſoldiers, for ſo many were ſent to diſpatch him, he might then, while the tidings were tranſmitting to Nero, proſecute many ſchemes, and lay the foundation of a war; at leaſt he had nothing more deadful to ſuffer after a brave reſiſtance, than what he muſt ſuffer by a cowardly acquieſcence. But Plautus, not moved by theſe conſiderations choſe rather to die, than to preſerve his life by kindling a civil war (G); ſo that the aſſaſſins, finding him quite unpre-

He avoids the court.

Sylla put to death.

pared

(G) He was perhaps chiefly influenced, ſays Tacitus, by tenderneſs for his wife and children, whom he imagined the prin-

wou

pared for any reſiſtance, murdered him in the middle of the day before Pelago the eunuch, who was by Nero ſet over the centurion and his band. When the head of the ſlain was carried to Rome, and ſhewn to the emperor, I knew not before, ſaid he, by way of raillery, that Rubellius had ſo great a noſe. Then turning to the confidents of his debauches, What can prevent me now, cried he from inſtantly ſolemnizing my nuptials with Poppæa, a ſolemnity hitherto deferred through fear of ſuch men as this? Afterwards he wrote letters to the ſenate, in which he inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt Sylla and Plautius, but took no notice of their death. However, the ſenate, well appriſed of what had happened, decreed proceſſions, appointed thanks to be publicly returned to the gods, and degraded Sylla and Plautius from the dignity of ſenators. Nero, perceiving from the decree of the ſenate that his moſt flagrant iniquities paſſed for commendable actions, divorced Octavia without further delay, alledging that ſhe was barren (H), and married Poppæa, who, to prevent his ever being reconciled to his former wife, ſuborned one of Octavia's domeſtics to accuſe her of a criminal amour with a ſlave, named Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, and one who was famous for playing upon the flute. The maids of

Plautius murdered.

Nero marries Poppæa.

would treat with more mildneſs, were he not incenſed by any inſurrection or alarms. Some write, that the advices he received from his father-in-law were of a quite different nature, importing, that his life was in no danger. Others tell us, that two philoſopers, Ceranus a Greek and Muſonius a Tuſcan, encouraged him to wait for death with unſhaken intrepidity, ſince it would deliver him from a life ſubject to eternal anxieties and fears.

(H) Octavia was, as Nero himſelf owned, an eaſy wife, modeſt in her conduct, of an unblemiſhed character, &c. but ſtill an eye-ſore to him from the affection which the people ſhewed her; hence he would have divorced her ſoon after the death of her father Claudius, had not Burrhus oppoſed his deſign, telling him freely, that if he parted with Octavia, he muſt likewiſe part with what ſhe had brought him, the empire (44). He ſeldom admitted her to his bed, anſwering his friends, who blamed him for thus neglecting a woman of her merit, that the jewels, ornaments, and title of empreſs were ſufficient for her. Suetonius tells us, that he often attempted to ſtrangle her (45).

(44) Dio, l. lxii. p. 706. (45) Suet. c. 35.

of Octavia were all examined upon the rack, and, though ſome, overcome by the exquiſite pain of the torture, favoured the forgery, yet moſt of them maintained, and with great firmneſs vindicated, the unſpotted character of their lady (I). However, ſhe was firſt removed from the palace, and afterwards baniſhed into Campania, where a guard of ſoldiers were placed over her. But as the populace openly complained of this cruel treatment, Nero, dreading the reſentment of the provoked multitude, recalled her ſoon after to the infinite ſatisfaction of the Roman people, who in tranſports of joy crouded to the temples with thankſgiving, overthrew the ſtatues of Poppæa, crowned with flowers thoſe of Octavia, and carrying her images, as it were, in triumph, placed them in the great forum and in the ſeveral temples. Hereupon Poppæa, fearing Nero might change his mind, and, to gratify the populace, recal Octavia to his bed, prevailed upon him, by a ſpeech artfully framed to produce both terror and wrath, to reſolve upon the ruin of the innocent Octavia. As the fiction of the unhappy princeſs's intrigue with Eucerus had been quite defeated by the teſtimony of her maids upon the rack, it was agreed to procure ſome one, who ſhould own himſelf guilty with her, and againſt whom might be alſo feigned a plauſible charge of meditating a revolution in the ſtate. Anicetus, who had murdered Agrippina, was judged a proper man for this vile purpoſe. To him therefore Nero addreſſed himſelf, and what by promiſes, what by menaces, induced him to acknowledge that he had maintained a criminal converſation with Octavia; which he had no ſooner done, than Nero iſſued an edict, declaring, that Octavia, in hopes of engaging the fleet in her conſpiracy, had corrupted Anicetus the admiral: and forgetting that he had juſt before accuſed her of barrenneſs, he added, that ſhe had concealed her ſecret luſts, and always defeated her pregnancy by abortion, and that theſe her crimes were by him fully detected. Hereupon the unfortunate princeſs was baniſhed to the iſland of Pandataria, and after a few days doomed to die. Thoſe who were charged with the execution of th

The affection of the people to Octavia.

She is baniſhed, and afterwards murdered.

(I) While Tigellinus was earneſtly preſſing Octavia's mai upon the rack to deliver themſelves from their torments, owning their lady's guilt, one of them, by name Pythias, turned him this anſwer, "Caſtiora ſunt muliebria Octaviæ, q os tuum."

this cruel and unjuſt ſentence, having tied her down with bonds, opened all the veins of her body; but as her blood was chilled through fear and iſſued ſlowly, they haſtened her doom, by ſtifling her in the ſteam of a boiling bath. After her death her head was cut off by a centurion, and carried to Rome, that Poppæa might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it, and diverting herſelf with ſo tragical a ſpectacle. Tacitus obſerves, that nothing ever filled the hearts of the people with more affecting compaſſion, than the cruel ſufferings and untimely end of this innocent princeſs, inhumanly maſſacred in the twenty ſecond year of her age, under the imputation of a crime more barbarous and piercing than death itſelf, without having ever taſted any ſhare of happineſs or delight. But the ſenate, at this time under the emperors, an aſſembly of mean-ſpirited wretches, entirely devoted to corruption and ſervitude, for this execution, as for ſome notable deliverance, pompouſly decreed gifts and oblations to the gods. Such was the debaſement of the once great and venerable Roman ſenate. Fear had ſtopped their mouths, or opened them only to the moſt ſcandalous ſtrains of flattery. Our hiſtorian obſerves here, to their eternal infamy, that as often as any cruel ſentence was pronounced by the prince, as often as murders or baniſhments were by him commanded, ſo often were acknowledgments and thankſgivings, by the authority of the ſenate, paid to the deities [c]. Octavia had been honoured, as appears from ſome medals [d], with the title of Auguſta. Nero killed himſelf ſix years after on the ſame day, if Suetonius is to be credited, on which Octavia was by his orders aſſaſſinated [e], that is, on the eleventh of June. Anicetus, as one convicted by his own confeſſion, was baniſhed into Sardinia, where he lived in great plenty, and died at length by courſe of nature. This year died Doryphorus, Pallas, and Romanus, all three imperial freed-men of great note, and believed to be poiſoned by Nero's orders; Doryphorus, becauſe he endeavoured to thwart the marriage with Poppæa; Pallas, becauſe he lived too long, and prevented the prince from enjoying his immenſe wealth; and Romanus, becauſe he brought a charge of treaſon againſt Seneca, which the accuſed retorted upon him [f]. Pallas dies.

THE

[c] Tacit. c. 60—63. [d] Spanh. p. 619. [e] Suet. c. 57. [f] Tacit. c. 65. Dio, l. lxii. p. 707. Suet. c. 35.

THE following year, when L. Virginius Rufus and C. Memmius Regulus were conſuls, the city of Pompeii, which took its name from Pompey the Great, was in a great meaſure overturned by an earthquake, which highly damaged many other cities of Campania. That province had been alarmed before by frequent ſhocks; but this, which happened on the fifth of February, was ſo dreadful, that great numbers of the inhabitants abandoned their native country, and ſettled elſewhere, through fear of being one day ſwallowed up by the earth, a misfortune, which fifteen years after, that is, in the firſt year of the reign of Titus and ſeventy-ninth of the chriſtian æra, befel thoſe who remained, and likewiſe the inhabitants of Herculanum or Herculaneum, as we ſhall relate in its proper place. This year Poppæa was delivered of a daughter, which filled Nero with unſpeakable joy: ſhe was honoured with the name of Auguſta, and upon Poppæa was conferred the ſame title. The ſenate had before made public vows for her happy delivery, and now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled; days for ſolemn proceſſions were appointed, a temple was decreed to Fecundity, golden images of the Fortunes at Antium, where the child was born, were ordered to be made and placed in the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus, &c. But ſhort-lived was the prince's joy; for within four months the infant died, which gave occaſion to new ſallies of flattery, ſince ſhe was placed among the gods, and divine worſhip with a prieſt, altars, and ſacrifices were voted to her. As for the emperor, as he had rejoyced, ſo he grieved beyond all meaſure [g]. To allay his grief, he exhibited various ſhews, among the reſt a combat of gladiators, in which four hundred ſenators, ſix hundred knights, and, what was a ſight altogether new, many ladies of great diſtinction entered the liſts, and infamouſly contaminated themſelves and families, to uſe the expreſſion of Tacitus, by appearing among the comman gladiators. In one of theſe ſhews a knight, of illuſtrious quality, rid full ſpeed down a ſteep deſcent upon an elephant; another perſonated Icarus but in attempting to fly, fell down ſo near the emperor that he was beſprinkled with his blood. A comedy was alſo acted, compoſed by Afranius, and entitled incendium, or the burning, in which a houſe richly furniſhed was ſet on fire, and permiſſion granted to the actors to rifle it. During theſe ſhews, he did not, like other emperors, ſcatter money among

Poppæa is delivered of a daughter.

Senators, knights, and ladies enter the liſts among the gladiators.

[g] Tacit. annal. l. xv. c. 13. Suet. c. 35.

among the populace, but tickets for vaſt ſums, for fine houſes, gardens, and eſtates, which he faithfully conſigned to thoſe who produced the ſaid tickets. For he believed, as Suetonius obſerves, that all the pleaſure and advantage of riches conſiſted in profuſion and prodigality, reckoned thoſe ſordid and mean-ſpirited, who kept any accompt of their expences, and cried up ſuch as ſquandered away and conſumed their fortunes. Hence he never mentioned his uncle Caligula, but with the higheſt elogiums, becauſe in leſs than a year's time he had conſumed, beſides his ordinary revenues, the vaſt ſum (eighteen millions of our money), which Tiberius had left him [h]. Nero's prodigality.

In the next conſulſhip of Caius Lecanius Baſſus and M. Licinius Craſſus Frugi, Nero become every day more tranſported with a paſſion for ſinging and playing on the public ſtage, for he had hitherto exerted his ſkill only in aſſemblies called Juvenalia, which were reſtrained to particular houſes and gardens, and not daring to begin at Rome, reſolved to repair to Naples to make his firſt eſſay and appearance there, and from thence paſs over into Greece, and contend for the prize in muſic at the Olympic games. Accordingly, he ſet out from Rome, with his uſual attendance and equipage, that is, with a thouſand chariots, his horſes and mules all ſhod with ſilver, his grooms and muletiers clad in the richeſt cloth of Canuſium, and attended by a band of prætorian guards and a body of African horſe, moſt pompouſly attired. Soon after his arrival at Naples, he mounted the ſtage, and ſang for ſeveral days together to an immenſe multitude, all the rabble of Naples, and incredible numbers flocking from the neighbouring cities and colonies, to ſuch an extraordinary ſpectacle, an emperor ſinging on the public ſtage. In this exerciſe he paſſed his whole time at Naples, repairing to the theatre in the morning, and continuing there till night, allowing himſelf now and then a ſmall reſpite to take breath and refreſh himſelf, which he did publicly in the preſence of the multitude, telling them, that when he had waſhed his throat, he would entertain them with a finer air than any they had yet heard. We are told, that though the theatre was one day, while he was ſinging, ſhaken all on a ſudden with a violent earthquake, and in great danger of falling, yet he would not give over till he had ended his ſong. He ſings upon the ſtage of Naples.

When

[h] Suet. c. 11, & 30.

When he had done, he gave the numerous audience leave to retire; and the theatre, as ſoon as it was empty, fell to the ground. This accident Nero looked upon as a providential event, betokening the immediate protection of his guardian deities, and celebrated the benignity of the gods in ſongs of thankſgiving compoſed by himſelf. Being much delighted with the praiſes which ſome Alexandrians, lately arrived at Naples, beſtowed on his heavenly and auguſt voice, he ſent for more of them over in great haſte, and was ever after attended by ſome of them on the ſtage, richly attired with a ring of great value on their left hand. As they were for the moſt part youths, he appointed them governors to take care of their education, and allowed them an annual penſion of four hundred thouſand ſeſterces[i]. The emperor left Naples with a deſign to paſs over into Greece, and diſplay his abilities there. In his rout to the Adriatic he reſted a while at Beneventum, where by Vatinius was exhibited a pompous ſhow of gladiators. Vatinius was one of the moſt baneful monſters that haunted the court, originally bred in a cobler's ſtall, hideous and diſtorted in his perſon, at firſt taken to court as a buffoon, and afterwards by calumny, by lying accuſations againſt every worthy man, and a ſarcaſtical turn, raiſed to ſuch a height, that in wealth, and favour, and in power to do miſchief, he ſurpaſſed all the other miniſters of iniquity in Nero's court[k] (K). During the ſolemnity of theſe ſports, Nero forbore not acts of tyranny and blood, but forced Torquatus Silanus, the great grandſon of Auguſtus, to die for no other crime, but becauſe he lived with greater ſplendor and magnificence than became a private

He is entertained at Beneventum by Vatinius with a ſhew of gladiators.

[i] Suet. c. 20. Tacit. c. 34. [k] Idem ibid.

(K) Vatinius is mentioned by Martial and Juvenal as the contriver of certain cups with four long ſpouts, called by the Latins noſes:

Vilia ſutoris calicem monumenta Vatini
Accipe, ſed naſus longior ille fuit;

ſays Martial: and Juvenal;

Tu Beneventani ſutoris nomen habentem
Siccabis calicem naſorum quatuor, &c.

vate perſon, and therefore was ſuppoſed to aſpire at the ſovereign power. Torquatus opened the veins of both his arms and bled to death. After this Nero, for reaſons that were not known, put off his voyage to Greece and returned to Rome, with a deſign to ſhew himſelf to the provinces of the eaſt, eſpecially to Egypt, which project he declared by a public edict, and then went to pay his obligations for the ſucceſs of that journey to the ſeveral deities in the city. But as he entered the temple of Veſta, he was ſeized with a ſudden dread, which ſhook him in every joint, and is aſcribed by ſome writers to the awful aſpect of the goddeſs, by others to the remembrance of his enormous crimes, with which he was ſo eternally haunted, that he was never a moment free from pangs and agonies. Be that as it will, he dropped his project, giving out, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to deprive the Roman citizens for ſo long a time of the joyful ſight of their prince. This declaration was pleaſing to the populace, from their inclination to diverſions, which by his reſidence at Rome they enjoyed, and from the apprehenſion of ſcarcity of proviſions in his abſence [1].

Why he drops his deſign of going into Egypt.

Nero banquetted frequently in the public places and great ſquares, uſing the whole city as his own houſe. Theſe banquets were expenſive and magnificent almoſt beyond belief, and no leſs infamous for the monſtrous ſcenes of lewdneſs practiſed at them; for he was generally attended at ſuch entertainments, whether given by himſelf or his friends, by the moſt debauched and abandoned women of the whole city. Tacitus deſcribes here the feaſt prepared for him this year by Tigellinus, as a pattern of all the reſt. In the lake of Agrippa he built a large veſſel, which contained the banquet, and was towed by other veſſels embelliſhed with rich ornaments of gold and ivory, which were rowed by profeſſed catamites, ranged according to their different age and ſkill in their abominable profeſſion. The banquet conſiſted of great variety of wild fowl and wild beaſts from remote countries, and fiſh from the ocean. On the banks of the lake on one ſide ſtood brothels filled with ladies of great rank, and on the other common harlots, quite naked. When night came, the neighbouring groves and houſes reſounded with the joyful ſymphony

His banquets.

One prepared for him by Tigellinus.

[1] Idem, c. 37.

ſymphony of muſical inſtruments and ſongs, and appeared illuminated with an huge blaze of lights which turned night into day. It was a few days after this memorable banquet, that Nero, who had already ſurpaſſed all men, as Tacitus obſerves, in every kind of abomination, was prompted by his extravagant lewdneſs and folly to ſuch exceſſes, as would ſeem altogether incredible, were they not atteſted by hiſtorians, who lived near thoſe times, and whoſe veracity cannot be queſtioned. He attired himſelf in the habit of a woman, and as ſuch was publicly, with the uſual form and ſolemnity, married to a pathic of his contaminated crew, named Pythagoras. Not ſatisfied with ſuch monſtrous and unheard-of impiety and pollutions, as he was the wife of one pathic, ſo he became the huſband of another, named Sporus, whom he married with the ſame ſolemnity, kept in his palace, and carried about with him all over Italy and Greece in the ſame litter, and in the attire of an empreſs; on which occaſion it was ſaid, that the world would have been happy, had Nero's father had ſuch a wife[m]. His other abominable pollutions, unknown before to the moſt abandoned debauchees, we ſhall paſs over in ſilence, being well appriſed, that a detail of ſuch monſtrous obſcenities would prove no leſs ſhocking to our readers, than that which we read in Suetonius has proved ſhocking to us. We ſhall only obſerve out of that writer, that Nero was firmly perſuaded all men were as wicked as himſelf; and therefore freely forgave thoſe, who made an open profeſſion of obſcenity, all other crimes; but puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, as hypocrites and impoſtors, ſuch as ſeemed to be offended with the moſt unnatural impurities [n].

His abominations.

The burning of Rome.

THIS year, the eleventh of Nero's reign and ſixty-fourth of the Chriſtian æra, happened the famous burning of Rome; but whether by chance, or the contrivance of the prince, is not determined, both being aſſerted by authors. The fire began amongſt certain ſhops, in which were kept ſuch goods as were proper to feed it, and ſpread every way with ſuch amazing rapidity, that its ſhock was felt in diſtant ſtreets before any meaſures to ſtop it could be tried. Beſides an infinite number of common houſes, all the noble monuments of antiquity, all the ſta-

[m] Tacit. c. 37. Suet. c. 28. [n] Idem, c. 29.

y palaces, temples, porticos, with goods, riches, furniture, nd merchandiſe to an immenſe value, were devoured by he flame, which raged firſt in the low regions of the city, nd then mounted to the higher, with ſuch terrible violence and impetuoſity, as to fruſtrate all relief. The ſhrieks of the women, the various efforts of ſome endeavouring to ſave the young and tender, of others attempting to aſſiſt the aged and infirm, and the hurry of ſuch as ſtrove only to provide for themſelves, occaſioned a mutual interruption and univerſal confuſion. Many, while they chiefly regarded the danger that purſued them behind, found themſelves ſuddenly involved in the flame before and on every ſide: if they eſcaped into the quarters adjoining, or into the parts quite remote, there too they met with the devouring flames. At laſt, not knowing whither to fly, nor where to ſeek ſanctuary, they abandoned the city, and repaired to the open fields. Some out of deſpair for the loſs of their whole ſubſtance, others through tenderneſs for their children and relations, whom they had not been able to ſnatch from the flames, ſuffered themſelves to periſh in them, though they had eaſy means to eſcape. No man durſt offer to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, there being many, who had no other buſineſs, but to prevent with repeated menaces all attempts of that nature; nay ſome were in the face of the public ſeen to throw lighted fire-brands into the houſes, loudly declaring, that they were authorized ſo to do; but whether this was only a device to plunder more freely, or in reality they had ſuch orders, was never certainly known. Nero, who was then at Antium, did not offer to return to the city, till he heard, that the flame was advancing to his palace, which after his arrival was, in ſpite of all oppoſition, burnt down to the ground, with all the houſes adjoining to it. However, Nero, affecting compaſſion for the multitude, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwellings, laid open the field of Mars, and all the great edifices erected there by Agrippa, and even his own gardens. He likewiſe cauſed tabernacles to be reared in haſte for the reception of the forlorn populace; from Oſtia too and the neighbouring cities, were brought by his orders all ſorts of furniture and neceſſaries, and the price of corn conſiderably leſſened. But theſe bounties, however generous and popular, were beſtowed in vain, becauſe a report was ſpread abroad, that, during the time of this general

The deſpair and miſerable condition of the inhabitants.

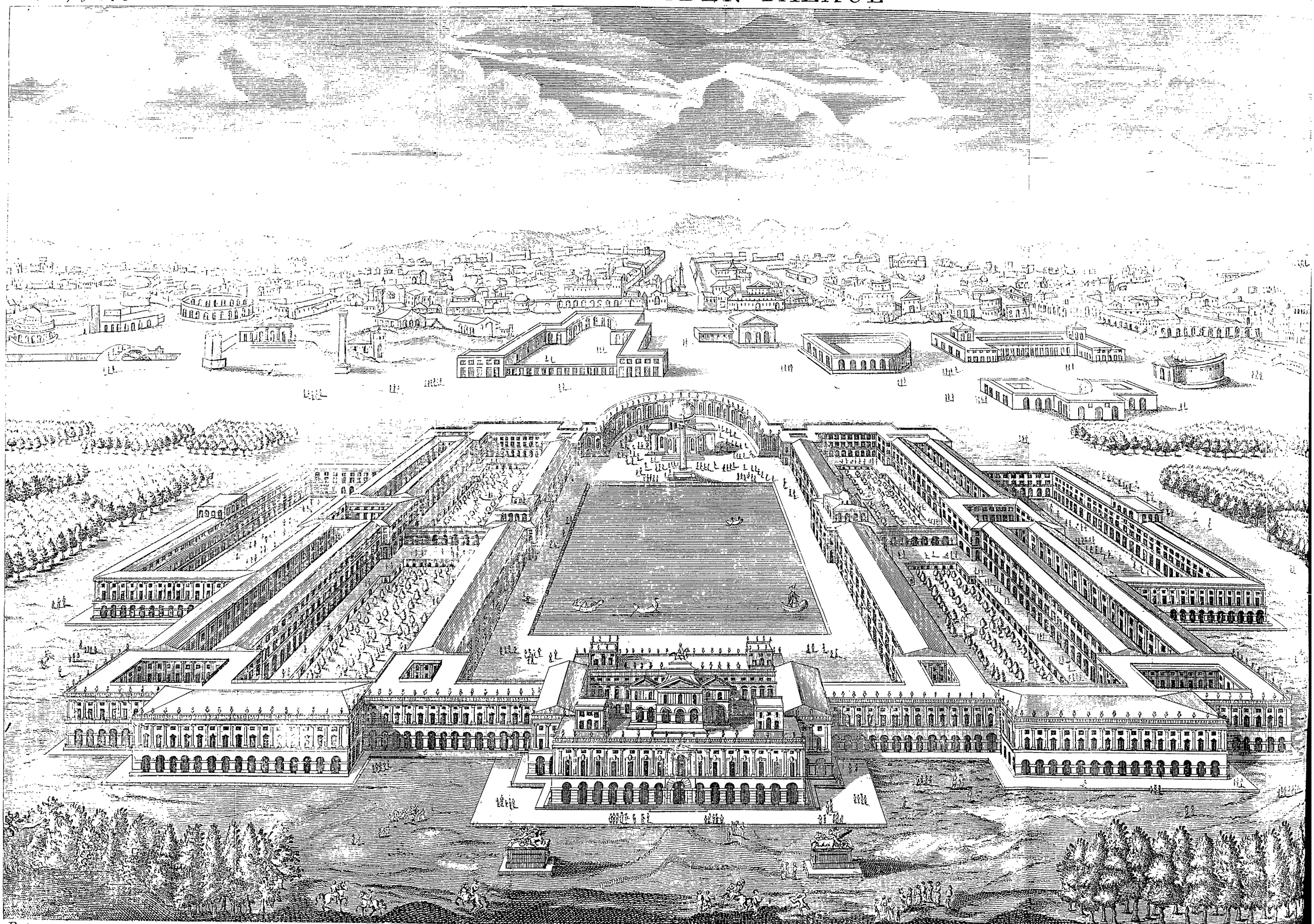
neral conflagration, he mounted his domeſtic ſtage, and ſang the deſtruction of Troy, comparing the preſent deſolation to the celebrated calamities of antiquity. At length on the ſixth day (M), the fury of the flames was ſtopt at the foot of mount Eſquiline, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, ſo that it found nothing to encounter, but the open fields and empty air. But ſcarce had the late alarm ceaſed, when the fire broke out anew with freſh rage; but in places more wide and ſpacious; whence fewer perſons were deſtroyed, but more temples overthrown and porticos appropriated to public diverſion. As this ſecond conflagration broke out in certain buildings belonging to Tigellinus, they were both generally aſcribed to Nero; and it was conjectured, that by deſtroying the old city, he aimed at the glory of building a new one, and calling it by his name. Of the fourteen quarters, into which Rome was divided, four remained entire, three were laid in aſhes, and in the ſeven others there remained only here and there a few houſes, miſerably ſhattered and half conſumed [p]. Such is the account which Tacitus gives us of this dreadful calamity. But Suetonius and Dion Caſſius are poſitive in their relations, that it was occaſioned by Nero. The former author writes, that occaſioned by Nero. The former author writes, that occaſioned happening in a private converſation with the emperor, to ſing in Greek, When I am dead let the world be burnt; nay, replied he, Let it be burnt while I am alive; and not long after being diſpleaſed with the old buildings of the city, with its narrow alleys, and irregular ſtreets, he cauſed it to be ſet on fire ſo publicly, that ſeveral of his officers were found

The fire extinguiſhed, but breaks out anew.

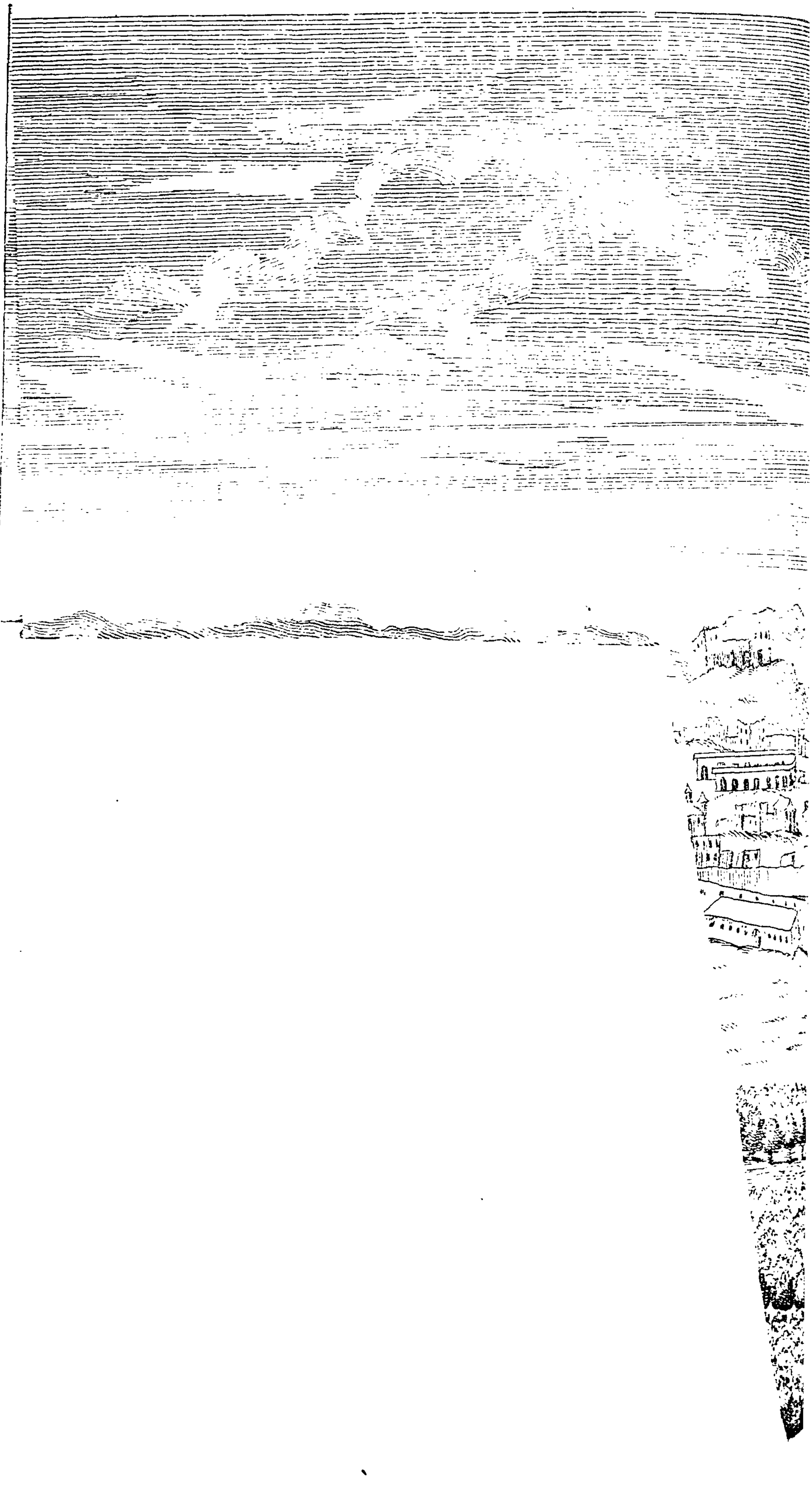
[p] Tacit. c. 38——40.

(M) Suetonius tells us, that it laſted ſix days and ſeven nights; wherein he diſagrees with an antient inſcription, ſtill to be ſeen near St. Peter's church in Rome, according to which it continued nine days. The words of the inſcription are; Ex Voto. Suſcepto. Quod. Diu. Erat Neglectum. Nec. Redditum. Incendio. Arcendorum. Cauſa. Quando. Urbs. Per. Novem. Dies. Arſit. Neronianis. Temporibus. Et. Hac. Lege. Dedicato. Eſt. Ne. Qui. Liceat. Intra. Hos. Terminos. Ædificium. Extruere. Suetonius's account cannot be reconciled with this inſcription; but that of Tacitus may; for he tells us, that the fire which was ſtopt on the ſixth day, broke out anew; ſo that the firſt conflagration may be ſaid to have laſted ſix days, and the ſecond three.

NERO'S GOLDEN PALACE



P. Fourdrinier Sculpt.



in the houſes of the great men with fire and flax in their hands, and nevertheleſs diſmiſſed becauſe they openly declared, that they had one to authorize them. There being certain ſtore-houſes near his palace, which ground he deſired to have, that with their walls of ſtone withſtood the violence of the flames, he cauſed them to be battered down by engines of war. Though in this barbarous conflagration, continues the ſame writer, the palaces of our antient commanders, adorned with hoſtile ſpoils, the temples formerly conſecrated by our kings, thoſe which the piety of our anceſtors raiſed in the Punic and Gauliſh wars, and in ſhort all the noble and ſtately monuments of antiquity, were conſumed by the devouring flames, yet Nero was ſo far from being touched with ſorrow or compaſſion, that he beheld the fire the whole time from the tower of Mecænas, and being highly pleaſed with the ſight, he chanted a poem on the deſtruction of Troy, in the ſame habit which he uſed when he ſung on the ſtage. He would not allow any one to attempt the ſtopping or extinguiſhing of the fire, promiſing to remove at his own charge the rubbiſh and dead bodies [q]. Among the many antient and ſtately edifices which the rage of the flames utterly conſumed, Tacitus reckons the temple dedicated by Servius Tullius to the moon; the temple and great altar conſecrated by Evander to Hercules, the chapel vowed by Romulus to Jupiter Stator, the court of Numa with the temple of Veſta, and in it the tutelar gods peculiar to the Romans. In the ſame fate were involved the ineſtimable treaſure acquired by ſo many victories, the wonderful works of the beſt painters and ſculptors of Greece, and what is ſtill more to be lamented, the antient writings of celebrated authors, till then preſerved perfectly entire. It was obſerved, that the fire began the ſame day on which the Gauls, having formerly taken the city, burnt it to the ground [r]. Upon the ruins of the demoliſhed city Nero founded a palace, which he called his golden houſe, though it was not ſo much admired on account of an immenſe profuſion of gold, precious ſtones, and other ineſtimable ornaments, as for its immenſe extent, containing ſpacious fields, vaſt wilderneſſes, artificial lakes, thick woods, gardens, orchards, vine-yards, hills, groves, &c. The entrance of this ſtately edifice was ſpacious enough to receive a coloſſus, repreſenting Nero,

Many noble buildings utterly conſumed.

Nero's golden palace.

[q] Suet. c. 38. [r] Tacit. c. 41.

an hundred and twenty foot high; the galleries conſiſted of three rows of tall pillars, each of them a full mile in length; the lakes were encompaſſed with magnificent buildings, in the manner of cities, and the woods ſtocked with all ſorts of wild beaſts. The houſe itſelf was tiled with gold, and the walls covered with the ſame metal, and richly adorned with precious ſtones and mother of pearl, which in thoſe days was valued above gold; the timber-work and ceilings of the rooms were inlaid with gold and ivory; the roof of one of the banquetting rooms reſembled the firmament both in its figure and motion, turning inceſſantly about night and day, and ſhowering all ſorts of ſweet waters. When this magnificent ſtructure was finiſhed, Nero approved of it only ſo far as to ſay, that at length he began to lodge like a man (N). Pliny tells us, that this palace extended quite round the city [s]. Nero, it ſeems, did not quite finiſh it; for the firſt order Otho ſigned was, as we read in Suetonius, for fifty millions of ſeſterces to be employed in perfecting the golden palace, which Nero had begun [t]. The projectors of this plan were Severus and Celer, two bold and enterprizing men, who ſoon after put the emperor upon

[s] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 31. [t] Suet. c. 31. & in Oth. c. 7.

(N) Martial deſcribes the vaſt tract of ground on which this palace ſtood (46). Several lampoons were handed about on the ſame ſubject; among the reſt the following, which likewiſe reflected on the murder of his mother and his ſhameful paſſion for playing upon the harp:

Quis neget Æneæ natum de ſtripe Neronem?
Suſtulit hic matrem, ſuſtulit ille patrem.
Dum tendit cytharam noſter, dum cornua Parthus,
Noſter erit Pæan, ille Hecatebeletes.
Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites,
Si non & Veios occupat iſta domus.

But Nero, whether he really deſpiſed ſuch reflections, or willingly ſmothered his reſentment, never ſo much as enquired after the author of theſe ſatyrs; nay, ſome of them being diſcovered, he would not ſuffer the ſenate to puniſh them with any ſeverity.

(46) Mart. lib de ſpect, epig. 2.

upon a ſtill more expenſive and arduous undertaking, namely, that of cutting a canal, through hard rocks and ſteep mountains, from the lake Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber, an hundred and ſixty miles in length, and of ſuch breadth, that two galleys of five ranks of oars might eaſily paſs abreaſt. His view in this was to open a communication between Rome and Campania, free from the troubles and dangers of the ſea; for this very year a great number of veſſels laden with corn were ſhipwrecked at cape Miſenum, the pilots chuſing rather to venture out in a violent ſtorm, than not to arrive at the time they were expected by Nero [u]. For the perfecting of this great undertaking, the emperor ordered the priſoners from all parts to be tranſported into Italy, and ſuch as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to his works. We are told, that to this bold and extravagant attempt he was likewiſe encouraged by a Roman knight, who aſſured him, that he could help him to the immenſe treaſures, which Queen Dido had carried along with her from Tyre, and buried in vaſt caves under-ground in Africa, whence they might without much trouble be recovered [w]. Nero, who undertook nothing with more ardor and readineſs, than what was deemed impoſſible, expended incredible ſums in this raſh undertaking, and exerted all his might to cut through the mountains adjoining to the lake Avernus; but not being able to remove by art the obſtacles of nature, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterpriſe [x]. Undertakes things impoſſible.

THE ground, which was not taken up by the foundations of Nero's own palace, he aſſigned for houſes, which were not placed, as after the burning of the city by the Gauls, at random and without order; but the ſtreets were laid out regularly, ſpacious and ſtrait; the edifices reſtrained to a certain height, perhaps of ſeventy foot, according to the plan of Auguſtus; the courts were widened, and to all the great houſes, which ſtood by themſelves and were called iſles, large porticos were added, which Nero engaged to raiſe at his own expence, and to deliver to each proprietor the ſquares about them clear from all rubbiſh. He likewiſe promiſed rewards according to every man's rank and ſubſtance, and fixed a day for the diſcharge of Rome rebuilt.

[u] Suet. ibid. Tacit. c. 46. [w] Suet. ibid. [x] Tacit. c. 42.

his promiſe, on condition, that againſt that day their ſeveral houſes and palaces were finiſhed. He moreover made the following wiſe regulations to obviate ſuch a dreadful calamity for the future, viz. that the new building ſhould be raiſed to a certain height without timber; that they ſhould be arched with ſtone from the quarries of Gabii and Alba, which were proof againſt fire; that over the common ſprings, which were diverted by private men for their own uſes, overſeers ſhould be placed to prevent that abuſe; that every citizen ſhould have ready in his houſe, ſome machine proper to extinguiſh fire; that no wall ſhould be common to two houſes, but every houſe be incloſed within its own peculiar walls, &c. Thus the city in a ſhort time roſe out of its aſhes with new luſtre, and more beautiful than ever. However, ſome believed, that the antient form was more conducing to health, the rays of the ſun being hardly felt, on account of the narrowneſs of the ſtreets and the height of the buildings, whereas now there was no ſhelter againſt the ſcorching heat [y]. We are told, that Nero deſigned to extend the walls to Oſtia, and to bring from thence, by a canal, the ſea into the city [z]. As Nero, notwithſtanding all his bounties, was ſtill univerſally believed to have been the author of the conflagration, in order to wipe off this aſperſion, he transferred the guilt upon the Chriſtians, who were already very numerous in the city, and raiſed the firſt general perſecution. We ſhall deliver, in our hiſtorian's own words, what he writes upon this ſubject, miſled, no doubt, by the accounts that were current among the Romans, and crediting, as he wanted an opportunity of being better informed, the calumnies, with which the enemies, of truth laboured to diſcredit ſuch as profeſſed it. Nero, ſays he, to ſuppreſs the prevailing rumour, that he was the author of the conflagration, transferred the guilt upon ſuppoſed criminals, ſubjecting to moſt exquiſite torments thoſe people, who for their enormous crimes were already univerſally abhorred, and known to the vulgar by the name of Chriſtians(O). The

Precautions to prevent the like diſaſter.

Nero tranſfers upon the Chriſtians the guilt of burning the city.

Tacitus's account of them.

author

[y] Idem, c. . 43. [z] Suet. c. 16.

(O) Tacitus ſeems in this particular to confound the Chriſtians with the Jews; for ſpeaking of the latter in his hiſtory (28); They

(28) Tacit. hiſt. l. v.

author of this name was Chriſt, who in the reign of Tiberius was executed under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa. The peſtilent ſuperſtition was for a while ſuppreſſed; but it revived again, and ſpread, not only over Judæa, where this evil was firſt broached, but reached Rome, whither from every quarter of the earth is conſtantly flowing, whatever is hideous and abominable amongſt men, and is there readily embraced and practiſed. Firſt therefore were apprehended ſuch as openly owned themſelves to be of that ſect; then by them was diſcovered an immenſe multitude, and all were convicted, not of the crime of burning Rome, but of their hatred and enmity to mankind. Their death and torture was aggravated with cruel deriſion and ſport; for they were either covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, and torn in pieces by devouring dogs, or faſtened to croſſes, or wrapt up in combuſtible garments, that when the day-light failed, they might, like torches, ſerve to diſpel the darkneſs of the night. For this tragical ſpectacle Nero lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the

They are immoveable, ſays he, in their adherence to one another, and prone to acts of compaſſion; but towards the whole human race beſides, they maintain a mortal and implacable hatred. With all others they refuſe to eat; with all others they refuſe to lodge; nay, though they are a people abandoned to ſenſuality, they avoid the embraces of all foreign women. This cenſure they deſerved in the time of Tacitus, as they ſtill do in ours, ſaving the laſt particular mentioned by our hiſtorian; for now they condeſcend to the embraces of foreign harlots. They had not common mercy towards the Gentiles and uncircumciſed; and being perſuaded, that the Almighty loved only their nation, they fancied that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred, the whole human race beſides; ſo that it was ſaid of them by Tacitus too truly, adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium. But ſurely the Chriſtians did not, at leaſt in Tacitus's time, deſerve this cenſure: an univerſal and unbounded charity is the main baſis and characteriſtic of our religion; and it is not probable, that the Chriſtians were then ſo degenerated as to diſgrace their profeſſion, by neglecting the moſt eſſential duty of it. They avoided indeed, the profane meetings of the Gentiles, their lewd revels, their ſhews and ſpectacles; and thence were thought, as Arnobius obſerves, by men not acquainted with their principles, to hate the Gentiles themſelves.

the ſame time the public diverſion of the circus, ſometimes driving a chariot in perſon, and ſometimes ſtanding as a ſpectator among the populace in the habit of a charioteer. Hence towards the miſerable ſufferers, however guilty and deſerving the moſt examplary puniſhment, compaſſion aroſe, ſeeing they were doomed to periſh, not with a view to the public good, but to gratify the cruelty of one man[i], Thus far Tacitus, who, 'tis manifeſt, was quite unacquainted with the ſacred myſteries and ſound morals of our religion. He was himſelf a man of ſtrict morality, and diſplays, throughout all his writings, a ſpirit truly virtuous and humane; no wonder therefore, if conſidering the Chriſtians as enemies to mankind, according to the prevailing notion, and their religion as a new ſect inconſiſtent with the laws of Rome, and threatening civil tumults, he painted them in ſuch ugly colours. But, after all, he does them the juſtice to vindicate them from the aſperſions of Nero, and expoſe the barbarous treatment they met with from that tyrant.

Nero betakes himſelf to all manner of rapine.

In the mean time, Nero having, with the immenſe ſums, he had expended in building his golden houſe, and embelliſhing the city, quite drained his exchequer, to ſupply his prodigality betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and extortion. Not Italy alone, but the provinces, the ſeveral confederate nations, and all thoſe cities, that had the title of free, were pillaged and laid waſte. In this general ſpoil were involved the temples of the gods, being ſtript of all their rich ornaments, of all the treaſures, which the Roman people in every age of their ſtate had conſecrated, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or vows fulfilled. Through Greece and Aſia the ſame ravages were committed, Acratus an imperial freedman, and Secundus Carinas, two prompt inſtruments, as Tacitus ſtyles them, to execute any iniquity, however black and flagrant, being ſent into thoſe provinces with a commiſſion to ſtrip every-where the temples of all their ornaments, gifts, oblations, &c. and convey them together with the ſtatues and images of the gods themſelves to Rome[k], where they were melted down, and turned into money[l]. Suetonius aſſures us, that from this time forward he never raiſed any man to an office, without tell

Plunders Italy and the provinces.

[i] Tacit. c. 44. [k] Idem, c. 45. [l] Suet. c. 32.

ing him, You know what I want; let us make it our buſineſs, that no one may have any thing, which he can call his own [m]. Seneca, fearing theſe ſacrileges and iniquitous extortions might be imputed to him, begged leave to retire to a ſeat of his own, remote from Rome; but that being refuſed him, he confined himſelf to his chamber, pretending an indiſpoſition in his nerves. Some writers tell us, that one of his freed-men, named Cleonicus, had, by the command of Nero, prepared poiſon for him; but that he eſcaped it, either by the diſcovery made by the freed-man, or by his own caution; for being appriſed of the danger he was in, he led a moſt abſtemious life, ſatisfying his hunger with wild fruit from the woods, and quenching his thirſt with a draught from the common fountain [n]. Of this wonderful temperance and ſobriety, he ſpeaks himſelf in one of his letters: I banquet, ſays he, upon dry bread, and dine without a table [o]; my dinner is ſuch that after it I have no occaſion to waſh my hands: and elſewhere [p]; I ſleep little, and watch much; I abſtain from all wine, avoid bathing, and uſe no ointments, being perſuaded, that with reſpect to our bodies, of all ſmells, no ſmell is the beſt. In the cloſe of the year, the heads and mouths of the populace were filled with prodigies (P), ſaid to have happened, and always looked upon as the fore-runners of ſome dreadful calamity. A comet too appeared, an omen ever ſuppoſed to portend misfortunes threatening ſome ſovereign power. Nero was therefore under no ſmall apprehenſion; but an aſtrologer, by name Babilus, having acquainted him, that among monarchs it was uſual upon ſuch occaſions to avert thoſe omens from them

Seneca is refuſed leave to retire.

[m] Idem, ibid.
[n] Tacit. c. 45.
[o] Senec. ep. 84.
[p] Idem ep. 109.

(P) In the ſtreets and roads were found expoſed ſeveral monſters with double heads, ſome brutes, and ſome of the human ſpecies: ſome were alſo taken from the bellies of victims: in the territory of Placentia was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg; a prodigy, which, according to the interpretation of the ſoothſayers, foreboded, that for human kind another head was preparing, that would not remain long concealed (29).

(29) Idem, c. 42.

themſelves by ſome extraordinary maſſacre, he reſolved utterly to exterminate the whole ſenatorial order, and commit the government of the provinces, and the command of the armies, to the knights and his freed-men.

Piſo's conſpiracy.

This bloody deſign he began to put in execution the following year, when A. Licinius Nerva Silanus, and M. Veſtinus Atticus were conſuls, a conſpiracy, which was then diſcovered, affording him a plauſible pretence for the mighty carnage. In this memorable conſpiracy were engaged, we may ſay, the whole nobility of Rome; ſenators, knights, ſoldiers, and even women, entering into it with great eagerneſs and competition, partly from their deteſtation of Nero, and partly from their zeal for Caius Piſo, who was at the head of it. He was allied to moſt of the illuſtrious families in Rome, and for his own virtues, or qualities, as Tacitus obſerves, that reſembled virtues, highly favoured by the populace; for he was a great orator, and employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow-citizens; generous to his friends and acquaintance, and even to ſuch as were unknown to him, affable and complaiſant: he was of a tall ſtature, of a graceful countenance, and extremely popular in his language and addreſs; but ſo far from being ſtrict and auſtere in his life and manners, that he obſerved no reſtraint in his pleaſures, abandoning himſelf to all manner of debauchery and luxury, a conduct, ſays our hiſtorian, not diſapproved of by thoſe who deſigned to raiſe him to the empire; for they did not care that the ſupreme head of the empire ſhould be in his morals over ſevere. However, he was not the firſt author of the conſpiracy; nay, our hiſtorian tells us, that it was never known by whom the deſign was firſt concerted, though Subrius Flavius, tribune of a prætorian cohort, and Sulpicius Aſper, a centurion, ſeem to have been the moſt forward champions in it. Among the firſt who entered into it, our hiſtorian names Lucan, the celebrated poet, Plautius Lateranus, conſul elect, Flavius Scevinus, and Afranius Quinctilianus. Lucan was inſtigated by perſonal provocations, Nero, who was poſſeſſed with an ardent ambition of excelling in poetry, having from a ridiculous emulation forbid the publication of his poems: Lateranus, from whom the famous baſilic at Rome took its name, was piqued by no injury done to himſelf, but engaged in a plot from a ſincere affection to the republic. The other two had ſouls drowned in ſenſuality, and had till that time lived in ſloth and debauchery: what prompted

His character.

Many perſons of diſtinction concerned in it.

Scevinus

Scevinus to conſpire, we are not told; but Quinctilianus became an accomplice in order to be revenged on Nero, for having in a virulent ſatire publiſhed his ſcandalous and unnatural lewdneſs. Rome was ſurpriſed, that two men of ſuch characters ſhould engage in an enterpriſe ſo great and daring. Theſe we have mentioned drew ſoon into the combination Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatus Araricus, Julius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Martius Feſtus, all Roman knights. Out of the troops, beſides the two officers already mentioned, were aſſumed as accomplices, Granius Silvanus, Statius Proximus, both tribunes of the prætorian bands, Maximus Scaurus, Venetus Paulus, two centurions, and as their main ſtrength and dependence, Fenius Rufus, captain of the imperial guards, a man greatly eſteem'd by the people, and on that account hated both by his collegue Tigellinus and the emperor. The conſpirators were no ſooner aſſured, that Rufus had embraced their party, than they began more reſolutely to debate about the time and place of the intended aſſaſſination. Subrius Flavius undertook to aſſail Nero, while he was ſinging on the ſtage, or ſcouring the ſtreets in his drunken revels by night, unattended by his guards; but a too great anxiety to eſcape with impunity, ever unſeaſonable in great enterpriſes, reſtrained him [q].

Epicharis a freed-woman animates the conſpirators.

In the mean time, the conſpirators putting off from day to day the execution of their deſign, a woman, named Epicharis, took upon her to rouſe them. It was utterly unknown by what means ſhe came at all to be appriſed of the plot; for till that time ſhe had never ſhewn the leaſt regard to honour, virtue, or honeſty. When ſhe found that all her reproaches and exhortations were to no effect, impatient of their ſlowneſs, ſhe left Rome, and haſtened into Campania, where ſhe employed all her induſtry and ſkill to eſtrange from Nero the hearts of the chief officers of the fleet riding at Miſenum, and to engage them in the deſign, which they had frequent opportunities of executing, as the emperor took great delight in ſailing often along the coaſts of Miſenum and Puteoli. In that fleet, Volueſus Proculus, who had been employed by Nero to diſpatch his mother, had the command of a thouſand marines. But as he did not think himſelf thereby ſufficiently rewarded for ſo meritorious a murder, either from an old acquaintance with Epicharis,

[q] Idem, c. 48—50.

Epicharis, or a friendſhip newly contracted, he related to her his ſignal ſervices to Nero, adding bitter complaints, that he had not been diſtinguiſhed with promotion equal to his deſerts. In anſwer to him, Epicharis urged all the crying cruelties, all the barbarous outrages committed by the tyrant, and at the ſame time acquainted him with the conſpiracy; but had the precaution to conceal from him the names of the conſpirators. The traitor was no ſooner let into the ſecret, than he flew to Rome, and betrayed the whole to Nero. But his diſcovery availed nothing; for when Epicharis was ſummoned and confronted with the informer, as his charge againſt her was ſupported by no witneſſes, ſhe denied it, pretending to be greatly amazed at the impudent boldneſs of the accuſer. However, ſhe was detained in priſon, Nero ſuſpecting that the charge was not falſe, though not proved to be true[r]. The conſpirators being, notwithſtanding the ſilence of Epicharis, apprehenſive of a diſcovery, came to a reſolution to haſten the intended murder, and choſe, as the moſt convenient place for the execution of their deſign, a villa at Baiæ belonging to Piſo, whither the emperor frequently reſorted to bathe and banquet, with a ſmall number of attendants. But in this Piſo would by no means concur, alledging the general abhorrence which muſt enſue, were the ſacred rights of hoſpitality violated, with the murder of a prince, however wicked. He thought it more adviſeable to diſpatch him at Rome, either in the deteſted houſe, which he had reared with the ſpoils of the unhappy city, or in the face of the public, ſince for the benefit of the public the deſign had been undertaken. Thus he reaſoned openly among the conſpirators; but in his heart he was influenced by ſecret jealouſy, fearing leaſt Lucius Silanus, a man of extraordinary accompliſhments, might, as he was then at Rome, upon the firſt news of Nero's death, ſeize the vacant ſovereignty for himſelf. He was likewiſe jealous of the conſul Veſtinus, not knowing but he might, as he was a man of great intrepidity, attempt the reſtoring of the antient government, or beſtow the empire upon ſome other, as a gift of his own. The conſpirators, moved by the reaſonings of Piſo, unanimouſly agreed to execute their deſign, not at Baiæ, but at Rome, on the anniverſary ſacred to Ceres, and always ſolemniſed with Circenſian games, at which Nero never failed

She is accuſed to Nero, but baffles her accuſer.

Piſo is jealous of Silanus and the conſul Veſtinus.

[r] Idem. c. 51, 52.

failed to aſſiſt, giving free acceſs to all, during the gaiety of the ſports. The deſign was to be executed in the following manner: Lateranus, who was but in ſlender circumſtances, under pretence of imploring relief, was to fall at the prince's feet, and, while he apprehended no ſuch attempt, throw him down, and keep him fixed to the ground. Then the tribunes, centurions, and the other conſpirators, were, each according to his boldneſs, to ruſh in and diſpatch him. Scevinus earneſtly claimed the honour and ſatisfaction of giving the firſt blow; for having formerly taken a dagger out of a temple, he carried it conſtantly about him, as conſecrated to the execution of ſome mighty deſign. It was moreover agreed, that Piſo ſhould wait the event in the temple of Ceres, and be thence brought forth by Fenius, captain of the guards, and conducted to the camp (Q).

Scevinus claims the honour of giving the firſt blow.

The day before that, which was appointed for the execution of the deſign, Scevinus, upon his returning home from a long conference with Antonius Natalis, ſealed his will; then unſheathing the above-mentioned dagger, he complained it was blunt and ruſty, charging Milichus, one of his freed men, to have it ground and ſharpened at the point: next he ordered a repaſt, more ſumptuous and profuſe than ordinary, to be got ready; after which he preſented his favourite ſlaves with their liberty, and others with ſums of money: his countenance, in the midſt of an affected chearfulneſs, appeared clouded: in his diſcourſe he was continually running from one ſubject to another, without attending to any; whence all who were preſent, concluded, that his mind was fraught with ſome great deſign: at laſt he ordered the ſame Milichus to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for ſtopping blood. The freedman, reflecting on theſe orders, and concluding with himſelf,

The conſpiracy how diſcovered.

(Q) Pliny tells us, that in order to attract the affections of the people, Antonia, daughter of the late emperor Claudius, was to accompany Piſo to the camp. But our hiſtorian thinks it incredible, that either Antonia ſhould contribute her name, and riſque her life, to promote a ſcheme, from which ſhe could reap no advantage, or that Piſo, who was univerſally known to be paſſionately fond of his wife, ſhould engage to marry another (30).

(30) Idem, c. 44.

ſelf, that a conſpiracy was undoubtedly carrying on, and his patron concerned in it, haſtened next morning by break of day to the gardens of Servilius, where Nero then was; and being refuſed admittance, declared that he came to diſcover matters of the utmoſt importance. Hereupon he was by the porters conducted to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's freed-men, and by him forthwith to the emperor himſelf, to whom he related all the circumſtances he had obſerved, ſhewed the dagger, and deſired the criminal to be immediately ſent for. Accordingly, Scevinus was by a band of ſoldiers haſtily ſeized and dragged before the emperor; but defended himſelf with a ſpirit ſo undaunted, and inveighed againſt the informer as a treacherous wretch, ſtill actuated by the baſe ſpirit of a ſlave, with ſuch firmneſs and intrepidity, that the informer had been baffled, had not his wife put him in mind, that Antonius Natalis had held a long conference with Scevinus, and that both lived in cloſe confidence with Caius Piſo. Natalis was therefore immediately ſent for, and both he and Scevinus examined apart concerning the particulars of that conference. As their anſwers varied, they were thrown into irons, and threatened with the rack, the ſight of which neither of them being able to bear, they diſcovered the whole order and progreſs of the conſpiracy. Natalis confeſſed the firſt, and declared how far Piſo was concerned in the plot, and named alſo Seneca; but whether he had acted as an inter-agent between him and Piſo, or whether Natalis impeached him only to purchaſe the favour of Nero, who was daily hunting after ſome ſpecious pretence to deſtroy him, is uncertain. Scevinus, underſtanding that by Natalis a confeſſion was made, and that no advantage could be reaped from his ſilence, yielded at length, and declared all the other accomplices. Of theſe Lucan, Quinctilianus, and Senecio, perſiſted long in denying the charge; but at length were decoyed by a promiſe of impunity; and then, to atone for their backwardneſs, they informed againſt their deareſt friends, Lucan againſt Attilia, his own mother, Quinctilianus againſt Glicius Gallus, and Senecio againſt Annius Pollio. In the mean time, Nero, recollecting that Epicharis was detained in priſon, and ſuppoſing, that the tender body of a woman could never endure the violence of the rack, commanded her to be rent and mangled with all ſorts of torments. But her firmneſs and magnanimity was proof againſt the fury of ſtripes, of fire, and of all the torments the executioners could

Several of the conſpirators ſeized.

The firmneſs and intrepity of Epicharis.

could invent, though they exerted their utmoſt efforts in cruelty, leaſt they ſhould be at laſt ſcorned and baffled by a woman. She ſtill utterly denied every particular; and ſuch was the iſſue of the firſt day's torture. The next day, as ſhe was reconducted in a chair to ſuffer anew the ſame torments, for all her members were ſo rent and diſjointed, that ſhe could not ſupport herſelf, with the girdle, that bound her breaſts, ſhe framed a nooſe for her neck, and tying it to the top of the chair, hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and put an end to the poor remains of life. Thus a woman, who was once a ſlave, chearfully ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty could invent, and death itſelf, to protect perſons, whom ſhe ſcarce knew, when men born free, when Roman knights and ſenators, without once feeling the torture, betrayed their deareſt friends, their neareſt relations. For Lucan, Senecio, and Quinctilianus were daily making new diſcoveries, and ſtill naming more accomplices; which ſo terrified Nero, that he not only doubled his guards, but poſted bands of ſoldiers upon the walls and all round the city, lined the ſea-coaſt and the banks of the Tiber with numerous detachments, ordered parties of foot and horſe to ſcour the fields night and day, to range in the public ſquares, in the neighbouring municipal towns, to enter the private houſes, &c. With the prætorian guards Germans were intermixt; for in them, as they were foreigners, the prince chiefly confided [s].

She hangs herſelf with her girdle.

Nero's great conſternation

And now the accuſed were dragged in whole droves, numbers after numbers, to Nero's tribunal, which was erected in his gardens, and lay together at the gates, expecting to be ſucceſſively admitted and examined. If upon their tryal it appeared, that they had ever been ſeen ſmiling with any of the conſpirators; that they had ever ſpoke with them, met them, however fortuitouſly, been common gueſts at the ſame table, or ſat together at ſome public ſhew; all this, or any part of it, was imputed as an unpardonable crime. The judges were Nero himſelf, Tigellinus, and his collegue Fenius Rufus, who, as he was not yet detected, proved more ſevere than the other two in examining his own aſſociates, in order to perſuade the prince, that he was an utter ſtranger to the plot. Nay, to him it was owing, that the deſign was not put in execution, even

[s] Idem, c. 52—58.

even during the examination of the conſpirators: for the brave tribune, Subrius Flavius, who attended and was not yet impeached or ſuſpected, having demanded by ſigns, whether he ſhould draw his ſword, and diſpatch the tyrant, was by contrary ſigns checked and forbid, when he had already graſped the hilt. When the conſpiracy was firſt diſcovered, there were ſome, who exhorted Piſo to proceed directly to the camp, or mount the roſtrum, and try the affections of the people and ſoldiery, ſince nothing worſe could befal him, though both the ſoldiery and people failed him, than he muſt already expect; nay, by loſing his life in ſo glorious an attempt, he would approve himſelf worthy of his anceſtors, and leave a glorious example to his poſterity; whereas, if he neglected the preſent opportunity, he would be ſoon ſeized, committed to bonds, and condemned to an ignominious death. But Piſo, rejecting the advice of his friends and aſſociates, the beſt that could be given him at the preſent juncture, retired, without making the leaſt attempt, to his own houſe, where upon the arrival of a band of ſoldiers to ſeize him, he opened the veins in both his arms, and bled to death. He left a will full of fulſome flattery towards Nero; and this out of tenderneſs to his wife Arria Galla, whom he had taken from Domitius Silius, a friend of his own, though ſhe was a woman of moſt vicious inclinations, and, ſave the beauty of her perſon, deſtitute of every recommendation. Next followed the death of Plautius Lateranus, conſul elect, inflicted with ſuch precipitation, that he was not allowed even to embrace his children; but inſtantly dragged to the place allotted for the execution of ſlaves, and there ſlaughtered by the hand of Statius the tribune. He died with exemplary firmneſs and intrepidity, uttered not a ſyllable relating to the conſpiracy; but with an undaunted ſpirit, anſwered Epaphroditus, the emperor's freedman and ſecretary, who aſked him ſome queſtions, If I were mean enough to make any diſcoveries, it would be to your maſter, not to you. He did not even upbraid the tribune appointed to cut off his head, tho' he too was concerned with him in the conſpiracy [t]. Arrian tells us, that the firſt blow having only wounded him, he ſhook his head a little, and then preſented his neck again to the executioner [u].

Subrius Flavius offers to kill Nero, but is checked by the cowardly Fenius Rufus.

Piſo puts himſelf to death.

Plautius Lateranus dies with great intrepidity.

THE next illuſtrious perſon ſacrificed on this occaſion was Annæus Seneca, to the infinite joy of Nero, who had been long ſeeking his deſtruction. Natalis alone had named him, and con-

The particulars of Seneca's death.

[t] Tacit. c. 16. [u] Arrian. ex Epict. l. i. c. 1.

concerning him could only diſcover thus much, that he had been ſent by Piſo to viſit Seneca, then indiſpoſed, to complain in his name, that he was debarred acceſs to him, and to repreſent, that it would he better if they maintained their friendſhip by familiar converſation; that to this Seneca replied, that frequent interviews and converſations by themſelves were conducing to the ſervice of neither; but that upon the ſafety of Piſo his own welfare depended. Granius Silvanus, tribune of a prætorian cohort, was ſent to Seneca, with orders to aſk him, whether he owned the words of Natalis and his own anſwers? Seneca was returned that very day from Campania, and had ſtopped at a villa of his, four miles from Rome. Thither arrived the tribune in the evening; and having beſet the villa with his men, he entered the houſe, and acquainted Seneca with his commiſſion, while he ſat at table with Paulina his wife, and two friends. Seneca anſwered, That Natalis had in truth been ſent to him, and had complained in Piſo's name, that he was refuſed admitance; a complaint which he had anſwered by excuſing himſelf, on account of his bodily diſorder and his love of quiet. He denied to have ever declared, that his ſafety depended upon that of any private man, adding, that he was not at all addicted to flattery, as no man better knew than Nero. When this anſwer was by the tribune reported to the emperor, he aſked, whether Seneca ſeemed determined upon a voluntary death? I have not diſcovered, replied the tribune, either in his words or looks, the leaſt ſymptom of fear. Hereupon Nero commanded him to return directly, and acquaint him, that he muſt die. The tribune who was himſelf one of the conſpirators, took not the ſame way he came; but turning aſide, went firſt to Fenius, captain of the guards, and diſcloſing to him the emperor's orders, aſked, whether he ſhould obey them? The cowardly commander adviſed him to execute his commiſſion, and act in every reſpect as if he were an utter ſtranger to the plot. Thus Fenius and Silvanus, through a meanneſs and timidity hardly to be believed, contributed to multiply thoſe very cruelties, which they had conſpired to avenge. However, the tribune avoided ſeeing Seneca, and delivering in perſon the ſaid meſſage; but ſent in a centurion to appriſe him of his doom. Seneca heard the ſentence without betraying the leaſt diſmay or concern, and calmly called for his will; but that being denied him by the centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, that ſince he was prevented from gratefully acknowledging their favours,

he bequeathed them that which alone was now left him, the pattern of his life. He repreſſed their tears, ſometimes with gentle reaſoning, ſometimes with ſharp rebukes, aſking them, Where were now all the documents of philoſophy? where the precepts of wiſdom ſo many years premeditated againſt impending calamities? for to whom, ſaid he, is unknown the bloody nature of Nero? After the butchering of his mother and brother, what remained, but to add to theirs the ſlaughter of his preceptor and inſtructor? After he had diſcourſed ſome time to the company in general, he embraced his wife; an affecting object! which ſomewhat abated his firmneſs, and ſeemed to ſoften his philoſophical ſpirit. He beſought her to moderate her ſorrow, and to fortify herſelf againſt the grief ariſing from the loſs of her huſband, by the contemplation of his life ſpent in a ſteady courſe of virtue. Paulina, on the contrary, reſolutely declared, that ſhe was determined to die with him. This declaration ſurpriſed Seneca, who unwilling to bereave her of ſo much glory, and loth to leave one, whom he tenderly loved, expoſed to inſults and injuries, after a ſhort pauſe, Since to the delights of a ſhort life, you prefer, ſaid he, the everlaſting fame of a glorious death, I ſhall not envy you this honour. Let us ſhare the glory of ſo brave an end, tho' your ſhare will be by far the greater. After this converſation, both had the veins of their arms opened at the ſame inſtant. As Seneca was aged, and his body extenuated with a ſlender diet, his blood iſſued but ſlowly; whereupon he cauſed the veins of his legs and thoſe about the joints of his knees to be likewiſe cut. As he ſuffered cruel agonies, he perſuaded his wife to retire into another chamber, leſt his torments ſhould ſhake her reſolution, or he himſelf, affected with her pangs, betray weakneſs and impatience. As his eloquence did not fail him to the laſt moment of his life, he called for his ſcribes, and dictated to them many things, which were publiſhed after his death. As Nero bore no perſonal enmity to Paulina, and was well appriſed, that her death would double the hatred of the public towards him, he ſent orders to the ſoldiers to prevent her from dying; who thereupon commanded her domeſtic ſlaves and freed-men to bind up her arms and ſtop the blood; but whether this was done without her knowledge, or with her concurrence, is uncertain; for as men are commonly prone to believe the worſt, there were ſome who aſſerted, that while ſhe deſpaired of her pardon, ſhe aſpired at the glory of dying with her huſband;

The conſtancy of his wife.

She is prevented from dying by Nero's orders.

band; but yielded to the allurements of life, as ſoon as ſhe found the prince inclined to mercy. However that be, ſhe outlived her huſband but a few years, ever pale and in a languiſhing condition, and retained to the laſt a reverence for his memory worthy of all praiſe. Seneca, in the mean time, to haſten his death which advanced but ſlowly, beſought Statius Annæus, an intimate friend of his and well ſkilled in medicine, to bring him a draught of poiſon, which he had prepared long before, and kept by him. This he ſwallowed but in vain, his limbs being chilled with cold, and his juices ſtagnated. He had therefore recourſe to a hot bath, to haſten by that means the operation of the poiſon, or to make his blood flow more freely. With the water of the bath he ſprinkled ſuch of his ſlaves as ſtood near him, ſaying, With this liquor I make a libation to Jupiter the deliverer. This he did in imitation of the Greeks, who in departing after a banquet, uſed to make libations to Jupiter the preſerver. As the bath had not the deſired effect, and the ſoldiers were very preſſing, he was at laſt conveyed into a ſtove, and there ſuffocated with the ſteam. His corps was burnt without any funeral ſolemnity, purſuant to a will which he had made, even while he was in high favour with the prince[w]. Thus died the celebrated L. Annæus Seneca, on the twelfth, or, as others will have it on the thirteenth, of April. Dion Caſſius aſſures us, that he was privy to the conſpiracy, from which charge Tacitus does not attempt to clear him. He tells us indeed, that Nero had no proof of his being engaged in the plot; but adds, that a rumour prevailed, that Subrius Flavius, in a ſecret conſultation with the centurions, not without the privacy of Seneca, had determined as ſoon as Nero was cut off by the aid of Piſo, to diſpatch Piſo too, and transfer the empire to Seneca; nay, the very words, ſaid to have been uttered by Flavius, in that conference, became current, viz. That it availed nothing to depoſe a minſtrel, if he were to be ſucceeded by a tragedian; for as Nero uſed to play upon the harp, ſo Piſo's chief delight was to ſing attired like an actor in a tragedy. Of Seneca's writings we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. As to his manners, we ſhall only ſay, that many things were imputed to him, perhaps not undeſervedly, altogether inconſiſtent with the philoſophy which he profeſſed. He entertained a mighty

Seneca takes poiſon in vain.

His laſt words.

Is ſuffocated in a hot bath.

[w] Tacit. c. 62, 64. [x] Dio, l. lxii. p. 713.

opinion of his own virtue; but few have hitherto concurred with him in the ſame ſentiments.

Fenius Rufus is accuſed and apprehended.

HITHERTO Fenius Rufus had proceeded with more ſeverity, than either Tigellinus or Nero himſelf, againſt the conſpirators his accomplices; but was in the end detected; for while in the examination of Flavius Scevinus the ſenator, he urged him with many menaces to a full confeſſion, Scevinus ſmiled, and told him, That no man was better acquainted with the particulars of the plot than himſelf. Fenius attempted to refute the charge; but, faultering and perplexed in his ſpeech, he gave manifeſt tokens of his guilt and diſmay: whereupon he was by the emperor's orders immediately ſeized and dragged to priſon. At the ſame time the brave tribune Subrius Flavius was impeached. He at firſt defended himſelf; but being preſſed by the informers, he not only owned the charge, but gloried in it; and in anſwer to Nero, who aſked him, Upon what provocation he had ſlighted the obligation of his oath? for the ſoldiery, eſpecially the officers bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to protect the prince againſt all foreign and domeſtic enemies; Becauſe I abhorred thee, ſaid he, though there was not in the whole army one more zealouſly attached to thee than I, ſo long as thou didſt merit affection; but I began to hate thee, when thou becameſt the murderer of thy mother, the muderer of thy brother and wife, a charioteer, a comedian, and an incendiary. Tacitus tells us, that the whole conſpiracy afforded nothing which proved ſo bitter and pungent to Nero as this reproach. He ordered Flavius to be immediately put to death, committing the execution to Veianus Niger, a tribune, who led him into the next field, and there ordered in the firſt place a funeral trench to be dug, ſuch as ſerved for a grave to the ſoldiers, who died in the camp. Flavius found fault with it, as too ſtreight and ſhallow; and turning to the guard of ſoldiers, This, ſaid he, without betraying the leaſt concern, is not even done according to the laws of diſcipline. When the tribune deſired him to ſtretch out his neck valiantly; I wish, replied he, thou mayeſt ſtrike as valiantly; and truly the tribune was ſeized with ſuch a violent trembling, that he with difficulty cut off his head at two blows. However, he afterwards bragged to Nero, that he had deſignedly employed more blows than one. The next example of firmneſs and conſtancy was adminiſtered by Sulpicius Aſper

Subrius Flavius reviles Nero to his face.

His laſt brave words, and contempt of death.

the centurion; who being aſked by Nero, Why he had conſpired againſt him? anſwered in a few words, Becauſe there was no other relief againſt thy abominable enormities. The other centurions faced death with equal bravery. But Fenius Rufus betrayed a meaneſs quite unbecoming a man of his rank and profeſſion; nay, he even filled his laſt will with unmanly lamentations. Nero hoped to find the conſul Veſtinus likewiſe concerned in the conſpiracy; but, as he was a man of a violent ſpirit and altogether untractable, the conſpirators had not thought fit to impart their deſign to him. He had once lived in cloſe confidence with Nero; but afterwards abuſing the freedom which the emperor allowed him, and utterly deſpiſing him, he uſed frequently to inſult the prince with poignant ſarcaſms, which left behind them a bitter remembrance, as they were for the moſt part founded on truth. Beſides, Nero dreaded the haughty and violent temper of Veſtinus; and therefore wiſhed for a plauſible pretence to get rid of him; but as no accuſer appeared to charge him, ſince he could not ſatiate his rancour under the title of a judge, he had recourſe to the violence of a tyrant, and diſpatched Gerelanus the tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders to obviate the attempts of the conſul. He had that day diſcharged all the functions of a conſul, and was celebrating a banquet at home with great gaiety, when the ſoldiers entering, told him, That the tribune waited for him. Veſtinus, without delay, roſe from table, and in a trice the tragedy was begun and finiſhed; he was ſhut up in a chamber; the phyſician attended; his veins were cut, and he while he was ſtill in full vigor, conveyed into a hot bath, and ſuffocated with the ſteam, without uttering a ſyllable that argued either grief or compaſſion for himſelf. In the mean time, the whole company that ſupped with him were beſet by a guard, and not releaſed till the night was far ſpent, Nero making himſelf ſport with the fears of men, who had paſſed at once, from the mirth and joy of a feaſt, to the deadly apprehenſion of their laſt doom. At length he ordered the guards to withdraw, ſaying, that the conſul's gueſts had paid dear enough for their good cheer[y]. Lucan the poet was next ſentenced to die. His veins being opened, and his blood

Fenius Rufus dies meanly.

The quick and brave death of the conſul Veſtinus.

[y] Tacit. c. 63——69.

Lucan dies with great intrepidity.

iſſuing in ſtreams, he ſoon perceived his feet and hands to grow cold and ſtiff; but before his faculties were impaired, recollecting ſome lines of his own, in which he deſcribed a wounded ſoldier expiring after the ſame manner, he rehearſed them, and they were the laſt words he uttered [z] (N). Suetonius, or whoever elſe is the author of his life, tells us, that his behaviour towards Nero, who loved him, was ſuch as would have provoked the beſt of princes. His informing, and indeed falſly, if the author of his life is to be credited, againſt his own mother, will reflect eternal ignominy on his memory. The emperor had promiſed him his pardon; but the only favour he granted him, was the choice of his death, which happened on the thirteenth of April in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age [a]. We ſhall ſpeak of his writings anon. Senecio, Quinctilianus, and Scevinus, ſuffered death with a ſpirit far different from the former effeminacy of their lives. The other conſpirators were put to death, without ſpeaking or doing any thing worthy of notice.

Nero's cruelty to the children of the conſpirators.

Suetonius tells us, that Nero not ſatisfied with the puniſhment of the conſpirators themſelves, drove their innocent children out of Rome, and cauſed them, together with their tutors, governors, and domeſtics, to be either poiſoned, or ſtarved to death [b]. Whole families, as that writer aſſures us, were cut off at one meal. During this mighty carnage, which filled Rome with deaths, corpſes, and funerals, no one durſt ſhew the leaſt ſymptom of ſorrow for their murdered relations; nay, they muſt teſtify joy, unleſs they had a mind to be treated like traitors and enemies to the ſtate and emperor. Hence, as the city was filled with carcaſſes, ſo was the capitol with victims: one had loſt a ſon; one a brother; this man a friend, that a near relation: but whatever was the loſs, every one paid his public thankſgiving to the gods; adorned, in token of joy,

[z] Idem, c. 70. [a] Suet. in vit. Lucan. [b] Suet. c. 36.

(N) The verſes mentioned here, were, without all doubt, the following:

Scinditur avulſus, nec ſicut vulnere ſanguis
Emicuit lentus, ruptis cadit undique venis;
Diſcurſuſque animæ diverſa in membra meantis
Interceptus aquis.

joy, his houſe with laurel; fell proſtrate at the emperor's feet; kiſs'd his hand, &c. Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus were pardoned, in conſideration of their early confeſſion and diſcovery. Milichus the freed-man was amply rewarded, and honoured with a Greek name ſignifying protector. Granius Silvanus, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, obtained his pardon; but ſoon after ſcorning to owe his life to the tyrant, fell by his own hand. All the friends of Seneca, tho' rather calumniated than convicted, were condemned to baniſhment. Cæſonius Maximus and Cadicia, the wife of Scevinus, were driven out of Italy, and only by their puniſhment knew that they had been charged as criminals (O). The accuſation againſt Attilia,

Rewards the inſtruments of his cruelty.

(O) The following beautiful epigram in Martial, inſcribed to one Ovidius, an intimate friend of Cæſonius Maximus, may give us ſome light into this matter:

Maximus ille tuus, Ovidi, Cæſonius hic eſt,
Cujus adhuc vultum vivida cera tenet.
Hunc Nero damnavit; ſed tu damnare Neronem
Auſus es, & profugi, non tua fata, ſequi:
Æquora per Scyllæ magnus comes exulis iſti,
Qui modo nolueras conſulis ire comes.
Si victura meis mandantur nomina chartis,
Et fas eſt cineri me ſupereſſe meo;
Audiet hæc præſens, venturaque turba, fuiſſe
Illi te, Senecæ quod fuit ille ſuo (31).

From theſe verſes it is plain, that Cæſonius had been a conſul, and was one of Seneca's moſt intimate friends; which was, without doubt, the motive that prompted Nero to baniſh him. As Ovidius accompanied him into baniſhment, ſo had Cæſonius in all likelihood accompanied formerly Seneca, when he was by Claudius baniſhed into the iſland of Corſica. The ſubject of the preſent epigram is the effigies of Cæſonius in wax, ſent either by Martial to his friend Ovidius, or by Ovidius to the poet. Cæſonius himſelf died, it ſeems, before this time in exile. After his conſulſhip, he was ſent into Africa, to govern that province, whither Ovidius refuſed to follow him; but like a true friend, he attended him, when diſgraced and condemned to baniſhment; a ſignal inſtance of fidelity and friendſhip, and worthy of being by ſo great a poet tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity.

(31) Martial. l. vii.

Attilia, Lucian's mother, was dropt; ſo that, without being cleared, ſhe eſcaped unpuniſhed [c].

And now the conſpiracy being utterly ſuppreſſed, and the conſpirators either ſentenced to death or baniſhment, Nero aſſembled the ſoldiery, diſtributed amongſt them a largeſs of two thouſand nummi a man, and ordered them to be thenceforth ſupplied with corn at the public expence. Upon Petronius Turpilianus, Cocceius Nerva, and Tigellinus, he beſtowed triumphal ornaments, as a reward for their zeal in proſecuting the conſpirators; nay, he cauſed triumphal ſtatues to be erected in the forum to the two latter, and their images to be placed in the palace; a diſtinction ſeldom granted, and only to perſons of the greateſt merit. Nymphidius was diſtinguiſhed with the conſular ornaments. He was the ſon of a freed-woman, who, as ſhe was very beautiful, had long proſtituted herſelf to the domeſtics of the emperors, bond and free, without diſtinction. Nymphidius boaſted himſelf the ſon of Caligula, whom he reſembled both in his countenance and the tallneſs of his ſtature; and it is not improbable, ſays our hiſtorian, that the emperor addicted as he was to all manner of lewdneſs, had deſcended to gallantries with his mother. But of him we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at length hereafter; for he too had his ſhare in the calamities and viciſſitudes of Rome. The emperor, having thus rewarded the inſtruments of his tyranny, aſſembled the fathers, and acquainted them with the late tranſactions. To the people likewiſe he addreſſed an edict upon the ſame ſubject, and publiſhed ſeveral evidences againſt the conſpirators, with their own confeſſions, in order to confute a rumour current among the populace, that the plot was forged, and that Nero, merely to ſatiate his cruelty and out of baſe fear, had ſacrificed ſo many illuſtrious citizens. In the ſenate, where the more abject flattery prevailed, every particular, the more ſenſibly he was affected with inward grief for the loſs of his friends or relations, the more outward joy and congratulations he expreſſed. It was by the whole body decreed, that public thankſgivings and oblations ſhould be paid to all the deities, and particular honours to the ſun, who having a chace in the circus, where the parricide was to be perpetrated, had brought to light the dark contrivances of the conſpirators; that the circenſian games ſhould be ſolemnized with extraor-

The mean flattery of the ſenate.

[c] Tacit. c. 73.

extraordinary pomp; that the month of April, in which the conſpiracy was detected, ſhould thenceforth bear the name of Nero; that a temple ſhould be erected to the goddeſs Salus or Safety, in the place whence Scevinus had taken the dagger, &c. The dagger itſelf was by Nero dedicated in the capitol with this inſcription, To Jupiter the avenger (P). Such was the iſſue of this conſpiracy, which to the ſame moment owed, as Tacitus obſerves, its beginning, progreſs, and perfection, and was with faithful ſilence and ſecrecy concealed in a combination ſo numerous, ſo variouſly framed, amongſt thoſe of every condition, ſex, and age, till it was accidentally diſcovered in the manner we have related.

Nero betakes himſelf again to his harp.

NERO, now delivered from all fear, betook himſelf again to his harp. As the time approached for diſputing the prizes in the quinquennial games, the ſenate, to prevent Nero from appearing there as a competitor, offered him the prize of muſic, and alſo the crown of eloquence. But the emperor anſwered, That he needed not their partiality; ſince he himſelf was a match for all his competitors, and would only, by the juſt determination of the judges, purchaſe the praiſe and recompence of his ſkill. He appeared therefore publicly upon the ſtage, and there rehearſed a poem of his own compoſing; but the populace applauding him, and begging he would diſplay all his ſtudies, for theſe were their words, he entered the great theatre, and there appearing amongſt the common harpers and minſtrels, contended with them for the prize, with ſuch eagerneſs and anxiety, that he never ventured to ſit down, however fatigued, that being contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the harp, nor to ſpit,

He appears on the public ſtage as a competitor for the prizes.

(P) The dagger was inſcribed to Jupiter the avenger, Jovi vindici; words, ſays our hiſtorian, which, at that time, were not minded. But upon the revolt of Julius Vindex, which afterwards happened, an augury and preſage of approaching vengeance was drawn from them. Tacitus tells us, that he found in the journals of the ſenate, that Cerealis Anicius, conſul elect, when it came to his vote, moved that a temple ſhould in all ſpeed be raiſed at the public charge, and conſecrated to to the deified Nero; a motion which he really meant as a compliment, to one who was entitled to divine worſhip; but from thence too was inferred an omen of his approaching fate; ſince to princes divine honours were not paid, till they finiſhed their mortal courſe(32).

(32) Tacit. c. 74.

ſpit, nor to wipe the ſweat from his face, ſave only with his arm. In the end, adoring the multitude with his knee bent and his hands lifted up, according to the cuſtom of the common-players, he waited with awe and trembling the determination of the judges. The common people of Rome applauded him with loud ſhouts and clapping of hands, from an utter inſenſibility, ſays our hiſtorian, of the crying reproach, which diſgraced the Roman empire. But the inhabitants of the municipal cities of Italy, who ſtill retained the ſevere manners of the antients, and ſuch as came from remote provinces, and attended them at Rome upon embaſſies, or their own private affairs, could not behold, without indignation, the ſovereign of Rome thus debaſing himſelf upon the ſtage, and much leſs join thoſe, who applauded this his ſhameful debaſement. They were therefore frequently beaten by the ſoldiers, who ſtood in ſeveral cluſters among the croud to obſerve the faces of the ſpectators [d].

Appears frequently on the ſtage, and tires the audience.

NERO, encouraged with the applauſe of the multitude, appeared thenceforth almoſt every day on the ſtage, inviting, not only the ſenators and knights, but likewiſe the populace and the whole rabble of Rome, to hear him, though he performed for the moſt part in the theatre, which he had built in the palace. He often kept the audience, not only the whole day, but the night too; for till he was tired and gave over, no one was allowed to depart upon any occaſion, however neceſſary and urging: inſomuch, that woman are ſaid to have been delivered in the theatre, and ſeveral perſons ſo tired, that, finding the gates of the palace ſhut, they either leaped privately over the wall, or, in order to be carried out, pretended to be in a ſwoon [e]; ſome, by never ſtiring night nor day from their ſeats, were ſeized with mortal diſtempers, which, however, they dreaded leſs than the prince's reſentment, which they unavoidable incurred by their abſence: beſides the ſeveral concealed and private obſervers, employed to mark the carriage of the audience, there were numbers of open ſpies, who publicly ſet down the names of ſuch as were preſent, obſerved their faces, and watched all the ſymptoms of pleaſure or diſſatisfaction in every one preſent: the vulgar were immediately puniſhed by the ſoldiery for the leaſt diſattention;

[d] Tacit annal. l. xvi. c. 5 [e] Suet. c. 23.

diſattention; towards perſons of rank the emperor's reſentment was for the preſent ſmothered, but vented at laſt in a more dreadful manner. We are told, that Veſpaſian, afterwards emperor, was not only bitterly reproached by Phœbus, Nero's freed-men, but charged as a criminal, for having nodded while the emperor was ſinging: this diſattention would have coſt him his life, had not his friends, men of great rank and merit employed their prayers and mediation in his behalf. This year the death of Poppæa, Nero's wife, filled Rome in appearance with grief and mourning, but in reality with much joy; for ſhe was no leſs abhorred, than her huſband, on account of her lewdneſs and cruelty. She was killed by Nero himſelf with a kick on the belly, while ſhe was big with child, for finding fault with him, as Suetonius tells us, upon his coming home late [f]; or becauſe ſhe ventured to rally him, as we read in Dion Caſſius [g], upon his ſkill and addreſs in chariot-driving. Her body was not burnt according to the Roman cuſtom; but after the manner of foreign monarchs, embalmed and repoſited in the ſepulchre of the Julian family. Her obſequies were celebrated with the utmoſt pomp, and her penegyric pronounced from the public roſtrum by the emperor himſelf [h]. Pliny aſſures us, that more perfumes were burnt at her funeral, than Arabia Felix produced in a year [i]. She conſtantly kept and carried about with her, if Dion Caſſius is to be credited [k], five hundred aſſes, and daily bathed in their milk for the preſervation of her beauty. Upon the death of Poppæa, Nero deſigned to marry Antonia, the daughter of Claudius, and his own ſiſter by adoption; but ſhe declined the match, and was on that account by his orders put to death, as if ſhe had been concerned in a conſpiracy, probably that of Piſo [l]. Soon after he married Statilia Meſſalina, the widow of the late conſul Atticus Veſtinus, and deſcend from Statilius Taurus, who had been twice conſul in the reign of Auguſtus. She too, as appears from ſome antient medals [m], was honoured with the title of Auguſta.

Veſpaſian in danger to his diſattention.

The death of Poppæa.

Not long after the death of Poppæa, Nero doomed to deſtruction two of the greateſt men in Rome, Caius Caſſius Longinus a learned civilian, and L. Junius Silanus Torquatus,

Junius Silanus condemned.

[f] Suet. c. 35. [g] Dio, l. lxii. p. 71. [h] Tacit. c. 6. Suet. c. 35. Dio, p. 71. [i] Plin. l. xii. c. 18. [k] Dio, l. lxi. p. 72. [l] Suet. c. 35. [m] Goltz, p. 46.

quatus, the former for his great wealth and the exemplary gravity of his manners; the latter, becauſe he was related to the Cæſars, and, for his modeſty and other eminent qualaties, judged by the Roman people worthy of the empire. Caſſius was blind, very aged, and lead a retired life, as did likewiſe Silanus, though in the prime of his youth, having from the late bloody doom of his uncle Torquatus, who had aſſumed the port of a prince, learnt to ſhun all outward appearance of grandeur. However, the very ſame imputations, which had formerly been objected to his uncle, were urged againſt him; viz. that he aſpired at the ſovereign power, affected more majeſty and ſtate than became a private citizen, kept about him men with the title of principal ſecretaries, procurators, auditors of the revenues, treaſurers, &c. names and offices of imperial grandeur, which he already perſonated: imputations utterly falſe and groundleſs. To Caſſius Nero objected, that amongſt the images of his anceſtors he preſerved in high reverence that of Caius Caſſius, thus inſcribed, The leader of the party. At the ſame time, he ſuborned certain perſons to forge an accuſation againſt Lepida, the wife of Caſſius and aunt to Silanus, as if ſhe had been guilty of inceſt with her nephew, and had practiced magical rites of a miſchievous tendency. Againſt Caſſius and Silanus the ſenate pronounced ſentence of perpetual baniſhment, but referred the puniſhment of Lepida to the judgment of the emperor. Caſſius was tranſported into Sardinia, and, in regard of his great age, the ſhort remains of his life were ſpared. Silanus, under colour of carrying him to the iſland of Naxos, was conveyed to Oſtia, and afterwards confined in Barium a city of Apulia, where a centurion, commiſſioned to put him to death, laying hold of him, adviſed him to cut his veins. Silanus anſwered, that he was not fond of life; but that no executioner ſhould have the glory of putting him to death. Hereupon the centurion ordered his men to ſecure him; but Silanus, who was a young man of great ſtrength, reſolute, and daring, though deſtitute of arms, made a vigorous reſiſtance, till he fell by the ſword of the centurion, under a multitude of wounds, all received before, like a brave man, who falls facing the enemy in the day of battle[n]. With no leſs intrepidity died Lucius Vetius, and his mother-in-law Sextia, with Pollutia his daughter. Nero had long hated them, as ſtanding reproaches upon him for the murder of Rubellius Plautus the huſband

And Caſſius Longinus.

[n] Tacit. c. 7, 8.

huſband of Pollutia and ſon-in-law to Vetus. He therefore ſuborned a freed-man of Vetus to accuſe him, and then ſent a guard of ſoldiers to ſeize him at one of his ſeats in the neighbourhood of Formiæ. Hereupon his daughter Pollutia flew to Naples, where the emperor then was; being denied acceſs to him, watched at the gates of his houſe, till ſhe had an opportunity of beſeeching him to hear the defence of an innocent man, and not to ſacrifice, upon the depoſition of a treacherous ſlave, one who had formerly been his collegue in the conſulſhip. But in the end, being convinced, that the implacable tyrant was not to be ſoftened with ſupplications, ſhe returned to her father, and acquainted him, that he muſt baniſh all hope, and with intrepidity meet a fate, which he could not avoid. At the ſame time, tidings arrived, that the ſenate was haſtening his trial, and proceeding to a terrible and mercileſs ſentence. Hereupon he diſtributed amongſt his domeſtics whatever ſums of money were then in his poſſeſſion, and at the ſame time ordered them to remove and appropriate to themſelves the rich furniture of his villa. Then retiring with his mother-in-law Sextia and his daughter Pollutia, into a private apartment, they all three opened their veins in one and the ſame chamber, with one and the ſame inſtrument; and being covered for decency with a ſingle garment, they were conveyed into a warm bath, where they all three bled to death, the father's eyes being the whole time fixed upon his daughter, thoſe of Sextia on her grand-daughter, and hers upon both: they all prayed with emulation for a ſpeedy end; each wiſhed to expire firſt, and leave behind ſuch dear relations ſtill alive, though haſtening to die: and fortune obſerved the order of ſeniority and nature, the oldeſt expiring firſt, and the youngeſt laſt. After their death the ſervile ſenate was for pronouncing them guilty of high treaſon, and having their bodies dragged through the public ſtreets, and thrown into the Tiber; but Nero interpoſed, declaring himſelf ſatisfied with the puniſhment, which they had voluntarily undergone [a]. P. Gallus, a Roman knight, formerly intimate with Fenius Rufus and a friend to Vetus, was baniſhed. To the freed-man the accuſer a place was aſſigned in the theatre among the officers of the tribunes of the people. As the name of Apr had been already changed into that of Nero, the name of May into that of Claudius, ſo was the name of June now changed into that of Germanicus, Cornelius Orfitus moving, that the name of June ſhould

Several other perſons of diſtinction condemned.

[a] Idem, c. 10, 11.

ſhould be aboliſhed, ſince two of the Junii Torquati, already executed for treaſon, had rendered it abominable [p]. This year the country of Campania was ravaged with dreadful tempeſts and violent whirlwinds; whole villages were overturned, plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth ſcattered, &c. At the ſame time, a terrible peſtilence raged at Rome, and ſwept away in a ſhort ſpace above thirty thouſand perſons of all ranks and conditions. The ſenators and knights were leſs bewailed, as our hiſtorian obſerves, ſince by a contagion common to all, they eſcaped falling by the cruelty of the prince. Nero, after ſo many accumulated acts of tyranny, ſhewed this year ſome compaſſion upon the inhabitants of Lions, whom he preſented with a large ſum to repair the damage their city had ſuffered by accidental fire (R).

Campania ravaged with dreadful tempeſts.

In the following conſulſhip of C. Suetonius Paulinus and C. Luſius Teleſinus, Soſianus, who had been condemned, as we have related above, to perpetual baniſhment, for certain viruleut verſes by him compoſed againſt Nero, having inſinuated himſelf into the friendſhip of one Pammenes, who was an exile in the ſame place, and celebrated for his knowledge in the myſteries of aſtrology, obſerved that meſſengers were daily arriving to conſult him, and at the ſame time

[p] Idem, c. 12.

(R) The burning of Lions happened, according to Seneca (33), a hundred years after it was founded. Hence Lipſius concludes, that this misfortune befel that flouriſhing colony in the fifty eighth year of the Chriſtian æra, orders for founding it having been given in the conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa, forty-three years before the ſaid æra. But either theſe orders were not immediately put in execution, or the burning did not happen ſo early, ſince all the letters, in which Seneca ſpeaks of this calamity, are by the beſt chronologers thought to have been written in the ſixty-fourth, or ſixty-fifth of the Chriſtian æra. That Nero ſhould defer relieving the inhabitants for the ſpace of ſeven years, as Lipſius pretends, is altogether improbable. This city ſhewed its gratitude to Nero, by ſteadily adhering to his party, after all the other cities of Gaul had declared for the revolters (34).

(33) Senec. epiſt. 91. (34) Dio, l. xlvi. p. 323. Senec. ep. 91. Noris Gall. p. 292.

time learnt, that from P. Anteius a yearly ſtipend was allowed him. Upon this intelligence he intercepted letters from Anteius, and even ſtole the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and a ſcheme drawn concerning the birth and fortune of Oſtorius Scapula; which he no ſooner had in his poſſeſſion, than he wrote to the emperor, that he had mighty diſcoveries to communicate; for Anteius and Oſtorius were meditating ſome ſudden attempt upon the ſtate, and diving into their own deſtiny, and that of Cæſar. Light veſſels were immediately diſpatched away, and Soſianus with all poſſible expedition tranſported to Rome; where, upon the firſt divulging of his diſcovery, Anteius ſealed his laſt teſtament, being warned by Tigellinus to loſe no time, and then ſwallowed a draught of poiſon; but growing impatient of its ſlow operation, he haſtened his death by opening his veins. Oſtorius was then at an eſtate of his on the borders of Liguria, whither a centurion was ſent with orders to kill him with all diſpatch. For Oſtorius was a man of extraordinary valour, of prodigious ſtrength, great experience in war, eminently qualified for the command of an army, and had been diſtinguiſhed in Britain, while he ſerved there under his father, with a civic crown: hence Nero, who ever ſince the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, lived under continual dread, fearing that brave officer ſhould take arms againſt him, was glad of any pretence to get rid of him. The centurion, having beſet all the avenues to the villa, acquainted Oſtorius with his orders from the emperor, which were no ſooner ſignified to him, than turning againſt himſelf that bravery, which he had ſo often exerted againſt the enemy, he opened all his veins without betraying the leaſt concern or diſmay; but as the blood flowed ſlowly, he diſpatched himſelf with a poignard, ordering one of his ſlaves to hold up the weapon ſteadily; then graſping and ſtrengthening the ſlave's hand with his own, he ran his throat upon the fatal ſteel. Within the compaſs of a few days, Annæus Mella, Cerealis Anicius, Rufus Criſpinus, and Caius Petronius, underwent the ſame bloody doom. Criſpinus had been captain of the prætorian guards under Claudius, and diſtinguiſhed, though only a knight, with the ornaments of the conſulſhip; but lately baniſhed, as privy to the conſpiracy, into Sardinia, where, upon notice that he was doomed to die, he ſlew himſelf. Mella was brother to Gallio and Seneca,

The death of Anteius.

Of Oſtorius, Mella, Anicius, &c.

and the father of Lucan. He was accuſed by one of Lucan's intimate friends, named Fabius Romanus, who feigned, that the father and ſon were equally concerned in the conſpiracy; and having counterfeited letters to this purpoſe in the hand of Lucan, ſhewed them to Nero, who ordered them to be carried to the accuſed, whoſe immenſe riches were his only crime. Mella no ſooner ſaw them, than he opened his veins, and by a voluntary death anticipated his ſentence: in his will he bequeathed immenſe ſums to Tigellinus and his ſon-in-law Coſſutianus Capito, in order to ſecure the remainder. Cerealis likewiſe became his own executioner, but fell unpitied, becauſe he had formerly diſcovered a plot againſt Caligula. Caius Petronius, to whom ſome learned critics aſcribe the fragments, equally elegant and obſcene, which have reached our times, was a man entirely abandoned to all manner of voluptuouſneſs. He waſted the day in ſleep, and the night in revels: as others had by induſtry acquired a name and character, Petronius was by his ſignal ſloth and indolence raiſed to notice and fame: he indulged himſelf in all the gaieties and delights of life; but at the ſame time had the prudence to keep within bounds, and not ſquander away, like many others, his eſtate. Neither was he a ſlave to his groſſer appetites; but exceeding curious and refined in his luxury: his behaviour was extremely obliging and polite; his wit, in which he excelled all men of his time, natural and artleſs; and all his actions accompanied with a certain air of negligence. However, he diſcharged the proconſular government of Bithynia, and ſoon after the conſulſhip itſelf, with great reputation, ſhewing himſelf in both theſe employments equal to the management of the greateſt affairs. Then returning to his former vices, he was by Nero admitted to a great intimacy, nothing appearing to the emperor elegant and polite, but what was recommended to him by the taſte and approbation of Petronius. This Tigellinus could not bear, and therefore to get rid of one, who in credit was his rival, and in the ſcience of pleaſures his ſuperior, had recourſe to the cruelty and jealouſy of the prince, two paſſions to which all others gave room; accuſed Petronius of having lived in great intimacy with the conſpirator Scevinus; ſuborned one of his ſlaves to confirm the charge, and precluded him from all means of defence. Nero happened at that time to be upon the road to Campania, and Petronius, having accompanied him as far as Cumæ, was there by his orders put under arreſt: whereupon, without flattering,

The character of Petronius.

flattering himſelf with vain hopes, or condeſcending to entreaties, he reſolved to prevent his ſentence by a voluntary death, which he underwent in a manner altogether new, but well ſuited to the life he had led; for having ordered his veins to be cut, he did not ſhew any eagerneſs to put an end to his agonies, but directed them to be cloſed again, and then opened by intervals, juſt as his fancy moved him, diſcourſing the whole time with his friends, not upon ſerious ſubjects, as if he aimed at the glory of conſtancy in braving death, but upon indifferent matters, hearkening with attention to gay epigrams, love-verſes, and entertaining ſtories: ſome of his ſlaves he rewarded with bounties, others he puniſhed with ſtripes: he even diverted himſelf with walking out, even refreſhed himſelf with ſleep, that his death, though in reality violent, might appear altogether natural. In his laſt will he flattered neither Nero nor Tigellinus, nor any of the great men in power, as moſt others had done; but, under feigned names of harlots and catamites, deſcribed the ſecret abominations of the emperor, tranſmitted to him this picture of himſelf carefully ſealed, and then broke his ſignet, that it might not after his death become a ſnare to the innocent. Nero, greatly amazed to find all his nocturnal and moſt private impurities thus brought to light, after having long conſidered with himſelf by what means Petronius had come to the knowledge of them, fixed at length his ſuſpicion upon Silia, the wife of a ſenator, one privy to all his debaucheries, and very intimate with Petronius. She was therefore doomed to baniſhment, for not concealing what ſhe had ſeen and undergone in the prince's nocturnal revels. At the ſame time, Numicius Thermus was put to death, for no other crime, but becauſe a freedman belonging to him accuſed Tigellinus of treaſon; which offence the informer expiated under the moſt exquiſite torments [p].

His calm and uncommon manner of dying.

AFTER the ſlaughter of ſo many illuſtrious men, Nero at length attempted, ſays our hiſtorian, to extirpate virtue itſelf, in the perſons of Bareas Soranus and Thraſea Pætus, long ſince the objects of his hatred. Thraſea had withdrawn from the ſenate, as we have related above, when the affair of Agrippina came under debate there; at the ſports, called Juvenales, he could not approve of the emperor's acting and ſinging upon the ſtage; when the ſenate was about to condemn to death Antiſtius the prætor,

Thraſea and Soranus accuſed.

[p] Tacit. c. 11---19.

for a virulent ſatire by him compoſed againſt Nero, he propoſed a mitigation of the ſentence, and carried it; when divine honours were decreed to Poppæa, he abſented himſelf, and declined attending her funeral; he had not now in three years once ſet his foot in the ſenate, and, though inveſted with the quindecemviral prieſthood, had never made oblations for the ſafety of the prince, and the preſervation of his heavenly voice, &c. Theſe were the crimes urged againſt Thraſea by Capito Coſſutianus and Marcellus Eprius, two informers of great acrimony and vehemence. Oſtorius Sabinus, a Roman knight, took upon him the taſk of accuſing Bareas Soranus: the crimes imputed to him were his friendſhip with Plautius, murdered by Nero's orders in Aſia, and his intrigues with the Aſiatics, while he governed them in quality of proconſul, in order to engage them in a revolt. But his real crimes were, as Tacitus informs us, his having governed Aſia with ſignal vigilance and juſtice, his opening the port of Epheſus, a work mightily applauded by the Aſiatics, and his leaving the inhabitants of Pergamus unpuniſhed for oppoſing Acratus, one of Nero's freedmen, when he would have ſtripped their city of all its pictures and ſtatues. The juncture Nero choſe for deſtroying theſe two great men was, that of the arrival of Tiridates to receive the crown of Armenia, either becauſe the public attention was then wholly engaged in that new ſight, or becauſe Nero meant on that occaſion to diſplay his greatneſs and power, by the ſlaughter of the two moſt illuſtrious men in the whole empire. While the whole city flocked out to ſee a foreign king, Thraſea received orders not to attend his entry. Hereupon he compoſed a memorial to Nero, beſeeching the emperor to acquaint him with the allegations againſt him, and offering to vindicate himſelf, were he but appriſed of the charge. Nero received the memorial greedily, hoping that Thraſea, under the apprehenſion of his impending doom, might have writ ſomething tending to the glory of the prince and his own diſcredit; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and dreading the countenance, the great ſpirit, and free ſpeech of a man ſo generally eſteemed and revered, he ordered the ſenate to be ſummoned. In the mean time, Thraſea having aſſembled his friends and relations to conſult with them, whether he ſhould attempt a defence or be ſilent, Ruſticus Arulanus, a young man of great ſpirit and one of the tribunes of the people, who aſſiſted at the conſultation, offered to thwart the decree of the ſenate, by interpoſing againſt

The firmneſs of Thraſea.

againſt it. But Thraſea would by no means allow him to purſue ſuch methods, as would in the end prove fatal to him. The next day, two cohorts of the prætorian guards ſurrounded the temple of Venus, where the ſenate was to meet; all the avenues to it were beſet with men in their gowns, the common dreſs of the city, but armed with ſwords which they took no care to conceal; the great ſquares and ſeveral temples were filled with bands of ſoldiers under arms. Through theſe the ſenators paſſed to their aſſembly, where, after a ſpeech ſent to them by Nero, and read by his quæſtor, in which he ſufficiently declared what he required of them, they condemned Thraſea, Soranus, and his daughter Servilia, but granted them the choice of their own deaths. The charge brought againſt Servilia was, that ſhe had conſulted the magicians, which ſhe owned; but declared at the ſame time, that her conſultation had been confined to the conſervation of her own family, whether the wrath of Nero might not be appeaſed, and whether no tragical judgment would follow the cognizance of the ſenate. Farther than this ſhe had not enquired; but nevertheleſs ſhe was brought into the ſenate, and there arraigned by Oſtorius Sabinus, who queſtioned her, whether ſhe had not turned into money all her ornaments, and even ſtripped from her neck her jewels, to defray the expence of magic rites and ſacrifices? To this queſtion young Servilia, for ſhe was under twenty, embracing the altars with a flood of tears, anſwered, that the whole of her conſultation had been to know, whether the emperor, and the fathers of the ſenate, would to her dear and indulgent parent, beſet with terrors, graciouſly afford protection and ſafety. With this view, ſaid ſhe, I preſented the diviners, men till now utterly unknown to me, with my jewels, apparel, and the other ornaments peculiar to my quality, as I would have preſented my blood and life, had my blood and life been required. But whatever this my proceeding was, my unfortunate father was an utter ſtranger to it; and if it is a crime, I alone am the delinquent. Theſe words alarmed Soranus, who interrupted her while ſhe was yet uttering them, crying out, that as ſhe was not ſuppoſed to be guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, her cauſe ought to be diſjoined from his; that his own fate, whatever it ſhould prove, he was ready to undergo, but hoped, that in the danger of the father they would not involve the innocent daughter. Having thus ſpoken, he was haſtening to embrace his daughter, who

They are both condemned by the ſenate.

The affecting ſpeech of Servilia in the ſenate.

flew to meet him; but the conſul's lictors ſtepped between and prevented them [q].

Sentence was no ſooner pronounced againſt the pretended criminals, than the quæſtor was diſpatched to acquaint Thraſea with it, who was then in his gardens, reaſoning there with Demetrius, a Cynic philoſopher, about the nature of the ſoul, and its departure from the body. While he was intent upon this diſcourſe, Domitius Ceciliaanus, one of his moſt intimate friends, arrived, and related to him what the ſenate had decreed. Thraſea heard him without betraying, either in his voice or countenance, the leaſt concern; only turning to his friends, who came with Cecilianus, he embraced them, took his laſt leave of them, and preſſed them forthwith to retire, leſt they ſhould for their unſeaſonable compaſſion be involved in the ſame fate. His wife Arria was very earneſt to follow the example of her mother, who bore the ſame name, and was wife to Cecina Pætus, with whom ſhe died, as we have related elſewhere. But Thraſea would not by any means allow her to ſhare in his lot, beſeeching her to preſerve her life, and not deprive her daughter of her only remaining refuge. He then went forth into a gallery, and there the quæſtor found him, and delivered to him in form the ſentence of the ſenate, which he immediately put in execution, retiring into his chamber with Helvidius his ſon-in-law, Demetrius, and the quæſtor, in whoſe preſence he ordered the veins of both his arms to be cut. As the blood ſprung, he called the quæſtor nearer, and ſprinkling the floor with it, Let us, ſaid he to him, make this libation to Jupiter the Deliverer. Behold, young man; may the gods avert the omen! but you are born in ſuch times, as require you to fortify your mind with examples of conſtancy. After this, falling into grievous torments, occaſioned by the ſlow approaches of death, he turned towards Demetrius; but of the laſt words and particulars of this great man's death we are bereft, by a lamentable chaſm in this laſt annal of our hiſtorian, and by the ſame misfortune robbed of the detail, which that inimitable writer left of the other remarkable incidents that happened during the remainder of this, and the whole two laſt years of Nero's reign. This loſs we ſhall ſupply in the beſt manner we can with the accounts which have been tranſmitted to us by other writers, eſpecially Suetonius and

Thraſea's magnanimity in death.

[q] Idem, c. 20——33.

and Dion Caſſius ; but as neither of them has deſcribed the particulars of the death of Thraſea, Soranus, and his daughter Servilia, we cannot therein ſatisfy the curioſity of our readers.

SOON after the death of Thraſea, Nero, to divert the attention of the public from their domeſtic calamities, received Tiridates with all the pomp of majeſty and grandeur imaginable, and crowned him in one of the great ſquares king of Armenia. This was the moſt magnificent and pompous ceremony that had ever been ſeen in Rome ; but as we have already deſcribed it in our hiſtory of the Greater Armenia, we ſhall only add here, that Nero allowed him, during his ſtay at Rome, eighty thouſand nummi a day, and loaded him, upon his departure, with preſents of immenſe value. The Armenian, who was a good courtier, had flattered the vain prince, and pretended to be raviſhed with his harmonious voice, and the ſkill he diſplayed in chariot-driving. After the coronation of Tiridates, Nero ſhut up the temple of Janus, in token of an univerſal peace, as appears from a medal dated the thirteenth year of his reign, which did not begin till the month of October, before which time, that is, in the month of May, the Jews, grievouſly oppreſſed by their governor, eſpecially Florus, had taken arms [r]. Nero ſolicited Vologeſes, brother to Tiridates, ſtill king of the Parthians, to come likewiſe to Rome ; but in vain, Vologeſes returning no other anſwer, than that Nero might with leſs trouble, croſs the Mediterranean and come into Aſia, where he would endeavour to meet him. The emperor, piqued with this anſwer, reſolved to make war upon the Parthian ; and with this view made mighty preparations ; ordered the flower of the armies in Illyricum, Germany, and Britain, to begin their march towards the kingdom of Albania ; and raiſed a new legion of Italians, each man ſix foot tall, which he called the legion of Alexander the Great [s]. Thus was ſize firſt required in a ſoldier by a prince brought up amongſt minſtrels, ſongſters, and charioteers, who, it ſeems, had no real deſign of employing his choſen legion, or any others, in military feats : for upon intelligence, that the Parthian king was inflexible, and prepared on his ſide for a vigorous defence, he

Tiridates crowned king of Armenia by Nero.

[r] Vide P. Pagi, an. 71. Suet. c. 19.

[s] Dio, l. lxiii. p. 719.

thought it adviſeable to leave the glory of conqueſts and warlike exploits to others, and confine his ambition to the unprincely honour of playing, ſinging, and acting upon the ſtage. As the time therefore of the olympic games approached, he left Italy, and paſſed over into Greece, with no other deſign, but to gain the reputation of the beſt harper, ſinger, actor, and charioteer, in the whole Roman empire. The Greeks who ſurpaſſed all other nations, in flattery, underſtanding that the emperor piqued himſelf upon his ſkill in playing upon the harp, had diſpatched two embaſſadors to him with all the crowns deſigned by their ſeveral cities for ſuch players; which was ſo acceptable to Nero, that he not only gave their embaſſadors audience before any others, but admitted them to an entertainment, which he had prepared for his moſt intimate friends. On this occaſion one of them having begged him to ſing them a ſong, he immediately complied with his requeſt, and was ſo taken with their extravagant flattery, that he cried out, The Greeks alone have a good ear; none but they underſtand muſic! and a few days after ſet out for Greece, leading with him, ſays Dion Caſſius, ſuch multitudes, as might have eaſily reduced the Parthians and all the nations of the eaſt, had they not, like their general, been deſtitute of all courage, and armed only with harps, fiddles, maſques, buſkins, and ſuch-like theatrical implements. With this army he embarqued, and landing at Caſſiope, he immediately began to ſing before the altar of Jupiter Caſſius. Thence he advanced into the heart of Greece, playing, ſinging, and acting in all the cities, through which he paſſed. But he chiefly exerted his ſkill at the Olympic games, where, to the eternal ignominy of the Roman name, the head of the empire was not aſhamed to appear, as a competitor, among the common harpers, players, and charioteers. He won the prize of muſic, by corrupting, as was commonly believed, with large preſents, either the judges, or his competitors. The prize of chariot-driving he evidently forfeited; for having attempted to drive with ten horſes, he was thrown off, and ſo hurt, that though he remounted, yet he was conſtrained to give over before he had finiſhed the career. However, as he inſiſted with the judges upon their excluding all caſual events and misfortunes, the prize was to his unexpreſſible ſatisfaction decreed him. When the games were

Nero paſſes over into Greece.

Sings on the public ſtage, and drives a chariot at the Olympic games.

were over, Nero not only rewarded the judges with the rights of Roman citizens and rich preſents, but reſtored the whole province of Achaia to its antient liberty, taking upon himſelf the office of crier, and ſolemnly proclaiming the freedom of the Achæans at Corinth on the day of the Iſthmian games: ſo that from this time the Greeks continued free from all manner of taxes, impoſitions, and tributes, governing themſelves by their own laws, till the reign of Veſpaſian, who revoked all the privileges and exemptions granted them by Nero, as Galba obliged the judges to refund the vaſt ſums, with which the chanting emperor had preſented them. As the province of Achaia belonged to the ſenate and people, Nero, when he declared it free, beſtowed upon them in its room the iſland of Sardinia [t]. After this he travelled all over Greece, not prompted by the commendable curioſity of viſiting the antiquities of that once celebrated country, but by the unprincely ambition of diſplaying his ſkill and art in ſinging and playing upon the harp. He challenged every-where the beſt performers, and never failed, as we may well imagine, being declared victor; inſomuch, that he is ſaid to have gained in this progreſs above eighteen hundred prizes. He tranſmitted a particular account of each victory to the ſenate, enjoining them to acknowledge the favours of the gods towards him with victims, oblations, and public proceſſions, and to take care, that the ſame devotions were practiſed throughout the whole empire [u]. That there might remain no monuments of other victors, he commanded all their ſtatues to be pulled down, to be dragged through the ſtreets, and to be either daſhed to pieces, or thrown into the common ſewers [w].

Sings in moſt of the cities of Greece.

The Greeks, notwithſtanding the favours he beſtowed upon them, longed for his departure, his numerous train occaſioning a great dearth of proviſions, and almoſt a general famine. Philoſtratus aſſures us, that Xerxes, who entered Greece in an hoſtile manner, putting all to fire and ſword, did not ſo grievouſly afflict that unhappy country, as Nero, who came as a friend, and with no other view than to divert the inhabitants. He every-where ſtripped the cities and temples of the few pictures, ſtatues, and other ornaments, which his officers had left them. The unfortunate

[t] Suet. l. vi. c. 22. Dio, l. lxiii. p. 719. Pauſan. in Cor.
[u] Apoll. Thy. l. v. c. 3. Dio, l. vi. p. 323. Pauſan. ibid.
[w] Suet. c. 24.

tunate province felt the effects, not only of his avarice, but likewiſe of his cruelty, of which Philoſtratus gives us the following inſtance: an actor in a tragedy at the Iſthmian games having ſung ſo as to deſerve the chief applauſe, and refuſing, as he was better ſkilled in muſic than in the courtly art of flattery, to lower his voice, which quite drowned Nero's, the emperor, tranſported with rage, cauſed him to be ſtrangled on the ſtage in the ſight of all Greece [x]. No wonder that his art every-where triumphed, when it was backed by ſo much cruelty. Loaded with the crowns and prizes he had won, he went to conſult the oracle at Delphos, and was warned by the pretended deity of the place, "To beware of ſeventy-three," which, not reflecting on Galba's age, he imagined to be the term of his life, and conceived ſo great aſſurance of his living and enjoying an uninterrupted happineſs till that age, that having ſoon after loſt many things of great value by ſhipwreck, he confidently told his friends, that the very fiſh would bring them again; nay, he was ſo poſſeſſed with this notion, that two years after, when the firſt tidings were brought him of the inſurrections in ſeveral provinces, he was ſo far from being alarmed, that he ſeemed rather to rejoice at thoſe diſturbances, ſince they furniſhed him with a plauſible pretence of ſeizing the eſtates of the inhabitants. The pythoneſs he preſented with a large ſum, which Galba not long after obliged her to pay back [y]. Thus Dion Caſſius and Suetonius; but Lucianus Samoſatenus [z], Themiſtius [a], and the emperor Julian, ſurnamed the apoſtate [b], aſſure us, that the pythoneſs reviled him as an Oreſtes, an Alcmæon, two parricides who had murdered their mothers, without deigning to return him any further anſwer; which ſo provoked him, that he cauſed all the iſſues from the oracle to be ſtopt up; commanded ſeveral perſons to be murdered in the temple, in order to profane it; ſtripped Apollo, or rather his prieſts, of the lands he poſſeſt at Cyrrha, in the neighbourhood of Delphos; and carried away with him five hundred ſtatues of braſs, which no tyrant before him had offered to remove. We are told, that, as he departed, Apollo ſnatched the crown from off his head, ſignifying thereby, as was afterwards interpreted, that he was not to wear it long [c]. He declined

Conſults the oracle at Delphos.

[x] Philoſ. ſtrat. ibid. & Pauſan. in Bæot. [y] Suet. c. 40. Dio, p. 634. [z] Lucian. Sam. Nero dial. [a] Themiſt. orat. quinque, p. 226. [b] Julian. p. 492. [c] Pauſan. in Phoc.

declined viſiting Athens, which city was ſaid to be haunted by the furies, and likewiſe Lacedæmon, abhorring the very name of Lycurgus and his laws [d]. This year, Ceſtius Gallus, governor of Syria, being defeated on the eighth of November by the Jews, after he had raiſed the ſiege of Jeruſalem, acquainted Nero with his overthrow; who thereupon appointed Mucianus governor of Syria in his room, and named Flavius Veſpaſianus to the command of the troops in that province, though he had not long before forbid him his preſence, and threatened him with deſtruction, for having nodded while the emperor was ſinging on the ſtage [e].

Veſpaſian ſent againſt the Jews.

BEFORE he left Greece, he undertook to cut the Iſthmus, in order to open a communication between the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, and by that means prevent the frequent wrecks that happened on the coaſts of Peloponneſus. As the iſthmus, or neck of land which parts the two ſeas, is ſcarce ſix miles over, Julius Cæſar, Caligula, and Claudius, had formed the ſame deſign; but dropt it, as we are told, upon their being aſſured, that by their undertaking, if it ſucceeded, whole countries would be drowned, by reaſon that the Ionian ſea was much higher than the Ægean. Beſides, at the firſt breaking of the earth, blood was ſaid to have iſſued, groans to have been heard, and frightful ſpectres ſeen [f]. But Nero, not crediting ſuch reports, and always ready to attempt what was generally deemed impoſſible, aſſembled his prætorian guards, encouraged them with large promiſes to undertake the work chearfully, and having ſolemnly prayed that the deſign might turn to his advantage, and to the advantage of the commonwealth, without ſo much as mentioning the ſenate, he ordered the trumpets to ſound, and advanced at the head of his guards, ſinging and dancing, to the place where the work was to begin. There, with a golden pick-ax, which the governor of the province preſented to him, he pretended to ſet an example to others; but being tired after three ſtrokes, he carried away in a baſket the handful of earth he had moved, and poſted away to Corinth, as proud as if he had undergone the labours of Hercules. He ordered the priſoners from all parts to be tranſported into Greece, and ſuch as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to this work [g].

Nero undertakes to cut through the Iſthmus of Corinth.

[d] Dio, l. lxiii. p. 721 Tacit. annal. xvi. c. 31.
[e] Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 40.
[f] Plin. l. vi. c. 4. Dio, p. 722.

work [g]. Veſpaſian ſent him ſix thouſand Jews, whom he had already taken priſoners. Theſe were, according to Joſephus, employed in the laborious work of hewing the rocks, while the prætorian guards only removed the rubbiſh [h]. But either the inſurmountable difficulties that occurred, or the troubles which began to break out, or were apprehended, about this time, obliged Nero to drop the enterpriſe, though he was with ſuch ardor and eagerneſs bent upon the execution of it, that he had rather have renounced the harp for ever, than ſeen his favourite project thus defeated [i].

Drops that enterprize.

The following year, L. Capito and C. Rufus being conſuls, Nero, continuing ſtill in Greece, and wanting money to ſupply his prodigality and defray his exorbitant expences, plundered firſt the province of Achaia, putting, under various pretences, ſuch of the Greeks to death as were thought wealthy, and ſeizing their eſtates. From Achaia he extended his rapines to Italy and to Rome, where all the riches of the known world centred, enjoining Helius, a freedman of the emperor Claudius, whom he had left governor of the city, to ſeize, under ſome pretence or other, the eſtates of all the wealthy citizens, to confiſcate their effects, and turn them into money. Nero had taken with him into Achaia, ſuch of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order as were any ways conſiderable for their birth, virtue, or fortunes, with a deſign to diſpatch them at a diſtance from Rome, and conſequently with more ſafety and leſs noiſe; ſo that tidings were daily brought to the city of the death of ſome of her moſt illuſtrious citizens, and orders to Helius to ſeize their eſtates. For this year Nero iſſued an edict, declaring, contrary to the cuſtom which had hitherto obtained, the eſtates confiſcated even of thoſe who anticipated their ſentence by a voluntary death. Of the many great men who ſuffered this year, none was more generally lamented than the brave Domitius Corbulo. He was equal, ſays Tacitus, in courage, prudence, and experience, to the moſt renowned commanders of antient Rome, and at the ſame time a true pattern of the modeſty, virtue, and integrity of the primitive Romans. He was adored on account of his unbounded generoſity, beneficence, and good-nature, even by the moſt inveterate enemies, of the Roman name, who would readily have ſubmitted to Rome, had Rome been governed by a Corbulo,

He plunders Greece.

The character of Corbulo.

[g] Suet. c. 31. Lucian. Nero, p. 143. [h] Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 36. [i] Lucian. Nero dial. ſeu de Foſſione Iſthmi, p. 143.

Corbulo. Nero, well acquainted with his commendable qualities, honour, and integrity, repoſed in him, an entire confidence, and inveſted him with an unlimited power in the eaſt, where he performed thoſe feats, which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of Armenia. Though he commanded a powerful army, entirely at his devotion, was by all judged the moſt worthy of the ſovereign power in the whole Roman empire, and might have eaſily ſeized it, as he was equally adored by Romans and foreigners of every rank and condition; yet he never entertained the leaſt thought of aſſuming it. This inviolable fidelity to ſo cruel a tyrant, ſo worthleſs a prince, was the only thing, which either Romans or foreigners ever blamed in him. To this Tiridates alluded, when ſpeaking of him to Nero, he told the emperor, that in Corbulo he had an excellent ſlave. But this year, Nero, having reſolved to extirpate virtue from off the face of the earth, wrote a letter to Corbulo, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip imaginable, ſtyling him, his father, his benefactor, his only refuge, &c. In the letter he invited him into Greece, pretending an eager deſire to ſee one, to whom he was ſo highly indebted. Corbulo, judging of the emperor's ſincerity, from the uprightneſs of his own heart, immediately ſet out for Greece. But Nero, the inſtant he was informed of his arrival at Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth on the ſide of the Ægean ſea, diſpatched orders for his immediate execution; which were no ſooner communicated to the brave general, than drawing his ſword, he plunged it into his breaſt, ſaying, that he well deſerved to die, no doubt on account of his credulity and inviolable attachment to ſo vile a monſter [l]. Such was the end of the greateſt commander and the beſt man in the whole Roman empire. He was beloved by the emperor, ſays Dion Caſſius, for his unſhaken fidelity; but hated for his virtue, of all crimes the greateſt. He left behind him an account of his wars and other tranſactions in the eaſt, which are frequently quoted by Pliny, but have not reached our times [m]. The ſame year, Annæus Cornutus, one of the moſt learned men in Rome, was baniſhed and confined to a deſert iſland, for no other crime but the ſtudy of philoſophy and profeſſion of virtue. The famous poets Lucan and Perſius had been his diſciples; for he took great

His death.

pleaſure

[l] Dio, p. 690.

[m] Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 25. & Noris. de Cænotaph. Piſana. p. 334. Ven 1681.

pleaſure in inſtructing the Roman youth in the principles of the philoſophy of the Stoics, of which ſect he was himſelf. Perſius had a great veneration and eſteem for him; whence he left him by his laſt will, for he died in the ninth year of Nero's reign, ſeven hundred volumes, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which he reſtored to the heirs of the deceaſed, being ſatisfied with the books. He is ſaid to have adviſed Perſius's mother, to ſuppreſs ſome poetical compoſitions, which her ſon had wrote in his youth [n] (S). Nero, upon

[n] Dio. p. 715. Perſ. vit. p. 495.

(S) Dion Caſſius tells us (35), that Nero having a mind to write the Roman hiſtory in verſe from the foundation of the city to his own time, for he had ſome genius for poetry, and being told, that he could not compriſe it in fewer than four hundred books, conſulted Cornutus upon that ſubject, who anſwered, that the number of books was too great, and that no one would read them. This Nero did not reſent, believing Cornutus only meant, that no one would read them on account of their number. But one urging, that the books of Chryſippus were more numerous, and yet generally read, The books of Chryſippus, replied Cornutus, contain many uſeful precepts which ſerve to improve both our manners and underſtanding. This anſwer provoked Nero to ſuch a degree, that he was for having him immediately put to death; but, ſeveral of Cornutus's friends and diſciples interpoſing in his behalf, he was only baniſhed. Aulus Gellius quotes certain comments upon Virgil done by Annæus Cornutus, whom he ſtyles an illuſtrious and learned grammarian (36), and likewiſe his ſecond book upon the figures of rhetoric (37). Macrobius too ſpeaks of Annæus Cornutus as a man well ſkilled in the Greek tongue. The treatiſe of the theology of the Greeks, which has reached our times, and paſſes under the name of Phornutus, is by Theodoret and others aſcribed to Cornutus. From this work Porphyrius pretends, that Origen learnt to explain the ſcripture by allegories (38). It is certain that Origen often makes uſe of the writings of Cornutus to prove the tenets of the Chriſtian religion (39). But whether this be the Annæus Cornutus, who was baniſhed by Nero, is much queſtioned by the critics (40). Suidas likewiſe mentions a philoſopher, named Cornutus, and born

(35) Dio, l. xlii. p. 715.
(36) Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 6.
(37) Idem. l. ix. c. 10.
(38) Euſeb. l. vi. c. 19.
(39) Vide Hier. ep. 84.
(40) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 26.

upon his leaving Rome, had committed the government of the city, as we have hinted above, to Helius a freedman of the late emperor, inveſting him with an abſolute power over all perſons, ſenators not excepted, whom he was allowed to baniſh, condemn, and execute, without ſo much as acquainting the emperor with the crimes laid to their charge, or waiting for his conſent. And truly Helius, aſſiſted by Polycletus, another freedman, made no leſs dreadful havock of the Roman nobility at Rome, than his maſter did in Achaia. Virtue, quality, or wealth were unpardonable crimes, and puniſhed with death. Few noble families eſcaped the cruelty of the emperor, or the imperial freedman. The latter, more cruel, if poſſible, than Nero himſelf, cut off the neareſt relations, and even the children of thoſe he condemned; which alarmed the city to ſuch a degree, that a general inſurrection was apprehended. Hereupon Helius diſpatched meſſengers after meſſengers to the emperor, repreſenting to him the ſtate of affairs, and preſſing him to return to the capital with all poſſible expedition. As Nero put off his departure from day to day, and returned no other anſwer to Helius, than that if he truly loved him, he could not envy him the glory he was daily acquiring in Greece; but would rather wiſh, that Nero might return worthy of himſelf; the freedman left Rome unexpectedly, and arriving in ſeven days in Greece, ſo terrified the emperor with the exaggerated account he gave him of the general diſcontent that reigned in the city, that he immediately left Greece, where he had ſtayed at leaſt a year, and embarked for Italy.

Cruelties exerciſed in Rome by Helius the freedman.

In his paſſage his fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, the ſhips, laden with all the wealth of Greece, caſt away, and he himſelf in imminent danger of being loſt with them. But with much ado he eſcaped, and upon his landing cauſed many of his numerous retinue to be inhumanly maſſacred, for having imprudently betrayed joy while he was in danger of periſhing [o]. He entered Naples through a breach in the

Nero returns to Italy.

His entrying to Naples, Rome, &c.

[o] Dio, p. 723. Suet. c. 23.

born at Leptis in Libya, who, according to him, came to Rome before the reign of Nero, and wrote ſeveral philoſophical tracts. This we take to be the Annæus Cornutus mentioned by Dion Caſſius; but Suidas is miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to have been put to death by Nero.

the wall, according to the cuſtom of the victors in the Olympic games, and in the ſame manner Antium, Albanum and Rome. He made his entry into the latter city in the triumphal chariot of Auguſtus, pompoſly attired, having with him in the ſame chariot another player upon the harp by name Diodorus, wearing an olympic crown on his head, and carrying a Pythic crown in his hand. Before him marched in great pomp and richly dreſſed, eighteen hundred perſons, each of them with a crown in his hand, and under it an inſcription, ſignifying where it had been won, the name of the perſon whom the emperor had overcome, the ſubject and title of the ſong, and ſuch-like important circumſtances. His chariot was followed by the whole rabble of the city, crying out by way of deriſion, that they were the ſoldiers of Auguſtus, and claimed a ſhare in the glory of the triumphant victor. From the Via Sacra the proceſſion turned to the circus, which Nero entered through a breach, having cauſed one of the arches to be thrown down. Thence they proceeded through the Velabrum and the forum to the palace, and from the palace to the temple of Apollo, where he diſplayed all his crowns, and ordered them to be carried from thence to his golden houſe, and there hung up round his bed, upon the many ſtatues which he had erected to himſelf in the habit and attire of a harper. The remaining part of the year he ſpent in playing upon the *harp*, ſinging, and acting upon the ſtage, no one of the nobility daring to abſent themſelves, upon any pretence whatſoever, from his theatrical repreſentations, though they often laſted, not only the whole day, but the night too. We are told, that he perſonated with great art Canace in labour, Oreſtes murdering his mother, Œdipus pulling out his own eyes, and Hercules phrentic; in which laſt repreſentation, a raw ſoldier, then upon guard, ſeeing the emperor bound in chains, as the argument required, and ſuppoſing it real violence, ran in, ſword in hand, to his relief, and cleared the ſtage, which did not a little divert the weary and tired out multitude. While he was acting in a tragedy, the buſtoon happening to fall out of his hand, he betrayed ſuch concern, and fear of forfeiting the reputation of an able actor, that he could not purſue his part, till one of his fellow actors aſſured him upon his oath, that not one of the audience had taken the leaſt notice of ſo ſmall a fault, and merely caſual. To preſerve his voice, he uſed to lie conſtantly on his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his ſtomach

Spends the remaining part of the year in acting upon the ſtage.

He takes particular care of his voice.

ſtomach, took frequently vomitory and purging potions, and abſtained from all ſorts of fruit, and meats reputed prejudicial to his voice: nay, he gave over at length, through fear of hurting his voice, making ſpeeches to the ſoldiery or ſenate, contenting himſelf to ſignify his pleaſure to them in writing, or by the mouth of ſome of his friends or freed-men. After his return from Greece, he eſtabliſhed a new employment, charging one, whom he called, with a name borrowed from the Greek tongue, his phonaſcus, to take care of his voice. He would never ſpeak but in the preſence of this new officer, who was firſt to admoniſh him, when he talked too loud, or ſtrained his voice, and afterwards, if the emperor, tranſported with any ſudden emotion, did not hearken to his admonitions, to ſtop his mouth with a napkin. The moſt effectual means of courting his favour was to commend his voice, to pretend raptures while he ſung, to appear dejected, and be very importunate, if he took a fancy, as he ſometimes did, like other ſingers, not to do what he was moſt ardently deſirous of doing [p]. Thus he trifled away his time, not forbearing, however, in the midſt of diverſion and pleaſures, to purſue feats of cruelty and blood, till the next year, the fourteenth of his reign, when a bloody doom overtook at length this man of blood. Either this, or the preceding, year, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by Vinicius, and diſcovered at Beneventum; and this is all we find concerning it in the hiſtories of thoſe times, which have reached ours. Of this conſpiracy, Plutarch, we conjecture, ſpeaks in his treatiſe of talkativeneſs, where he tells, that a plot formed againſt Nero was diſcovered in the following manner, when it was ripe for execution. One of the conſpirators, ſeeing a priſoner dragged to Nero's tribunal, accoſted him, as he was bewailing his misfortune, and whiſpered him in the ear, If by the favour of the gods you eſcape today, you will be to-morrow indebted to me for your ſafety. The priſoner underſtood him, and as he was chiefly ſolicitous about averting his own doom, he immediately acquainted Nero with what had been told him. Hereupon the conſpirator was forthwith ſeized, and being put upon the rack, owned the conſpiracy and diſcovered his aſſociates [q]. Of this conſpiracy we find no further account in the

A conſpiracy diſcovered.

[p] Suet. c. 25.

[q] Plut. de garrulitaate.

the antients, which makes us the more ſenſible of the irreparable loſs we have ſuffered by the chaſm in this part of Tacitus's annals.

The next conſuls were Silius Italicus, the celebrated poet, and Galerius Trachalus [r]. Theſe were the laſt conſuls named by Nero. Pliny, in one of his letters [s], gives us a ſuccinct account of the life and death of Silius, for he died in the reign of Trajan; and tells us, that under Nero he accuſed, not by conſtraint, but choice, ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, and procured their deſtruction; but adds, that under the ſucceeding emperors he led a life free from all blemiſh. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him in the reign of Domitian, when he wrote his poem on the Punic war. Trachalus was an orator and civilian of great note [t], and nearly related to Galeria, the wife of Vitellius, who ſaved his life, as we ſhall relate hereafter. This year, Nero, after having long wallowed in the blood of humane race, and made ſpoil, we may ſay, of the creation, was at length overtaken by the bloody doom, which his enormous and crying iniquities well deſerved. His raging fury had quite tired out and exhauſted the patience both of Romans and foreigners, who were equally diſpoſed to a general revolution, and only wanted a perſon of credit and experience to head them. The firſt, who had courage enough openly to declare his generous reſolution of redeeming the world, from the no leſs ignominious than tyrannical yoke, under which it had now groaned for thirteen years and upwards, was Julius Vindex, deſcended from the antient kings of Aquitain, and at this time governor of Celtic Gaul. He was a true lover of his country, had on ſeveral occaſions ſignalized his courage, prudence, and experience in the military art, bore an utter averſion to ſlavery, and was poſſeſſed with an ardent ambition of tranſmitting his name to poſterity by ſome commendable action [u]. We are told, that before he openly declared his deſign, he communicated it to Galba, then governor of Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, who neither countenanced nor diſcovered it to Nero, as did ſeveral of the governors of other pro-

Julius Vindex revolts in Gaul.

[r] Plin. l. iii. ep. 7. Front. Aquæduc. p. 119. Idatius, &c. [s] Plin. ibid. [t] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 90. [u] Dio, l. lxiii. p. 724. Suet. c. 40. Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 16.

provinces, to whom Vindex had imparted it by letters, which they immediately ſent to Nero [w]. Philoſtratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyanæus, writes, that the governor of Bœtica, now Andaluſia, coming to Gades, or Cadiz, to viſit Apollonius, conferred with him in private for three days together; and that it was afterwards believed, that Apollonius had encouraged the governor to revolt from Nero and join Vindex, whoſe deſign was not yet publicly known [x]. Whether Philoſtratus ſpeaks here of Galba, or of ſome other, we know not. Galba indeed, was not governor of Bœtica; but in Philoſtratus ſuch miſtakes frequently occur. Though Galba did not at firſt ſhew himſelf inclined to favour the revolt, yet the brave Vindex, having about the begining of March, aſſembled the Gauls, haraſſed and reduced to beggary, by heavy tributes and impoſitions, openly declaring to them his deſign, encouraged them to concur chearfully in his meaſures, and in a long ſpeech diſplayed their many grievances, from which he ſaid there were no hopes of relief, ſo long as their tyrannical and cruel oppreſſor lived or reigned. His deſign was univerſally applauded by the Gauls, who immediately flocked to him from all parts; inſomuch, that though he had no Roman troops under his command, yet he found himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of an hundred thouſand armed men. Hereupon he wrote once more to Galba, exhorting him to eſpouſe the common cauſe of mankind, and put himſelf at the head of the Gauls, who were already a body of an hundred thouſand armed men, and could, upon occaſion, raiſe a greater force. At the ſame time arrived an expreſs from the governor of Aquitain, demanding ſuccours againſt Vindex. Upon the receipt of theſe important diſpatches, Galba called a council of his friends to adviſe with them, before he returned an anſwer to either of the meſſengers. In the council they were almoſt all of opinion, that he ought to wait and ſee how Rome ſtood inclined before he declared. But Titus Vinius, tribune of the only legion in the province, ſtanding up, "What room, ſaid he, is there here for de-
"liberation? It is a crime even to queſtion, whether or
"no we ſhall continue faithful to Nero, and as ſuch it
"will be puniſhed by him. There is no medium;

And raiſes a powerful army.

[w] Plut. vit. Galbæ. [x] Philoſtrat. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. v. c. 13.

" you muſt either hearken to the overture of Vindex and " look on Nero as your declared enemy, or march this " inſtant againſt a perſon, who had rather have Galba for " emperor than Nero." This ſpeech made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of Galba, who was likewiſe animated by ſeveral favourable omens, and above all by a prediction, which was uttered about this time by a young virgin of great diſtinction in Spain, and anſwered exactly another, which had been delivered two hundred years before, viz. that Spain ſhould one day give a prince to Rome, and to the world a ſovereign. He therefore heſitated no longer; but by an edict appointed a certain day for the Spaniards to meet at New Carthage, now Carthagena. The Spaniards, who had heard of the revolt in Gaul and ſuſpected his deſign, obeyed the ſummons with great alacrity; for they abhorred the very name of Nero, and flocked from all quarters to Carthagena, where Galba, aſcending the tribunal, round which were placed the images of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, whom Nero had cauſed to be inhumanly maſſacred, openly declared his deſign in the following ſpeech: " Fellow-ſoldiers and friends, we are aſſembled " to beſtow on mankind the great benefit of liberty and " freedom, a benefit, which indeed is our birth-right, " though we have not theſe many years been allowed to " taſte the ſweets of it. For what ſlave has endured greater hardſhips, has ſuffered a more cruel ſervitude, than " we under the inhuman tyrant, whom the evil fortune of " the Roman empire hath placed over us? What kind of " extortions has he not uſed to ſupply, with rapine and " injuſtice, what he has ſpent, with ignominy and ſhame? " What kind of cruelty has he not practiſed? Has he not " wallowed in the blood of his father, his brother, his mo- " ther, his wife, his inſtructor, and of all, who, in the " ſenate, city, or provinces, were any-ways conſiderable " for their birth, wealth, courage, or virtue, without di- " ſtinction of ſex or age? The blood of ſo many inno- " cent victims cries aloud for vengeance. Let us there- " fore appeaſe the manes of our deceaſed friends and re- " lations with the blood of the tyrant, by whom they " have been thus inhumanly butchered. Let us rouſe our " courage, and ſo long as we have arms, and ability to " manage them, be aſhamed tamely to obey, like ſo many " slaves, not a prince, but an incendiary, a parricide, a " ſinger, a minſtrel, a player, a charioteer, nay one who

Galba revolts in Spain.

His ſpeech againſt Nero.

" is not even a man, but a monſter of mankind, having " a man to his huſband, and a man to his wife. The " Gauls have already ſhaken off the ignominious yoke, " and the whole empire is ready to follow their ex- " ample and join us and them. For myſelf, I have never " entertained any ambitious or aſpiring deſigns, and heartily " wiſh I were allowed to ſpend the ſmall remainder of " my days in privacy and retirement; but ſince ſome have " impoſed upon me a part, which I never deſigned to act, " and leaſt of all at this age, I will not decline, with your " approbation, the heavy taſk, but chearfully ſacrifice my " own inclinations to the good of my country, not with " the awful title of emperor or Auguſtus, which ſacred " names I adore" —Here he was interrupted by the loud ſhouts, and joyful acclamations of the numerous aſſembly, ſaluting him with one voice, emperor and Auguſtus. But Galba, declining theſe ſpecious titles, declared, that he devoted himſelf to the ſervice of his country only as a lieutenant to the ſenate and people [y]. This happened nine months and thirteen days, as we read in Dion Caſſius, before Galba's death, and conſequently on the third of April; for he was aſſaſſinated on the fifteenth of January of the following year. After this Galba ordered levies to be made throughout the whole province; ſelected a certain number of perſons of known prudence and experience, and with them formed a kind of ſenate; appointed a band of young knights, whom he called evocati, to be as a guard at the door of his chamber; and cauſed edicts to be fixed up in every city of the province, inviting all to join him, and lend what aſſiſtance they could towards the recovery of their liberty, and the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe, which ſo nearly concerned them. We are told, that as he was fortifying a town, which he deſigned for a place of arms, a ring was found of great antiquity, on the ſtone whereof was engraved a Victory; and that about the ſame time a ſhip from Alexandria came into the port of Dertoſa or Tortoſa, laden with arms, without either pilot, mariners, or paſſengers [z]. Otho, who ſtill governed Luſitania, was the firſt of all the governors of provinces who declared for Galba, ſending him all his gold and ſilver plate to turn it into money, and likewiſe his domeſtics, who were more accuſtomed to a

He declines the title of emperor.

y Suet. in Galba, c. 10. Dio, l. lxiv. p. 730. Plut. in Galb. Suet. in Galb. c. 10.

court, and knew better than Galba's how to ſerve an emperor [a].

Nero is not affected with the tidings of the revolt of Vindex.

THE firſt tidings of the revolt of Vindex and the Gauls came to Nero at Naples, on the ſame day, on which he cauſed his mother to be murdered, that is, on the 19th of March. But he was ſo far from being affected with it, that he ſeemed rather to rejoice at the news, as having a plauſible pretence to plunder thoſe wealthy provinces; ſo that he continued to ſing, play, and act upon the ſtage, as uſual, for eight days together, without iſſuing any orders for ſuppreſſing the revolt, or even writing or ſpeaking to any one about it: he was only once heard to ſay, upon receiving letters of a freſher date, exaggerating the impending danger, that he would make Vindex and the Gauls pay dear for diſturbing his pleaſures. At length the edicts of Vindex, filled with moſt bitter invectives, rouſed him ſo far as to prompt him to write to the ſenate, recommending to the fathers the revenging of the injuries offered to him, and in him to them and the whole republic, and excuſing his abſence with the pretence of an inflammation in his throat. But he reſented nothing ſo much as

What he chiefly reſented.

Vindex's calling him in one of his edicts an unſkilful harper, and Ahenobarbus inſtead of Nero. He declared, that he would quit his adopted name, and reſume that of his family ſince they reproached him with it, as if it were a name to be aſhamed of. The other imputation affected him ſtill more; he could not bear it: but in the tranſports of his paſſion broke out into bitter invectives againſt Vindex, abuſing him as one entirely ignorant of an art, which he had, with his own induſtry and indefatigable pains, refined and brought to the greateſt perfection: to refute this calumny, he played more frequent than ever, obſerving with great attention the countenances of the ſpectators, and aſking them whether they had ever heard or known a more ſkilful player upon the harp than himſelf? But, the alarm encreaſing, and meſſenger after meſſenger arriving with diſmal accounts, he at length left Naples in a great fright, and repaired to Rome. However, his fear was greatly abated by his obſerving on the road a tomb, on which was engraved a Gaul overcome by a Roman knight, who dragged him on the ground by the hair. This frivolous preſage ſo revived him, that he returned thanks to the gods for

[a] Idem. ibid. & Plut. in vit. Oth.

for ſuch an auſpicious omen. Upon his arrival in the city, inſtead of aſſembling the ſenate or people, he only ſummoned ſome of the principal men to his palace, and after a ſhort conſultation, in which no reſolution was taken, he ſpent the reſt of the day in ſhewing his counſellors certain muſical inſtruments lately invented by himſelf, and ſo contrived as to play by water. Here, entirely forgetful of the danger that threatened him, he diſcourſed of the nature and workmanſhip of each of them, promiſing to produce them, ere it was long, upon the ſtage, "provided Vindex would give him leave." The following night he ſent in haſte for the chief men of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, who immediately flew to the palace, not doubting, but the emperor deſigned to adviſe with them in the preſent moſt urging juncture, and come to ſome ſpeedy reſolution. But they were greatly ſurpriſed to find, that they had been ſummoned in the dead of the night to be entertained with a farther account of the inſtruments, which had been ſhewn them the day before, and ſome new improvements, which had ſince occurred to Nero [b]. However, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, complaining of Vindex, ſet a price upon his head, called back the troops that were on their march towards Albania, and ordered the legions in Illyricum to be forthwith tranſported into Italy. We are told, that when news was brought to Vindex, that Nero had promiſed ten millions of ſeſterces to any one who ſhould bring him his head, he anſwered with great calmneſs, "Whoever ſhall bring Nero's head to me, ſhall, if he pleaſes, have mine in exchange." Nero ſeemed to deſpiſe Vindex, and to be under no apprehenſion of the Gauls; but intelligence being brought him of the revolt of Galba, juſt as he was ſitting down to ſupper, he was ſo ſtruck with it, that he remained a long time motionleſs, without being able to utter a ſingle word; and when he came to himſelf again, he overturned in a violent rage the table, tore his garments, broke in pieces two cups of great value, and daſhing his head againſt the wall, cried out, he was undone; his misfortunes were without example; his empire was ſeized, while he was ſtill alive, and become the prey of an uſurper. However, he could not, even in the height of his conſternation and fear, refrain from his uſual debaucheries; but purſued his former courſe of life, feaſting, revelling, and, upon his receiving news

His unconcern.

Complains of Vindex to the ſenate.

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of Galba.

[b] Suet. c. 40, 41. Dio, p. 694—697.

out of the provinces that ſeemed any-ways favourable to his affairs, jeſting and ridiculing the heads of the rebellion. He even appeared in the theatre, and becauſe one of the actors performed his part ſo as to deſerve an extraordinary applauſe, he ſent him word, that he invaded the rights of the emperor [c]. In the mean time, the ſenate, out of fear and flattery, declared Galba a traitor and an enemy to the ſtate; whereupon Nero immediately ſeized his eſtate, and commanded it to be put up to auction; which Galba no ſooner underſtood, than he in his turn expoſed to ſale Nero's eſtate in Spain, and found a great number of purchaſers [d]. This enraged Nero to ſuch a degree, that, in the firſt tranſports of his fury, he reſolved to ſend perſons into all the provinces to murder the governors and commanders of the armies, under pretence of their being privy to the conſpiracy, to order all the exiles to be maſſacred, leſt they ſhould join the revolters, to cut the throats of all the Gauls in Rome, as accomplices and favourers of their countrymen, to poiſon the whole ſenate at an entertainment, to ſet fire to the city, and at the ſame time let looſe the wild beaſts kept for the public ſpectacles, that the people being thus diverted from extinguiſhing the flames, their deſtruction, and the deſtruction of the city, might be the more inevitable. But dropping, upon farther thoughts, theſe barbarous deſigns, not out of remorſe, but deſpair of effecting them, he reſolved to march in perſon againſt the rebels; and depoſing the two conſuls, Silius and Trachalus, entered alone upon the conſulſhip, pretending an antient prediction, importing, that when Rome had but one conſul, by him the Gauls ſhould be overcome. Having therefore aſſumed the faſces and other marks of the conſular dignity, he ordered levies to be made throughout Italy, named the officers who were to command under him, and cauſed an immenſe number of waggons to be got ready for conveying with ſafety, not the engines of war, but his muſical inſtruments and the decorations of the ſtage; for he was ſo mean-ſpirited as to declare to his intimate friends, that he did not intend to try his fortune with the rebels in the field, but upon his arrival in the province, to preſent himſelf without arms before the armies, to weep, and with ſighs and tears beg forgiveneſs of his former conduct; which if touched with compaſſion, they ſhould grant him, as he hoped

His deſperate reſolution.

Depoſes both the conſuls.

His meanneſs.

[c] Suet. c. 42. [d] Plut. vit. Galb.

hoped they would, he designed to engage and fix their affections, by diverting them with plays and songs of triumph, which, he said, it was high time for him to begin to compose. That he had no design of facing the enemy in the field was manifest from his other preparations; for he ordered all the players upon instruments, singers, and actors to attend him; and arming his concubines, like Amazons, with battle-axes and shields, appointed them to guard his person [e].

In the mean time, Galba's party gained daily new strength, all the governors of the provinces declaring for him, except Clodius Macer, who commanded in Africa, and L. Rufus Verginius, or Virginius, the governor of Upper Germany, where he had under his command some of the best legions in the whole empire. The latter even marched against Vindex with all his forces, and being joined by the inhabitans of Treves, capital of Belgic Gaul, and powerfully assisted in Celtic Gaul itself by the cities of Langres and Lions, he advanced as far as the city of Besancon, which he besieged. Upon this intelligence, Vindex hastened to the relief of the place; but upon his arrival Verginius desiring an interview with him, the two generals had a private conference, in which they agreed, as was commonly believed, to act against Nero; but Verginius could not by any means be prevailed upon to declare for Galba. After they had long conferred together, Vindex returned to his troops, and with them advanced to Besancon, in order to take possession of the place, pursuant to the private agreement of the two chiefs. But Verginius's men, believing that Vindex designed to attack them, marched out without their general's orders, fell upon the Gauls, who expected nothing less and were quite unprepared for an engagement, and with great slaughter put them to flight. Thus Dion Cassius [f]; but Plutarch tells us, that the two armies engaged in defiance of the orders of their commanders, who did all that lay in their power to divert them from that wild resolution [g]. Be that as it will, it is agreed on all hands, that the two armies engaged, that twenty thousand Gauls were killed upon the spot, and that Vindex after the battle laid violent hands on himself. After the death of Vindex, the victorious legions tore the images of Nero,

Rufus Virginius marches against Vindex.

Vindex defeated.

Lays violent hands on himself.

[e] Suet. c. 44. Galb.

[f] Dio, l. lxiii. p. 725.

[g] Plut. vit.

Nero, and importuned Verginius to accept the empire, saluting him Cæsar, emperor, Augustus, &c. Verginius was descended of an equestrian family; but had on many occasions signalized his prudence, valour, equity, and such virtues and endowments as are requisite in a brave commander and excellent citizen [h]. Dion Cassius assures us, that he might have easily seized on the empire, had he but seconded the ardent wishes of the troops under his command. But, either out of a greatness of soul truly heroic, or a lively apprehension of the evil consequences, which would inevitably accrue from allowing the soldiery to chuse the emperor, he not only rejected their offer, but resolutely declared, that he would neither take upon himself the sovereign power, nor suffer any one else to assume it, who was not named to it by the senate, to whom alone the disposal of the empire belonged. The same answer he returned to the soldiery, when, upon the news of Nero's death, they importuned him anew to accept of the empire [k]. This refusal says Dion, gained him higher renown than the empire itself could have done, and filled the world with the fame of his name [l]. He lived thirty years after this glorious and generous action, revered by all men; and having escaped the fury of so many princes, by whom he was both suspected and hated on account of his virtue, he died at length under Nerva, being then consul for the third time, in the eighty-third year of his age and ninety-seventh of the Christian æra. Tacitus tells us, that, in the following troubles and seditions, no one was exposed to greater dangers, no one so often threatened and assaulted by the soldiery as he; for though they admired his magnanimity, till then without example, yet they hated him, as having despised them by refusing the empire. In how great esteem he was held by the good princes, we may judge from the opinion which Vitellius entertained of him, a prince suspicious, distrustful, and open to every alarm. For though a slave of Verginius was charged as one employed to assassinate the emperor, though the soldiers had, upon the death of Otho, declared for him the third time, yet Vitellius never seemed in the least to question his fidelity [m]. Before he died, he ordered

Verginius refuses the empire.

His conduct and unblemished character.

[h] Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 52. Plin. l. ii. ep. 1.
[k] Dio. p. 727. Plut. ibid.
[l] Dio, p. 726. Dio, excerpt. Val. p, 697.
[m] Tacit. ibid.

an epitaph, compoſed by himſelf, to be engraved on his tomb, importing, that he had overcome Vindex, and thereby acquired the empire to his country, not to himſelf. Cluvius Rufus, who wrote the hiſtory of thoſe times, begging him one day to excuſe him, if the laws of hiſtory obliged him to relate ſomething that he might not like, As to my actions and conduct, replied Virginius, I deſire you would relate them, ſuch as they are; for I am not conſcious to myſelf, of having ever done any thing but with a view to the applauſes and approbation of poſterity [n]. This was the only time he was ever heard to ſpeak of his own actions, however great and glorious. Cornelius Tacitus, the celebrated hiſtorian, was conſul, when he died, and pronounced his funeral oration. Pliny the younger, who had received innumerable favours at his hands, beſtows on him the following elogium; No tongue can ſufficiently commend Rufus Verginius, or anſwer the opinion I entertain of his virtue [o]. To reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

The bad ſituation of Galba's affairs.

THE death of Vindex and declaration of Verginius not to ſuffer any one to aſſume the ſovereignty, without the conſent of the ſenate, exceedingly perplexed Galba. Beſides, it was reported, that the legions commanded by Verginius, finding they could not perſuade their general to accept of the empire, threatened to return to Nero; nay ſome of Galba's own troops, repenting the new oath they had taken, attempted to abandon him; and certain ſlaves, whom one of Nero's freedmen had preſented him with, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and would in all likelihood have diſpatched him, had they not diſcovered themſelves, by exhorting one another, as Galba was paſſing through a narrow-ſtreet to his baths, not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity. The new emperor therefore, in the utmoſt conſternation, wrote to Verginius, earneſtly ſoliciting him to act in concert with himſelf againſt Nero, the common enemy of mankind, and to lend an helping hand to the great work of reſtoring Rome to her antient liberty. What anſwer Verginus returned him, we are no-where told; but it ſeems to have been no ways favourable to his deſign, ſince he retired a few days after with his friends to a city in Spain called Clunia, quite diſheartened, repenting what he had

[n] Plin. l. vi. ep. 10. & l. ix. ep. 19. [o] Plin. l. ix. ep. 9.

had done, and ready to lay violent hands on himſelf [c]. In the mean time, at Rome the levies commanded by Nero went on but ſlowly; for though he ſummoned all the tribes to take the military oath, yet no one appeared who was fit to bear arms; inſomuch, that he was obliged to iſſue an edict, ordering all maſters to ſend him a certain number of ſlaves, whom he enfranchiſed and liſted among his troops. He likewiſe obliged perſons of every rank and profeſſion to contribute the greateſt part of their yearly income towards the intended expedition, according as they were rated in the books of the cenſors. Theſe heavy impoſitions, together with his fooliſh and unſeaſonable niceneſs, for he would receive no money but what was new coined, incenſed the people to ſuch a degree, that they openly oppoſed the collectors, telling them, that the beſt and moſt ready means of ſupplying the prince with money, was to oblige the informers to refund the immenſe ſums they had earned with their infamous practices [d]. As a famine began to be felt in the city, the fury of the populace was heightened by the arrival of a ſhip from Egypt, at that time the granary of Rome, laden not with corn, as was expected, but with ſand for the gladiators and wreſtlers. Upon this the people roſe in a tumultuous manner, overturned in the night moſt of the emperor's ſtatues, tore his images, plundered the houſes of his friends and favourites, and committed innumerable diſorders, no one offering to appeaſe or reſtrain them. At the ſame time, news arrived of the revolt of the legions in Germany, which ſo affected Nero, that calling for poiſon, he incloſed it in a golden box, and went immediately into the Servilian gardens, whence he diſpatched the freed-men, in whom he chiefly confided, to Oſtia to prepare his fleet, being reſolved to ſail to Egypt, whither he had already ſent ſome German troops. He was prompted to this reſolution by the predictions of ſome aſtrologers, who had foretold him long before, that he would one day be abandoned by all; but at the ſame time aſſured him, that in the end he would obtain the empire of the eaſt, or the kingdom of Jeruſalem. However, before he left the palace, he ſounded the tribunes and centurions of his guards, aſking them whether they were diſpoſed to accompany him in his flight? But ſome of them ſhifting, others poſitively refuſing to

Nero provokes the people at Rome.

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of the German legions.

[c] Suet. c. 10. Dio, p. 698. Plut. in Galb. [d] Suet. c. 44.

to attend him, and one of them crying out, Uſque adeone mori miſerum eſt? Is it ſo ſad a thing to die? he was quite diſtracted and confounded in his thoughts; reſolving at one time to fly to the Parthians, at another to addreſs Galba as a ſuppliant, to appear in public clad in deep mourning, and, with all poſſible humility and dejection, implore the forgiveneſs of the people for his former conduct; and, if he found them inflexible, to beg the government of Egypt. To this purpoſe an oration was found after his death among the reſt of his papers; but he was deterred from delivering it by an apprehenſion of his being torn in pieces by the outrageous multitude, before he could reach the roſtra. He therefore put off the taking of any reſolution till the next day; and in the mean time his ruin was completed by one, whom he leaſt of all ſuſpected, Nymphidius Sabinus, who, though of a mean deſcent, had been by Nero upon the death of Fenius Rufus appointed collegue of Tigellinus in the command of the prætorian guards, and now entertained thoughts of ſeizing the ſovereignty for himſelf. However, he did not immediately declare his ambitious views; but, pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe of Galba, aſſured the guards, that Nero was fled, and promiſed them in Galba's name ſuch ſums, as neither Galba nor any other was able to diſcharge. This promiſe ſecured for the preſent the empire to Galba, occaſioned afterwards the loſs of it, and in the end produced the deſtruction of Nymphidius and the guards themſelves. For the ſoldiery, thus deceived and tempted with the mighty promiſes of Nymphidius, abandoned Nero, notwithſtanding their long and ſworn fealty to the houſe of the Cæſars, and proclaimed Galba emperor: even Tigellinus, the chief author of the crimes that rendered Nero's name ſo odious and deteſtable, forſook and betrayed him in his extremity. The emperor, altogether unacquainted with the treaſonable practices of Tigellinus, awaked about mid-night; and underſtanding, to his unſpeakable ſurprize, that his guards were retired, he leapt out of his bed, ſent in great haſte for his friends, and none of them obeying the ſummons, went at laſt in perſon, attended by a few domeſtics, to their ſeveral houſes; but finding the doors every-where ſhut, and no one deigning even to return an anſwer to his prayers and entreaties, he haſtened back to his chamber, which he found rifled and ſtript even to the coverings of his bed. The golden box, in which he kept the poiſon prepared by the famous Locuſta, being likewiſe carried

Nero betrayed by Nymphidius, and abandoned by his guards.

His fright and conſternation.

carried off, he ſent for Spicillus, a celebrated gladiator, to diſpatch him; but neither he, nor any other being found who would undertake that taſk, he cried out in a fit of deſpair, What! have I in this forlorn condition neither friends nor enemies? Which words he had ſcarce uttered, when he left his room in a great hurry with a deſign to throw himſelf into the Tiber; but changing his mind, he ſtopt all on a ſudden, and deſired ſome private place to recollect himſelf and reſume his courage. Hereupon Phaon, one of his freed-men, offered him his country-houſe, which ſtood between the Salarian and Numentan roads, about four miles from the city. He accepted the offer, and, without further delay, attended by four perſons, of whom Sporus was one, left Rome meanly apparelled and worſe mounted, hiding his face, through fear of being diſcovered, with a handkerchief. Upon his ſetting out, he was terrified and diſmayed by dreadful flaſhes of lightning, and a violent earthquake, as if the ghoſts of the many perſons he had murdered were riſing up, ſays Dion, againſt the unmerciful tyrant. As he paſſed by the camp of the prætorian guards, he heard them curſing him, and wiſhing proſperity and ſucceſs to Galba. A paſſenger, whom he met on the road, in ſeeing him and his attendants, Theſe, ſaid he, are no doubt in purſuit of Nero; another aſked him, What news of Nero in the city? His horſe ſtarting at the ſight of a carcaſs that lay in the way, the covering of his face was ſhaken off, and he known by a ſoldier of the prætorian guards, named Miſſicius, who ſaluted him with the title of emperor; which ſo alarmed Nero and his attendants, that at the firſt turning they quitted their horſes, and, betaking themſelves to a narrow path, crept with much difficulty through buſhes and briars to the wall, which encloſed Phaon's grounds, who entreated the emperor to conceal himſelf in a ſand-pit, till he found means of conveying him in with more ſecrecy: but Nero anſwered, that he would not be buried till he was dead; and lay concealed among the briars, while Phaon, examining the wall, was conſidering how he might introduce him undiſcovered. In the mean time, Nero, being preſt with drought, took up water out of a ditch with his hands, ſaying, To this liquor is Nero reduced: he likewiſe cleared with his own hands his garments of the briars that had ſtuck to them. In order to procure a more private acceſs for him to the houſe, a hole was opened in the wall, through

Flies from Rome.

His forlorn condition.

through which he was dragged, and conveyed into a room very indifferently furniſhed, where he paſſed the remainder of the night and part of the following day, in ſuch agonies as can hardly be expreſſed, alarmed at the leaſt noiſe he heard, as if aſſaſſins were come to murder him, and not daring to ſpeak through fear of being diſcovered. He now repented the many crimes he had committed, wiſhed he had purſued a quite different conduct, was ſenſible, that thoſe, who had put him upon the meaſures he had followed, were his greateſt enemies; and had conſtantly in his mouth the following words, taken out of a tragedy, entitled, Œdipus baniſhed, the laſt in which he had acted; My father, mother, and wife, doom me to deſtruction [e]. As thoſe who attended him were conſtantly ſoliciting and importuning him to prevent with a voluntary death the dangers that threatened him, he at laſt ordered his grave to be dug, and wood and water to be provided for the waſhing and burning of his body, bemoaning himſelf, while he gave theſe orders, in a manner altogether unmanly, and often repeating with many ſighs and tears, What an artiſt will the world loſe [f].

THE news of Nero's flight filled the city with joy, the ſenate aſſembled early in the morning, and proclaimed Galba emperor; and, having taken the uſual oaths to him, declared Nero an enemy to the ſtate, and doomed him to be puniſhed more majorum. One of Phaon's friends immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to him with a letter, acquainting him with the tranſactions of the ſenate. As ſoon as the meſſenger appeared, Nero ſnatched the letter out of his hand; and finding by it, that he was declared an enemy to the ſtate, and doomed to be puniſhed more majorum, he aſked, what kind of puniſhment that was? Phaon told him, that, purſuant to the ſentence of the ſenate, he was to be ſtript naked, his head was to be faſtened in a pillory, and he in that poſture to be whipt to death; which ſo terrified him, that he ſnatched up two daggers, which he always carried about with him, as if he were determined to anticipate in that inſtant the execution of ſo cruel a ſentence by a voluntary death; but, after trying their points with a trembling hand, he put them up again, ſaying, that his fatal hour was not yet come: then turning

Is declared by the ſenate an enemy to the ſtate, and condemned to die.

[e] Suet. c. 48. Dio, p. 627. [f] Suet. c. 49.

turning to Sporus, he desired him to begin his complaints and lamentations, since the fatal moment approached. He betrayed such meanness as to desire with many tears, that some of his attendants would by their example encourage him to die with resolution and intrepidity. But none of them shewing the least inclination to animate him at the expence of their own lives, he strove to raise his drooping spirits with the following words ; Courage, Nero, courage ; such pusillanimity in an emperor is base and dishonourable ; the pains of death are but short and momentary ; strike boldly, &c. Thus he continued animating himself, but to no effect ; till hearing the noise of some horsemen, sent by the senate to seize him and bring him alive to Rome, he cried out in a Greek verse, A dismal noise of horses sounds in my ears ; and drawing one of his daggers, he put it to his throat ; but his heart failing him, he begged Epaphroditus his freed-man and secretary to lend him his assistance; which he did with great reluctance, and paid dear for it, being afterwards put to death by Domitian, for imbruing his hands in the blood of the Cæsars. Before he was quite dead, the centurion, sent by the senate to apprehend him, entered the room, and, pretending he was come to his relief, endeavoured to stop the blood : Nero gave him no other answer, but, 'Tis too late : Is this your fidelity and allegiance ? With which words he expired, his eyes staring in a frightful manner, and ready to start out of his head, to the great terror and amazement of all who were present [g]. Upon the first rumour of his death, one of Galba's freed-men, not trusting to common report, flew to the place where his body lay, and having with his own eyes beheld the lifeless carcass extended on the ground, and all covered with gore, hastened away to Spain with the important tidings [h]. Many others, prompted by the like curiosity, flocked to Phaon's country-house ; so that his death being no longer questioned, the joy of the Roman people was so great and universal, that they ran up and down the streets, with such caps on their heads as were worn by manumitted slaves, congratulating one another upon their deliverance from so hard a bondage, overturned and dashed in pieces most of Nero's statues, knocked out the brains of as many of his friends

Betrays great meanness.

His death.

The joy of the Roman people.

[g] Suet. ibid.

[h] Plut. vit. Galb.

as fell into their hands, &c. Amongſt others they faſtened the gladiator Spicillus to one of Nero's ſtatues, which they dragged along the ſtreets, and cruſhed the unhappy favourite to pieces: they laid a famous informer, named Aponius, flat on the ground, and drove carts heavy loaden with ſtones over him. Many others were ſeized by the outrageous and undiſtinguiſhing multitude, and by them torn in pieces, though they had no ſhare in Nero's crimes: inſomuch, that Mauriſcus, who was deſervedly eſteemed one of the beſt men of the city, declared in full ſenate, that he was afraid they ſhould ſoon have cauſe to wiſh for Nero [i]. Such was the miſerable end of Nero, the ſixth emperor of Rome, who by his unheard-of iniquities well deſerved all the misfortunes which befel him. He died in the thirty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and eight months complete, according to ſome, or eight months wanting two days, according to others: for St. Jerom, Euſebius [k], and Zonaras [l] place his death on the eleventh of June; whereas the learned archbiſhop Uſher, father Pagi, and cardinal Noris alledge ſtrong arguments to prove, that he died on the ninth of the ſaid month. We need not enlarge on his character, ſince the name of Nero is by moſt nations made uſe of emphatically to expreſs a barbarous, raging, and abandoned tyrant. Pliny calls him the common enemy and fury of mankind [m], and moſt writers propoſe him as the pattern of a complete tyrant; and truly his whole life ſeems to have been a conſtant ſtruggle, to ſhew how abandonedly wicked, how execrably bad an human creature can be, when veſted with great power. The only thing he earneſtly commended to his attendants before he died was, that his head might not be cut off, but his body burnt entire. His requeſt was readily granted by Icelus, one of Galba's freedmen, who likewiſe allowed his obſequies to be performed with the uſual ſolemnity. His aſhes were carefully gathered, and depoſited in the ſtately monument of the Domitian family, by his concubine Acte, and two other women, who in his infancy had been charged with the care of his education. He was no eloquent ſpeaker, Seneca having

[i] Plut. ibid. [k] Hier. & Euſeb. in chron. [l] Zonar. p. 190. [m] Plin. l. vii. c. 8.

having diverted him, if Suetonius is to be credited, from peruſing the works of the antient orators, leſt he ſhould deſpiſe his ſtyle and compoſitions. He had a genius for poetry, and wrote verſes with great eaſe: ſome indeed accuſed him as a plagiary; but from this imputation Suetonius clears him, aſſuring us, that from the tablets on which he wrote, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, and which our author narrowly examined, it evidently appeared, that the verſes were neither tranſcribed by him, nor dictated by another, being effaced, interlined, and corrected, as thoughts or expreſſions occurred to him, which he liked better [n]. Though he died generally hated and abhorred, yet the vulgar, abandoned to debauchery and inured to the idle amuſements of the theatre and circus, began ſoon to regret the loſs of a prince, by whoſe infamous vices they ſubſiſted. Hence they flocked to his tomb, adorned it with flowers, carried his images, as it were, in triumph, &c. Vologeſes likewiſe, king of the Parthians, ſhewed a particular reſpect for Nero after his death, and by the embaſſadors, whom he ſent to the ſenate to renew his alliance with the Roman people, earneſtly begged, that the memory of Nero might be revered, and a monument erected to him [o]. Some even gave out, that he was not dead, but would ſoon appear again and take vengeance of his enemies: edicts were publicly hung up as iſſued by him, and ſoon after a ſlave, who greatly reſembled him, and was no leſs ſkilled in ſinging and playing upon the harp, attempted to paſs himſelf upon the provinces of Aſia and Achaia for the deceaſed prince; but was ſeized and executed in the iſland of Cythnus [p]. Several counterfeit Neros appeared afterwards; one eſpecially in the reign of the emperor Domitian, near twenty years after the true Nero was dead, created great diſturbances in the eaſt, where he was followed by vaſt crouds. Artabanes, who then reigned in Parthia, eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſent him powerful ſuccours; but was at length with much ado, prevailed upon to abandon the impoſtor, and deliver him up to the Romans [q]. But what above all to us ſeems ſurpriſing is, that towards the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, an opinion prevailed in the church, that Nero was to appear again

[n] Suet. c. 50——52.
[o] Suet. c. 57. Aur. Vict. epit.
[p] Dio, l. lxiv. p. 732. Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 2.
[q] Suet c. 57.

gain at the end of the world, and either to be himſelf the antichriſt, or to reign in the weſt and re-eſtabliſh idolatry there, while the antichriſt reigned in the eaſt. This opinion is by Sulpicius Severus aſcribed to St. Martin [r]. Some believed, that Nero was to be raiſed from the dead under another name; others, that he did not really die; but his wound being cured, was conveyed to ſome private place, where he is to lie concealed, till the time appointed for the appearance of the antichriſt. This opinion, which ſome pretended to prove from the Revelations, is taken notice of by Lactantius [s]; but what were his ſentiments on that ſubject is hard to determine, all the copies of his works being in that place ſtrangely corrupted. It is, however, manifeſt, that he ſuppoſes with Sulpicius Severus, Nero's body never to have been found, notwithſtanding the account which both Suetonius and Plutarch give us of his obſequies. St. Auſtin expreſſes no ſmall ſurprize, that ſuch an abſurd, and, as he ſtyles it, ridiculous, opinion ſhould have found partizans amongſt men of knowledge and learning [t]. But what opinion has hitherto been broached, that has not found ſome zealous proſelytes among the learned? The family of the Cæſars, properly ſpeaking, ended in Caligula, who had been adopted by Tiberius; but nevertheleſs, as Nero was, as well as Claudius, deſcended from Auguſtus by his mother Agrippina, the houſe of the Cæſars is ſaid to have ended in him. As for the writers who flouriſhed in Nero's reign, we refer the reader to our notes (T).

[r] Sulp. Sever. hiſt. ſacr. l. ii. [s] Lactan. de morte perſecutor. c. 2. [t] Aug. de civit. Dei, l. xx.

(T) Theſe were, Fabius Ruſticus, who wrote the hiſtory of his own time, and is frequently quoted by Tacitus, though in the opinion of that impartial writer, he betrayed too much zeal in extolling Seneca, to whoſe friendſhip he was chiefly indebted for the plentiful fortune he poſſeſſed. He was the beſt hiſtorian of his age; but none of his works have reached us (41). M. Serviſius, who is placed by Tacitus among the hiſtorians who wrote the hiſtory of Rome. He died in the ſixth year of Nero's reign and fifty-ninth of the chriſtian æra (42). Some writers take him to be the ſame perſon with M. Servilius Nonianus, who was conſul with C. Ceſtius Gallus, in the twenty-ſecond year of

(41) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 25. (42) Tacit. Annal. xiv. c. 9.

Tiberius's reign and thirty-fifth of the chriſtian æra. Pliny ſpeaks of one M. Servilius Nonianus, who flouriſhed ſome time before him, and was eſteemed a man of great learning and eloquence (43); and Quintilian mentions one, whom he calls Servilius Novianus, as a man of an extraordinary genius, but more diffuſe in his writings, than was conſiſtent with the laws of hiſtory (44). Voſſius endeavours to prove, that Nonianus and Novianus were too different writers (45); but moſt critics take them to be one and the ſame with M. Servilius Nonianus, who was conſul under Tiberius. A. Perſius Flaccus acquired great fame in Nero's reign by his ſatires. He was of an equeſtrian family, but allied to the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome. He was born in Volaterræ, a city of Hetruria, on the twelfth of December, in the thirty-fourth year of the chriſtian æra and twenty-firſt of Tiberius's reign, Paulus Fabius Perſicus and L. Vitellius being conſuls. At the age of ſixteen he ſtudied philoſophy, together with Lucan, under Annæus Cornutus, the famous ſtoic, of whom we have ſpoken above. He was nearly related to the wife of the celebrated Thraſea Pætus, and lived in great friendſhip with that zealous and undaunted patriot; but never ſhewed great value for Seneca. He was a man of a mild temper, of an unblemiſhed character, of an extraordinary modeſty, and unbounded beneficence. The ſubject of his ſatires are the faults of the orators and poets of his time, whom he expoſes with great humour and elegance, without ſparing Nero himſelf: hence they were received with uncommon applauſe, greedily read, and mightily cried up by all men of taſte, eſpecially by Lucan, who was greatly taken with his noble thoughts and fine expreſſions. He died ere he had put the laſt hand to them, before he was twenty-eight complete, on the twenty-fourth of November, in the year of the chriſtian æra ſixty-two, the ninth of Nero's reign, P. Marius and L. Aſinius Gallus being conſuls. He wrote ſome other poetical pieces; but, Cornutus, as we have hinted above, adviſed his mother to ſuppreſs them (46). Some writers have confounded him with Caius Perſius Flaccus, a man of great learning, but who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about two hundred years before our poet (47). Remmius Palemon taught rhetoric at Rome with great applauſe under Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, and, dying in the reign of Nero, left behind him a poem on weights and meaſures, which has reached our times. He was a native of Vicentia, and originally a ſlave; but by teaching acquired a conſiderable fortune, tho' he was generally deſpiſed, as a man quite deſtitute of honour, virtue, and honeſty. Under him Perſius ſtudied eloquence (48). Cæſius Baſſus

(43) Plin. l. xviii. c. 2. (44) Quint. l. x. c. 1. (45) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 27. (46) Suet. Perſ. vit. Hier. chron. (47) Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. c. 3. (48) Idem, c. 42. Plin. l. xiv. c. 4.

Baſſus died about the latter end of Nero's reign, and left behind him ſeveral poetical pieces highly eſteemed. He excelled in lyrics; but fell far ſhort of Horace (49). He is ſuppoſed to have been conſumed with his houſe by the flames of mount Veſuvius. C. Balbillus, who, according to Seneca, was a man of great integrity, and well verſed in all the branches of literature (50), was appointed præfect or governor of Egypt in the ſecond year of Nero's reign and fifty-fifth of the Chriſtian æra (51). He ſailed, according to Pliny (52), in ſix days from the ſtreights of Meſſana to Alexandria. He wrote an account of the remarkable things he had ſeen in Egypt, and deſcribed a battle, which, during his adminiſtration, happened at the mouth of the Nile, between the crocodiles and dolphins. The victory, according to him, was gained by the latter (53). Lucan was put to death by Nero's orders as we have related above. His chief performance is his Pharſalia, wherein he deſcribes the war between Cæſar and Pompey, in the opinion of Quintilian, more like an orator than a poet (54). As about no one writer critics are more divided in their opinions than about Lucan, we ſhall not preſume to decide a queſtion ſo much controverted, or even deliver our ſentiments. However, we cannot help thinking, that ſuch as equal him to Virgil, do not ſo much extol Lucan, as they diſcredit themſelves, by manifeſtly betraying their want of taſte and judgment. If age had ripened his genius, for he was not twenty-ſix complete when he died, and joined to his fire and vivacity the more mature judgment of the inimitable Virgil, we might have admired in him a complete poet. To him Voſſius aſcribes the panegyric upon Piſo, which paſſes under Ovid's name (55). He likewiſe wrote a poem upon the burning of Rome, and ſeveral other pieces, which have been long ſince loſt. A Greek woman named Pamphyla, gained great reputation under Nero, by a general hiſtory, which ſhe compriſed in thirty-three books, well known to the antients, but not conveyed down to us (56). Andromachus, a native of Crete, by profeſſion a phyſician, inſcribed to Nero a Greek poem on treacle, which has been tranſmitted to us among the works of Galen (57).

But of all the writers who flouriſhed under Nero, the moſt renowned, without diſpute, is the philoſopher L. Annæus Seneca. His father Marcus, or, as others call him, Lucius Annæus Seneca, is by the antients ſurnamed the Declaimer, from his having collect-

(49) Idem ibid. (50) Senec. nat. quæſt. l. iv. c. 2. (51) Tacit. annal. l. xiii. c. 22. (52) Plin. l. xix. c. 13. (53) Senec. ib. Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 25. (54) Quint. l. x. c. 1. (55) Voſſ. ibid. l. i. c. 26 (56) Idem, hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 7. (57) Idem, poet. Græc. l. iii. c. 7.

ed and publiſhed together the declamations of the moſt celebrated orators of his time, as appears from the preface which he prefixed to them. He left Corduba, or Cordova, in Spain, his native city, and came to Rome with two of his ſons, M. Annæus Seneca and Lucius Annæus Seneca, about fifteen years before the death of Auguſtus. A third ſon named Lucius Annæus Mela, the father of Lucan the poet he left in Spain. As he was a perſon of great diſtinction in his own country, he was, ſoon after his arrival in Rome, admitted into the equeſtrian order. His eldeſt ſon, M. Annæus Seneca, being adopted by Junius Gallio, a ſenator, took the ſame name; and this is the Gallio, proconſul of Achaia, at whoſe tribunal St. Paul was accuſed. L. Annæus Seneca, his ſecond ſon, who was very young when he came to Rome, applied himſelf firſt to the ſtudy of eloquence under his father, and afterwards embraced with great ardour the philoſophy of the ſtoics, having for his inſtructors Attalus, Sotio, and others. He began very early to abſtain, purſuant to the doctrine of Pythagoras, from all kinds of meat; but a perſecution being raiſed under Tiberius againſt the Jews and Egyptians, who refrained from certain meats, he was eaſily prevailed upon by his father to renounce that doctrine and practice. However, he abſtained from oyſters and muſhrooms, which were then in great requeſt, conſidering them rather as incentives to gluttony than nouriſhment, refrained from wine, uſed no perfumes, nor baths, ſlept little, avoided the popular diverſions, &c. (58). By his firſt wife, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us, he had a ſon named Marcus. To his ſecond wife he took Pompeia Paulina, probably the daughter of Pompeius Paulinus, who, in the firſt year of Nero's reign, commanded in Lower Germany. He pleaded at the bar with great applauſe; inſomuch, that Caligula, who was himſelf a ready and eloquent ſpeaker, as Tacitus informs us, jealous of the reputation he gained, had, without any other provocation, reſolved on his deſtruction; but was diverted from his cruel purpoſe by a favourite concubine, who perſuaded him, that Seneca's health was ſo impaired by his ſtudies and auſterities, that he could not protract his life much longer (59). But, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of his conſtitution, and the many infirmities to which he was ſubject, he outlived both Caius and Claudius. By the latter he was baniſhed, as we have related already, into the iſland of Corſica, after he had been quæſtor; which dignity he attained before the reign of Claudius, but whether in the time of Tiberius or Caius, is uncertain. Though he profeſſed a philoſophical life, he has been accuſed of many things altogether

(58) Senec. epiſt. 108, 83: (59) Dio, l. lix. p. 655.

altogether unworthy of that profeſſion. Not to mention the crime for which he was baniſhed under Claudius, Dion Caſſius charges him with other more abominable practices, and even with having taught his pupil Nero thoſe unnatural abominations, which will render his name infamous to the lateſt poſterity (60). And nevertheleſs that writer does not betray the leaſt prejudice againſt him; but, on the contrary, beſtows frequently high elogiums upon him. Tho' he often declaimed with great zeal againſt riches, yet, in the ſpace of four years, what by the favour of the prince, what by exceſſive uſury and hunting after teſtaments and inheritances, he amaſſed an immenſe treaſure. To his uſury and iniquitous extortions, Dion Caſſius chiefly aſcribes the revolt of the Britons, as we have related above. Tacitus, who ſpeaks of him as favourably as he thought conſiſtent with truth, owns, that he courted popular favour and was greedy of applauſe (61); and both Suetonius and Quintilian tell us, that he cried down the eloquence of the antient orators, to the end his own might be the more eſteemed. The ſatire he wrote againſt Claudius is altogether unworthy of a philoſopher, and likewiſe his conſolatio ad Polybium. even in the opinion of his great admirer and panegyriſt Lipſius, who therefore would willingly aſcribe it to ſome other; but owns, that he finds no arguments wherewithal to ſupport that opinion. Of this piece we conjecture Dion Caſſius ſpeaks, where he tells us, that Seneca, during his exile, inſcribed a book to the freedmen of Claudius, filled with ſuch mean and ſervile flattery, that being aſhamed of it himſelf, he did all that lay in his power to ſuppreſs it (62). As to his ſtyle, Quintilian tells us, that it was well ſuited to the taſte which prevailed in thoſe days, and for ſome time generally imitated by the young orators (63). But Quintilian himſelf, tho' he admires the lively and fertile genius of Seneca, yet wiſhes he had employed it better, and ſtudied rather to imitate the antients, than to form a ſtyle of his own; for from the antient maſters of eloquence he would have learnt to diſtinguiſh the true beauties of ſpeech from falſe ones (64). Suetonius ſeems to have entertained the ſame opinion of Seneca's ſtyle (65). From Aulus Gellius it appears, that in his time Seneca's ſtyle was ſtill admired by the young orators; but utterly deſpiſed by men of riper years and more mature judgment (66). Eraſmus agrees with Quintilian, and confirms his opinion with many learned obſervations (67), which we recom-

(60) Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 685. (61) Annal. xiii. c. 11. (62) Dio, ibid. p. 685, 686. (63) Quint. l. x. c. 1. (64) Idem, ibid. (65) Suet. in Ner. c. 52. (66) Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 2. (67) Eraſm. Sen. prol.

mend to the peruſal of our readers. Lipſius finds fault with the ſtudied gingle of his periods, reckons many of his thoughts deſtitute of ſolidity, and his expreſſions often obſcure and unnatural (68). But after all, his works deſerve the higheſt eſteem in regard of the fine morals they contain and inculcate; and every reader will find in them powerful motives to embrace, and excellent rules to purſue, a virtuous life. We ſhall not enlarge upon them, ſince they are already ſo well known; but only obſerve, that of his works which have reached our times, Monſieur le Fevre is of opinion, that his conſolatio ad Marciam was written in the reign of Caius, or perhaps of Tiberius; his conſolatio ad Helviam in the beginning of his exile; his conſolatio ad Polybium about the forty-third year of the chriſtian æra and the third of Claudius's reign, when that prince was preparing to invade Britain; his epigrams, during his exile; his books de ira, de otio ſapientis, de conſtantia ſapientis, de providentia, de tranquillitate animæ, after the death of Caligula; his ludus in Claudium immediately after the death of that prince; his books de clementia and de beneficiis, in the beginning of Nero's reign; that de vita beata a few years after, when he was in the height of his grandeur and proſperity; and his book de brevitate vitæ, after he had withdrawn from court; his letters and his naturales quæſtiones are ſuppoſed by the ſame critic, to have been written the year before his death (69). Beſides his other pieces, of which we know not the dates, le Fevre aſcribes to him the tragedy intituled Medea, being induced thereunto by the authority of Quintilian (70). The Oedipus is likewiſe thought to have been written by him; but the Agamemnon, the Troas, and the Hercules furens, are, in the opinion of the above-mentioned critic, altogether unworthy of the genius and eloquence of Seneca. From him, however, others differ, and aſcribe to Seneca the Troas and the Hippolytus; but the tragedies intituled Agamemnon, Hercules furens, Thyeſtes, and Hercules in Oeta, to Seneca the father. As for the Octavia, it was, without all doubt, written after the death of Seneca, and even of Nero (71).

As for the ſentiments of Seneca touching religion, In many places, ſays Tertullian (72), he favours us; noſter eſt; hence his authority is frequently made uſe of by Lactantius to confound the Gentiles. St. Auſtin produces ſeveral paſſages out of a book, which was written by Seneca againſt ſuperſtition and ſuperſtitious worſhip, but has not reached us, plainly ſhewing, that he acknowledged but one Supreme Being, and was fully convinced of the folly of idolatry. There is, ſays he, as quoted

(68) Lipſ. vit. Senec. c, 5. & 11. (69) Prolegom. in Senec. (70) Vide Faber. in Senec. prolegom. (71) Vide Turneb. & Faber. in Senec. (72) Tertul. ad nat. l. ii.

ed by St. Auſtin (73), but one Supreme Ruler, but one Deity. We adore nevertheleſs many, not with a view to pleaſe the gods, but out of a commendable compliance with the cuſtoms and laws of our country. Thus this able philoſopher, this grave ſenator, who thought it beneath him, ſays St. Auſtin, to diſguiſe himſelf on the ſtage, was not aſhamed to diſguiſe himſelf in the temples, and to aſſume a maſk, not to divert the people, but to lead them aſtray (74). In the abovementioned book he diſapproved of the Jewiſh ceremonies; but never once mentioned the chriſtians; which, in the opinion of St. Auſtin, plainly ſhews, that he found nothing in their religion but what he judged commendable, though he durſt not commend it, through fear of diſobliging the prince and the miſled multitude. Some letters of his to St. Paul, and of St. Paul to him, were publiſhed very early, which St. Auſtin and St. Jerom ſeem to have thought genuine; nay, the latter was by them induced to place Seneca among the eccleſiaſtic writers (75). But theſe letters are now univerſally rejected as ſpurious, and altogether unworthy of St. Paul, and even of Seneca; which inclines us to believe, that the letters, which have been conveyed down to us, are not the ſame with thoſe which were handed about in the time of St. Auſtin and St. Jerom. Lipſius is of opinion, that the ſuppoſed letters from Seneca to St. Paul, and from St. Paul to Seneca, were written by one and the ſame impoſtor (76); and Baronius diſcovers in them ſome enormous miſtakes (77). And thus much of the writers who flouriſhed under Nero.

(73) Aug. de civit. Dei, l. vi. c. 10. (74) Idem, ibid. & in pſal. cxl. (75) Aug. epiſt. liv. Hieron. de vir. illuſt. c. 12. (76) Lipſ. in proleg. in Senec. (77) Vide Baron. ad ann. 66. art. 11——13. & Godeau hiſt. eccleſ. ad ann. 60.

CHAP. XVIII.

From the death of Nero to the death of Vitellius, when the empire became hereditary a ſecond time.

SERVIUS Sulpicius Galba, the ſeventh emperor, was, by his father, deſcended from the Sulpician family, one of the moſt antient and illuſtrious in Rome. Sulpicius Galba governed Spain in quality of prætor in the year of

of Rome 602, and was the chief cauſe of the war with Viriatus, the celebrated leader of the Luſitanians. He was afterwards created conſul; but acquired greater renown by his eloquence, than by the offices he bore, being reckoned the moſt eloquent orator of his time. His grandſon, Sergius Galba, ſerved with great reputation under Julius Cæſar, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Gauliſh war; but afterwards, imputing the loſs of the conſulſhip to the ill offices of the dictator, he joined Brutus and Caſſius, and was on that account condemned by the Pedian law. His ſon, Servius Galba, was more famous for his ſtudies, than his employments; for he was not advanced above the degree of a prætor, when he publiſhed ſeveral hiſtories, which are greatly cried up by the antients. His ſon, Sergius Galba, married Mummia Achaica, the grand-daughter of the celebrated Q. Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus, and great grand-daughter of L. Mummius, who took and razed Corinth. By her he had two ſons, Caius and Servius Sulpicius Galba the emperor. Caius, having in his youth ſquandered away his eſtate, led a retired life in the country, till the twenty-ſecond year of Tiberius's reign; when, upon his receiving a letter from that prince, forbidding him to draw his lot for a province, he laid violent hands on himſelf. Tacitus ſuppoſes him to have been conſul [u]; but Suetonius tells us, that he fell by his own hand, upon his being by Tiberius forbidden to ſtand for the conſulſhip [w]. The emperor was born on the twenty-fourth of December, the fifth year before the common chriſtian æra, that is, the eve of the nativity of our Saviour. His mother, Mummia Achaica, dying while he was yet an infant, his father ſoon after took to his ſecond wife Livia Ocellina (U), a lady of great quality and wealth. She

[u] Tacit. annal vi. c. 40. [w] Suet. in Galb. c. 3.

(U) Suetonius tells us, that Galba, appriſed of the paſſion which ſhe had conceived for him, called her one day aſide, and pulling off his robe, ſhewed her the imperfections of his ſhape, for he was ſtrangely diſtorted; which, inſtead of leſſening, heightened her eſteem for him to ſuch a degree, that though ſhe was courted on account of her wealth and beauty by the chief nobility of the city, ſhe conſtantly declared that if ſhe could not marry Galba, ſhe would not marry at all (78).

(78) Suet. c. 3.

She adopted young Galba, who thereupon took the name of L. Livius Ocella; which, however, he ſeems to have retained but a ſhort time. We are told by Suetonius, that while he was one day amongſt other noble youths of his own age ſaluting Auguſtus, the emperor laying his hand upon his head, "And you too, my ſon, ſaid he, ſhall one day taſte of empire." The ſame writer adds, that Tiberius, who was greatly addicted to the ſtudy of aſtrology, foreſaw the future grandeur of Galba; but at the ſame time knew, that he was not to attain the ſovereign power till he was ſtricken in years; ſo that he never betrayed the leaſt uneaſineſs or concern about his diſtant promotion [x]. Livia Auguſta, the mother of Tiberius, to whom he was related, ſhewed a great kindneſs and eſteem for him while ſhe lived, and at her death left him an immenſe ſum of money: which Tiberius never paid him, he being without that legacy one of the moſt wealthy citizens of his time. He was well verſed in all the liberal ſciences, eſpecially in the civil law. He married Lepida, deſcended of an illuſtrious family; but ſhe, and the two ſons he had by her, dying, he led ever after a ſingle life, notwithſtanding even the ſolicitations of Agrippina the mother of Nero, become a widow by the death of Domitius. She had conceived a great paſſion for him in his wife's life time; which occaſioned a quarrel between her and the mother of Lepida, who publicly upbraided her with her ſcandalous conduct [y]. He was, by the intereſt of Livia, preferred to employments before the age required by the laws. During his prætorſhip he diverted the people at the ſports called Floralia, with a new kind of entertainment, viz. elephants walking upon the rope. When his prætorſhip was expired, he was appointed governor of Aquitain, and about a year after raiſed to the conſulſhip, in which office he ſucceeded L. Domitius, the father of Nero, and was ſucceeded by Salvius Otho, the father of Otho, who was emperor after him. Caligula named him to the command of the legions in Germany, in the room of Getulicus; which truſt he diſcharged with great reputation, having in a ſhort time reſtored the antient diſcipline, which his predeceſſor had entirely neglected. Beſides, he repulſed with incredible expedition the Germans, who had made an inroad into Gaul; which gained him the favour and eſteem of Caligula. Upon the

[x] Suet. c. 4. [y] Idem, c. 5.

the death of that emperor, he was earneſtly ſolicited by many perſons of great intereſt and power, to lay hold of that opportunity, and ſeize the empire for himſelf; but he, without hearkening to their propoſals, obliged his troops to take the uſual oaths to Claudius, who thereupon received him into the number of his moſt intimate friends, and ever after ſhewed ſo great eſteem for him, that being upon the point of ſetting out on his expedition into Britain, he put off his journey for ſome days, on account of a ſlight indiſpoſition which ſeized Galba. Some time after, Africa being ſtrangely haraſſed with inteſtine troubles and the invaſions of the neighbouring barbarians, he was, without drawing lots according to cuſtom, ſent into that province in quality of proconſul, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf there even above thoſe, who had gained the greateſt reputation in that government. He remained there two years, during which time he reſtored, with great prudence and neceſſary ſeverity, the province to its former tranquillity. Suetonius tells us, that one of his ſoldiers having ſold, while proviſions were very ſcarce, his allowance of corn for an hundred denarii, the proconſul, to puniſh his avarice, forbad his comrades to ſupply him; by which means he was ſtarved. Upon his return from Africa, he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, and admitted among the Titian prieſts and the prieſts of Auguſtus. From this time to the middle of Nero's reign, that is, the ſixtieth year of the chriſtian æra, he led a retired life, dreading to give the tyrant any umbrage. During his retirement, he never ſtirred out, even to take the air, but attended by a chariot with a vaſt ſum of money in it; that he might not be reduced to want, in caſe he found it neceſſary to conſult his ſafety by a ſudden flight. Thus he lived, till Nero, of his own motion, named him to the government of Hiſpania Tarraconenſis, that prince not having yet learnt, as Plutarch obſerves, to fear, and exclude from the great employments, men of intereſt and power. He governed that province for the ſpace of eight years, at firſt with exceſſive rigor, of which authors give us ſeveral inſtances: a banker being convicted of fraud in his profeſſion, he ordered both his hands to be cut off and nailed to his counter. He cauſed a guardian to be crucified for poiſoning his ward, whoſe next heir he was. The criminal urged, that he was a Roman citizen, and, as ſuch, exempted from that ignominious death; upon which Galba commanded, by

way of diſtinction, a white croſs to be prepared for him much higher than uſual, but would not revoke his former ſentence. However, by degrees he abated of his rigor, through fear of giving Nero occaſion of jealouſy, and abandoned himſelf, contrary to his inclination, to ſloth and idleneſs, ſaying, that no man could be called to an account for doing nothing: Nevertheleſs he took no care to ſuppreſs the many bitter lampoons, which were handed about againſt Nero and ſung throughout his province, or to enquire after or puniſh the authors of them [z]. He could not check the cruelties and extortions practiſed by the imperial procurators, whoſe province it was to collect the taxes and other duties belonging to the revenue; but openly ſhewed a tender concern for the ſufferings of the oppreſſed people, which gained him the hearts of the natives, but provoked the emperor's officers to ſuch a degree, that, at their inſtigation, Nero had already ordered him to be privately diſpatched. But, before theſe orders could be put in execution, he openly revolted in the manner we have related above [a].

We left Galba at Clunia, a city of his province, whither he had retired with his friends, in the utmoſt conſternation, upon the news of the death of Vindex, and the declaration of Verginius not to ſeize the empire himſelf, nor ſuffer any one elſe to aſſume it, who was not choſen by the ſenate. While he was deliberating with his friends what meaſures to take, and in the utmoſt deſpair ready to lay violent hands on himſelf, his freedman, by name Vicellius, of whom we have ſpoken above, arriving in ſeven days from Rome, and underſtanding upon his arrival, that Galba was repoſing in his chamber, opened the door, and, entering in ſpite of his guards, acquainted him, that Nero was dead, and he, by the army, the ſenate, and people, declared emperor; adding, that not truſting to common report, he had gone himſelf to the place where the tyrant lay, ſeen his lifeleſs carcaſe extended on the ground, and heard Galba, in the camp of the prætorian guards, proclaimed emperor. We may well imagine, how great was the joy of Galba upon this intelligence; it flew in a trice through the neighbouring cities, and drew vaſt crouds to Clunia: Galba received them in the moſt obliging manner, communicated to them the news he had received, and aſſured

Galba receives the news of Nero's death.

[z] Suet. c. 6—9 [a] Suet. c. 9, 10 Dio, l. lxiii. p. 725.

assured them of the truth of it, tho' the expedition used by the messenger rendered it almost incredible. Two days after, Titus Vinius, tribune of the only legion then in the province, having received from his friends in Rome a distinct account of what had passed in the capital, came from the camp and imparted it to his general. Nor was it long, ere messengers arrived from the consuls Silius and Trachalus, who, tho' deposed by Nero, had, it seems, upon his death, resumed the fasces, with the decrees of the senate, declaring Galba emperor and vesting him with the sovereign power [b]. Suetonius writes, that he no sooner received these dispatches, than laying aside the title of lieutenant to the senate and people, he assumed that of emperor [c]; but Zonaras tells us, that he would not suffer himself to be styled emperor or Cæsar, till he was acknowledged as such by the deputies, who were sent to him by the senate and met him at Narbonne [d]. Be that as it will, he no sooner received the decrees of the senate, than he left Spain and set out for Rome, attended by his Spanish guard, by his chief friends, and by Otho, prætor of Lusitania, the first governor who had declared for him; but advanced slowly, being, on account of his age, carried the whole way in a litter. Suetonius tells us, that on his journey he dispatched assassins into Judæa, with private orders to murder Vespasian, whose power and abilities he dreaded. But Tacitus [e] and Josephus [f] assure us, that Vespasian entertained not the least thought of revolting from Galba; but, on the contrary, upon the first news of his assumption to the empire, he dispatched his son Titus to perform fealty and homage in his name, and to receive his orders concerning the war he was carrying on against the Jews. With Titus king Agrippa set out from Judæa, in order to assure the new emperor of his submission and obedience; but they proceeded no farther than Achaia, where they received news of Galba's death. The only person whom Galba seemed to dread and suspect was Verginius Rufus, who was at the head of a powerful army in Germany, and acquired great reputation by the defeat of Vindex, and was greatly beloved by the soldiery. But he, tho' earnestly pressed to assume the sovereignty, not only by the troops under his command, but likewise by deputies from the legions, which, by Nero's orders, had from Illyricum crossed over into Italy,

Assumes the title of emperor.

Verginius refuses the empire.

[b] Plut. ibid. [c] Suet. c. 11. [d] Zonar. p. 190. [e] Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 10. [f] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29.

Italy, continued firm to his firſt reſolution of reſerving to the ſenate the power of electing an emperor; nay, when certain news was brought him of Nero's death, he ſtill perſiſted in refuſing the title of emperor, tho' his ſoldiers bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood, and one of the tribunes, forcing his way into his tent, with his drawn ſword, threatened to kill him upon the ſpot, if he continued to withſtand the ardent wiſhes of the whole army. When he received from Rome a certain account of the reſolutions of the ſenate, he immediately took the oath of fidelity to the new emperor, and perſuaded, not without much difficulty, the troops under his command to lay aſide all thoughts of raiſing him to the empire, which by the ſenate had been decreed to another. Galba was ſo taken with his loyal and generous conduct, that he immediately ſent for him, with a deſign to have him near his perſon, and confer upon him ſuch rewards, as his fidelity well deſerved. Verginius received with the utmoſt reſpect Flaccus Hordeonius, who was appointed to command in his room, reſigned the army to him, and ſet out without delay to meet the emperor, who already approached the frontiers of Gaul. Upon his arrival, he was received very coldly by Galba, without the leaſt token, ſays Plutarch, of affection or hatred, of gratitude or reſentment. The emperor had a perſonal value and eſteem for him, and would have raiſed him, had he followed his own inclination, to the chief employments in the ſtate. But Titus Vinius, who had already gained a great ſway over the emperor and was jealous of Verginius, did all that lay in his power to eſtrange from him the mind of the emperor, and to put a ſtop to his promotion. But herein he was more his friend, as Plutarch obſerves, than he intended, and contributed to that happineſs which he thought he was oppoſing: for, by preventing his preferment, he preſerved him from thoſe calamities, in which the other officers of the army were involved, and ſecured to him a life of quiet and tranquillity, which he enjoyed to an advanced age [g]. Galba, upon his arrival at Narbonne, found there the embaſſadors ſent to him from the ſenate, received them in a moſt obliging manner, and invited them to an entertainment, at which he refuſed to make uſe of the ſilver and gold plate which belonged to Nero,

Obliges his legions to acknowledge Galba.

Is received coldly by Galba.

[g] Plut. ibid.

Nero, and had been ſent him from Rome, contenting himſelf with his own, which ſhewed, that he utterly deſpiſed all pomp and outward appearances of grandeur. However, he was ſoon perſuaded by Vinius to alter his conduct in this particular, and put upon other meaſures, which haſtened his ruin. He treated with the utmoſt ſeverity ſome cities of Spain and Gaul, that had been backward in acknowledging him, publiſhed threatening edicts againſt them, and deprived ſome of them of great part of their territories, loading them with heavy taxes, and cauſing their walls to be beaten down [h]. In Gaul he ordered Vettius Chilo, and in Spain Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus to be put to death, and with them, if we believe Suetonius [i], even their wives and children, for having refuſed to join him, when he firſt revolted from Nero. As Galba was known to be a man of an humane temper, and naturally averſe to all manner of cruelty, theſe executions were generally imputed, and not undeſervedly, to Vinius and his other favourites, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of the preſent reign.

Galba's ſeverity.

Nymphidius Sabinus aſpires at the empire.

In the mean time, at Rome, Nymphidius Sabinus, of whom we have ſpoken in the preceding reign, having, by his immenſe largeſſes, gained the affections of the prætorian guards, and perſuading himſelf, that Galba, by reaſon of his infirmities and old age, would never reach the capital, uſurped all the authority there. Preſuming upon his intereſt, he obliged Tigellinus, who commanded, jointly with him, the prætorian guards, to lay down his commiſſion. After this, he made ſeveral magnificent and expenſive entertainments, inviting to them ſuch as had been conſuls or had commanded armies, diſtributed large ſums among the people, and with ſhews and other diverſions, which he daily exhibited, gained ſo great an intereſt with all ranks, that he already looked upon himſelf as ſovereign. The ſenate, dreading his power, conferred extraordinary honours upon him, ſtyled him their protector, attended him when he appeared in public, and had recourſe to him for the confirmation of their decrees, as if he had been already inveſted with the ſovereign power. This baſe compliance puffed him up to ſuch a degree, that he uſurped,

His power in Rome.

[h] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. 53.

[i] Suet. c. 15.

not leiſurely and by degrees, but all at once, an abſolute authority. Plutarch tells us, that he was ſo provoked againſt the conſuls for ſealing the diſpatches, which they ſent to the emperor, with their own ſignets, and not with his, that he would have depoſed them, had they not ſtudied to appeaſe him with ſubmiſſions quite unbecoming perſons of their rank and ſtation. Tho' he acted as ſovereign, he had not yet openly declared his deſign of ſeizing the ſovereignty; but when he underſtood, that Galba was already in Gaul, and approached the borders of Italy, that Cornelius Laco was appointed commander of the prætorian guards, and Titus Vinius the new emperor's chief favourite, he ſummoned the officers under his command, and, after having bitterly inveighed againſt Galba's favourites, who, he ſaid, would exerciſe the ſame power and authority, which had been uſurped by Tigellinus, if they were allowed time to eſtabliſh themſelves, he exhorted them to ſend embaſſadors to the emperor, and beg, in the name of the whole army, that he would diſcharge from his ſervice Laco and Vinius. If Galba complied with their requeſt, he did not doubt, but the whole power would devolve upon him, ſince he had contributed more than any other to the ruin of Nero, and promotion of Galba; and this power he deſigned to make uſe of againſt Galba himſelf: if the emperor rejected the petition of the army, that, he hoped, would eſtrange their minds from him, and diſpoſe them to a revolt. But the officers did not approve of the motion; on the contrary, they thought it abſurd and unreaſonable to direct an emperor of Galba's years and experience, and tell him who of his friends were to be truſted, and who diſcharged. Hereupon Nymphidius changed his meaſures, and, contrary to the advice of Clodius Celſus, a native of Antioch, his intimate friend, reſolved to conceal no longer his deſign. Accordingly he imparted it, without diſguiſe, to ſome of the officers, and they to the ſoldiers under their command; and it was agreed, that Nymphidius ſhould be conveyed that very night into the camp, and there proclaimed emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, one of the tribunes, touched with remorſe, aſſembled his men in the evening, ſignified to them his repentance, and encouraged them to continue ſteady in their allegiance to Galba. We had, indeed, ſaid he, ſome colourable pretence to revolt, from Nero, whoſe cruelty and tyranny we could no longer bear. But

Attempts to ſtir up the prætorian guards to a revolt.

The ſpeech of one of the tribunes againſt him.

what can prompt us to abandon and betray Galba? Can you reproach him with the murder of his wife and mother? did he ever diſgrace the imperial dignity by debaſing himſelf to act upon the ſtage? Notwithſtanding all the provocations that monſter had given us, we thought ourſelves bound to continue faithful to him, to defend and protect him, till we were aſſured by the traytor Nymphidius, that he had abandoned us and was fled into Egypt. What, but ſome evil genius, can thus hurry us on from one treaſon to another? Muſt Galba fall a victim to appeaſe the ghoſt of Nero? muſt one of Livia's family be ſacrificed to make way for the ſon of Nymphidia? Let us rather call him to an account for the death of Nero, and approve our fidelity to Galba by inflicting on the baſe traytor the puniſhment he deſerves. The diſcourſe of the tribune brought all who heard him over to his ſentiments; ſo that they reſolved to maintain inviolably the oath which they had taken to Galba. Moſt of the other cohorts joined them, and with loud ſhouts proclaimed a-new Galba emperor. Nymphidius hearing the noiſe, and either imagining they proclaimed him, or fearing ſome inſurrection, haſtened to the camp, attended by a great number of lights, and holding a ſpeech in his hand compoſed by Ciconius Varro, which he intended to pronounce to the army. Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the gates ſhut and the ſoldiers under arms on the ramparts. This greatly alarmed him; but nevertheleſs advancing nearer, he aſked them, What they deſigned, and by whoſe orders they had taken arms? To this queſtion they anſwered with one voice, We are determined to acknowledge no other emperor but Galba. Nymphidius, pretending to concur in their ſentiments, commended their fidelity; and, not yet deſpairing of being able by large promiſes to gain them over to his intereſt, ordered them to open the gates to their general. They obeyed; but Nymphidius, upon his firſt entering the camp, was ſaluted with a dart, which Septimus, who marched before him, received on his ſhield.

He goes to the camp.

Is there murdered.

The traytor immediately betook himſelf to flight; but being cloſely purſued by the ſoldiery, was overtaken and ſlain. His body was dragged through the camp, and next morning expoſed to public view in an incloſure made for that purpoſe [i]. For this account we are indebted to Plutarch;

[i] Plut. ibid.

tarch; for Tacitus and Suetonius only tell us, that Nymphidius embarked in measures to seize the sovereignty, but perished in the attempt. Nymphidius boasted himself, as we have related above [k], the son of the emperor Caligula; but was commonly thought, according to Plutarch [l], to be the son of a celebrated gladiator named Martianus, to whom he bore a greater resemblance than to Caligula; for his mother Nymphidia was a public prostitute. Galba being at the same time informed of the treason and the punishment inflicted on the traitor, dispatched orders to the senate, enjoining them to put all his accomplices to death without distinction. Among these were executed Cingonius Varro, consul elect, who had composed his speech, and Mithridates of Pontus, the same, as we conjecture, who, having been by the Romans stript of his dominions twenty years before, had delivered himself into their hands, and had by them been conveyed to Rome. They were both, without all doubt, privy to the conspiracy; nay, Mithridates had said publicly, while men of all ranks were with emulation testifying their joy for the promotion of Galba, that while he was at some distance, they entertained mighty expectations of him; but the moment he appeared, they would think it a disgrace to the present age, that he had ever been styled Cæsar. But, notwithstanding their guilt, they were deemed to perish as innocents, because they died without being heard in their own defence. Every one expected, from a man of Galba's years and experience, a quite different conduct; and therefore the whole city was greatly alarmed at such illegal and arbitrary proceedings, against persons of their rank and quality [m]. But what occasioned a far greater surprize was, his ordering Petronius Turpilianus, who had been consul in the eighth year of Nero's reign, to be forthwith put to death, for no other crime, but because he had been faithful to that prince, and commanded as general under him. As Turpilianus was broken with age, and had no longer any troops under his command, the emperor, as was publicly said, ought to have put off his execution, till his arrival at Rome, and heard him himself. From these hasty and illegal executions it was generally concluded, that the new prince would not observe that moderation in his actions, which he had promised in his speeches.

His accomplices punished by Galba's orders.

Galba's unseasonable severity.

[k] Vol. xiv. p. 250. l. i. c. 5.

[l] Plut. ibid.

[m] Tacit. hist.

After a long and bloody march, Galba reached at length the Milvian bridge, within twenty-five furlongs of the city, and was there met by a numerous body of marines, who by Nero had been formed into a legion, and were come to addreſs the new emperor for a confirmation of their eſtabliſhment. But Galba either rejecting their petition, or putting off the affair to another time, they grew mutinous, beſet the emperor, ſtopping up the way to all others who came to wait upon him, and with a tumultuous noiſe, required an eagle and legionary enſigns. Hereupon Galba ordered his horſe to ride in among them, who put many of them to the ſword and the reſt to flight. The emperor, not ſatisfied with this ſeverity, commanded every tenth man of thoſe who had eſcaped to be decimated; ſo that, according to Tacitus, ſeveral thouſands fell, either by the ſwords of the horſe, or thoſe of the executioners [n]. Dion Caſſius tells us, that ſeven thouſand of the diſarmed multitude were cut in pieces upon the ſpot. Such, as had the good luck to outlive the maſſacre and execution of their companions, were by Galba's orders, committed to priſon, where they lay till his death, when they were by Otho ſet at liberty, and anew formed into a legion [o]. The entrance of the new emperor into the capital, through ſo much blood and ſlaughter, was looked upon as an omen portending greater calamities, than the city had ſuffered even under Nero; and the populace were confirmed in their apprehenſions by ſeveral prodigies, eſpecially by an earthquake, attended with a dreadful noiſe, which happened upon Galba's firſt entering the palace [p]. But what moſt of all rendered him both odious and contemptible was, his ſuffering himſelf to be entirely governed and blindly controuled by his three favourites, Titus Vinius, Cornelius Laco, and Martianus Icelus, who, as they lodged in the palace, and were continually about the emperor, were commonly ſtyled his pedagogues. Titus Vinius was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but diſgraced it by his infamous conduct, being, according to Tacitus, of all men the moſt notoriouſly wicked. In his very firſt campaign under Calviſius Sabinus, he was branded with infamy; for the wife of that general, led with a prepoſterous curioſity to view the diſpoſition of the camp, entered it

He cauſes a great number of marines to be maſſacred.

Is governed by his favourites.

The character of Titus Vinius

[n] Tacit. c. 6.
[o] Dio, l. lxiv. p. 729. Tacit. c. 8.
[p] Suet. c. 18.

it in the night, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſoldier; and, having there ventured into the place where the guard was kept, was debauched by Vinius, in the very quarter which was ſacred to the Roman eagles and banners. For this crime he was by the emperor Caligula put in irons, and kept under cloſe confinement; but being ſoon after ſet at liberty by Claudius, he diſcharged ſeveral public employments with a character free from reproach. Upon the expiring of his prætorſhip, he was preferred to the command of a legion, and acquitted himſelf in it with applauſe. Afterwards he was guilty of a crime, altogether infamous and worthy only a ſlave; for being invited by Claudius to an entertainment, he purloined a golden cup of great value. But the only puniſhment which the emperor inflicted upon him for ſo ſcandalous an action was, to invite him again to his table the very next day, and to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of his gueſts, by ordering, that Vinius alone ſhould be ſerved in an earthen cup. Yet he ruled the province of Narbonne Gaul, in quality of proconſul, with unbiaſſed juſtice and eminent integrity. He was upon the cloſe of his proconſulſhip, appointed to command, under Galba, the legion which was quartered in Spain; where, contrary to the opinion of the other officers, he encouraged his general, in the manner we have related above, not to let ſlip the opportunity that offered to ſeize the ſovereignty. He was a man of great boldneſs and addreſs, and, according as he choſe to apply his talents, capable of performing great things for the public welfare, or plunging the ſtate in endleſs calamities. Cornelius Laco, the other favourite, whom Galba had appointed captain of the prætorian guards before he left Spain, was a man of ſlender parts, of no courage or activity, but mightily conceited with his own talents, a certain enemy to every counſel, however excellent, if not ſuggeſted by himſelf, and headſtrong in oppoſing every man eminent for ability and diſcernment. Icelus was a manumiſed ſlave, but not inferior to the other two in favour and authority. Nero had veſted him, by the gold ring, with the order of knighthood, and he was now every-where called by an equeſtrian name, that of Martianus. He was a man of inſatiable avarice, and is ſaid, by ſpoil and rapine, to have amaſſed more wealth in the ſeven months that Galba reigned, than the moſt rapacious freedman of Nero had done during the fourteen years of his reign. As

Of Cornelius Laco and Icelus.

the aged emperor repoſed an entire confidence in thoſe miniſters, without ever enquiring into their conduct, they proſtituted the credit and character of their maſter to their own vile gain and wicked paſſions. By them all things were ſet to ſale; offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old; they were inſatiable, and eager to make the moſt of a ſhort reign; ſo that in the court of Galba appeared all the evils and exceſſes lately ſeen and abhorred in that of Nero: they were equally grievous, ſays Tacitus, but not equally excuſed, in a prince of Galba's years and experience. He had himſelf an heart altogether upright and well-meaning; but, as the numberleſs iniquities of his miniſters were imputed to him, he was no leſs hated, than if he had committed them himſelf. This, ſays Dion Caſſius [q], is the unhappy condition of princes: it is not enough for them to abſtain from all violence; they muſt reſtrain others, eſpecially their miniſters, from committing any: no prince will be reckoned good, when his miniſters are known to be bad; nor be much beloved, when they are much hated. Miniſters, it muſt be owned, are often doomed to ſuffer imputations altogether groundleſs, as proceeding rather from envy and the nature of their poſt, than from their evil conduct; in which caſes it is but reaſonable and generous to protect them. But here the guilt was notorious, and manifeſt to all men but Galba. He, whom of all men it moſt imported to know it, knew it not; and hence, without check or controul, they abuſed the power with which he too blindly entruſted them, and ſacrificed his life, his glory, and diadem to their own private views, to ſordid intereſt, which was the ſmalleſt thing they ought to have ſacrificed for ſo good a maſter. But the meaſures, which they took, proved in the end no leſs fatal to them, than to the emperor, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate.

Their ſcandalous conduct.

Galba calls to account and puniſhes the miniſters of Nero.

Galba's firſt care, after his arrival in the capital, was to call to an account, and puniſh, according to their deſerts, ſuch as had borne the chief ſway in the late tyrannical adminiſtration. Among theſe, Elius Polycletus, Petinius, Patrobius, Narciſſus, all Nero's freedmen, and Locuſta, the famous poiſoner, were publicly executed, to the infinite ſatisfaction of the people, who, with loud ſhouts of joy, attended them as they were led

[q] Dio, l. lxiv. p. 728.

led to the place of execution. No one doubted, but Tigellinus would ſuffer the like doom. He had been the chief author and promoter of all Nero's iniquities, had perpetrated many unknown to him, and at laſt forſaken and betrayed him. Hence the execution of no man was more ardently wiſhed for, more vehemently urged, by ſuch as hated, by ſuch as lamented, Nero; both concurring from oppoſite paſſions, in the ſame antipathy and requeſt. But he had, with immenſe preſents, purchaſed the favour of Vinius, who protected him with his mighty authority, on pretence that his daughter had been ſaved by Tigellinus; and truly he had ſaved her, ſays Tacitus, not from any clemency of his, after ſuch numbers murdered by him, but purely to purchaſe means of ſhelter and eſcape in time to come. For this is the policy, continues our hiſtorian, of every deſperate offender, from diſtruſt of preſent fortune and dread of change, to arm himſelf betimes with private favour againſt the public hatred. Hence it comes, that for the protection of innocence no regard is ſhewn, but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from puniſhment [q]. Of this ſcandalous partiality the people loudly complained: Turpilianus, ſaid they, without having been guilty of any iniquity, or been polluted with the crimes of Nero, has been put to death for no other guilt, but becauſe he would not betray his prince and maſter; whereas he who plunged his prince into thoſe abominations, for which he deſerved to die, and afterwards treacherouſly forſook and betrayed him, is not only ſuffered to live, but to enjoy the immenſe wealth, which by all manner of rapine he has accumulated. As often as the emperor appeared abroad, the people crowded about him, demanding the execution of Tigellinus. This they earneſtly begged, in the theatre, in the circus, at the gates of the palace, &c. As the execution of this execrable inſtrument of Nero's tyranny was thus demanded by the univerſal voice of the Roman people, it had been but juſt, as well as politic and popular, to have ſacrificed him, though he had been leſs guilty than he really was, to the manes of ſo many illuſtrious Romans murdered by him, and to the honeſt rage of the public. This would have obliged both the friends and enemies of Nero, gained the affections of the people, and ſtrengthened Galba's party. But theſe were ſmall conſide-

Tigellinus is protected by Vinius.

The people demand his execution.

[q] Tacit. c. 72.

rations with Vinius, in compariſon of filling his coffers. In order, therefore, to oblige Tigellinus, who had engaged to pay him an immenſe ſum, in caſe he eſcaped unpuniſhed, he perſuaded Galba, who repoſed in him an entire confidence, not only to withſtand the ardent wiſhes and earneſt ſollicitations of the whole Roman people, but to check them with an edict, wherein he reproached them with cruelty, and begged they would not make his government appear tyrannical, nor inſiſt upon the execution of an unhappy man, who was dying of a conſumption. Nothing ſo much provoked the indignation of the people as this edict; for it was afterwards known, that Tigellinus had that very day made a ſacrifice to the gods for his recovery, which was followed by a magnificent entertainment; and that Vinius, after having ſupped with the emperor, had ſpent the whole night in revelling with Tigellinus: it was moreover known, that Vinius had carried his daughter with him to the entertainment; and that Tigellinus, after having thanked the father for the edict, preſented the daughter, firſt with two hundred and fifty thouſand drachmas, and afterwards with a necklace, which he took from the neck of the chief of his concubines, valued at one hundred and fifty thouſand more. Halotus, another of Nero's miniſters, and perhaps no leſs hated, on account of his enormous cruelties and extortions, than Tigellinus, (for with equal ardour the Roman people demanded his execution) was in the ſame manner, and from the ſame motives, protected by the authority of Vinius; nay, in conſideration of an immenſe ſum, which he paid to that wicked miniſter, he not only eſcaped unpuniſhed, but was preferred to a moſt honourable and profitable employment [r]. Thus were criminals, notoriouſly guilty of the moſt crying iniquities, but poſſeſſed with wealth enough to purchaſe the favour of the reigning miniſter, ſcreened from the puniſhment due to their crimes, while others, leſs guilty, were by droves hurried to execution. This ſcandalous and barefaced partiality gained to the miniſter what he chiefly aimed at, immenſe treaſures, but derived upon the prince infinite public hatred; for, by not reſtraining his miniſter, he incurred the ſame cenſure and blame, as if he himſelf had done the evil, or authorized it [s].

Galba checks them with an edict.

Halotus is likewiſe pardoned and preferred.

Which derives public hatred upon Galba.

THE

[r] Plut. ibid. Suet. c. 15. [s] Plut. ibid. Tacit. c. 4.

THE example of Vinius was followed by the other miniſters and favourites of the new emperor; for being indulged in immoderate power, they expoſed to common ſale all the honours and emoluments of the ſtate. His bondmen too were greedy to profit by their ſudden ſunſhine, and eager to convert into haſty gains the ſhort reign of a maſter already enfeebled with age. So that the people began loudly to complain: Why, ſaid they, was Nero depoſed, if things are not mended under Galba? Why a new prince choſen, but for the eaſe of the public, after a reign of violence and tyranny? The public hatred, which the numberleſs iniquities of the new emperor's miniſters derived uponhim, was heightened by his ill-timed ſtrictneſs and unpopular parſimony; tho' his parſimony was chiefly aſcribed to Vinius, who was ſaid to have checked the emperor's generoſity to others, that he might the better gratify his own avarice. However that be, while the emperor endeavoured to reform the abuſes, and retrench the exorbitant expences that had prevailed in the preceding reign, he ran into the other extreme. No man's money, ſays Tacitus, did he ever covet, but was ſparing of his own, and of the public money greedy and tenacious. Authors relate ſeveral inſtances of his unſeaſonable parſimony, altogether unbecoming a perſon of his rank and ſtation. Plutarch tells us, that one Canus, a celebrated player upon the flute, having one night entertained him while he was ſupping, the emperor, after having highly commended the excellence of his performance, ſent for his purſe, and preſented him with five denarii, about three ſhillings of our money, telling him, that he made him that preſent out of his privy purſe, and not out of the public money. Suetonius adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary occaſion, was more ſplendidly ſerved than uſual, he could not refrain from ſighing and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction, in a manner inconſiſtent with common decency [t]. As the public treaſure had been quite exhauſted by Nero, who had conſumed above ſeventeen millions in profuſe penſions and donations, Galba, after examining every expedient to find the neceſſary ſupplies, preferred to all others, as the moſt juſt, that of ſupplying the public at the expence of thoſe, for whoſe ſake the public had been impoveriſhed. All the partakers, therefore, in the late emperor's extravagance were called to account; and it was enacted, that they ſhould retain

Galba's parſimony.

[t] Plut. ibid. Suet. c. 16.

He orders nine tenths of Nero's donations to be restored,

tain only a tenth of that wild liberality and restore the rest. But as they had scarce a tenth left unwasted, having lavished the plunder of the public and of their fellow-citizens, in the same riot and prodigality in which they had squandered away their own private fortunes, the emperor obliged those who had had any dealings with them, who had bought or received any thing from them, to refund the whole. For these searches and exactions a new court was instituted, in which presided according to Tacitus thirty, according to Suetonius fifty, Roman knights; who extended their enquiries even into Greece, and there obliged the players upon instruments, the actors, wrestlers, charioteers, the judges at the olympic games, the priestess of Apollo Delphicus, &c. to restore nine tenths of Nero's donations. As this was an affair without bounds, and many were affected by it; as on all hands were seen open sales and the public crier, and this court was new in its institution, and from the multitude of officers, from the numerous suits, heavy and vexatious, the whole city, nay, the whole empire, was in a ferment. The soldiers of the prætorian guards were kept quiet a while, in expectation of the mighty donative, which had been promised them by Nymphidius, in Galba's name, supposing, that though they did not receive the full, yet the emperor notwithstanding his parsimony, would not scruple to bestow upon them the same sum that had been given them by Nero. But when he refused to fulfil the promise which had been made in his name, and ordered only a small sum, less than had yet been given by any prince to be distributed among them, they could not refrain from seditious invectives, vilifying the emperor for his old age and avarice. This disaffection was heightened by a saying of Galba: a saying according to Tacitus, worthy of the primitive virtue of the Romans and the commonwealth, but to himself dangerous; That he chose his soldiers and did not buy them. His severity too in exacting a strict observance of military discipline, a quality so admired of old, and by the armies ever distinguished with applause, was very grievous to a slothful soldiery, scorning the antient discipline, and for fourteen years so accustomed to the base reign of Nero, that at this time they no less admired the vices of their princes, than of old they had adored their virtues [a]. Though the rest of his conduct did not,

Refuses the soldiery the usual donative.

[a] Plut. ibid. Tacit. c. 5. Suet. c. 16. Dio, p. 729.

not, according to Tacitus, anſwer his ſeverity in keeping the ſoldiery to their duty, yet he performed, as Suetonius informs us, many things worthy of ſo great a prince [w]. That writer does not deſcend to particulars; but Zonaras tells us, that he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who had, by falſe accuſations, occaſioned the ruin of innocent perſons; that he delivered up to all maſters ſuch of their ſlaves as had borne witneſs againſt them; and that he recalled from exile thoſe, who had been baniſhed by Nero upon the law of majeſty [x]. Caſaubon thinks it plainly appears from an antient inſcription, that he ſuppreſſed the tax of the quadrageſima or the fortieth penny, which had been firſt taken off, and afterwards reſtored by Nero [y]. He diſcharged ſeveral of the prætorian guards, who had been engaged in the conſpiracy of Nymphidius; and diſmiſſed without the uſual rewards, the German cohort, which had ſerved the other Cæſars with unſhaken fidelity, ordering them to return to their country, becauſe he ſuſpected them more inclined to Cn. Dolabella, than to him [z]. However, he took particular care of ſome other cohorts of Germans, who having been ſent by Nero before him to Alexandria, while he meditated a journey thither, and ſoon after recalled, were returned ſickly, and greatly fatigued with ſo long a courſe of ſailing [a].

Diſcharges the German cohort.

About the ſame time that Julius Vindex revolted in Gaul, Clodius Macer, who governed Africa in quality of proprætor, took up arms againſt Nero, levied new forces, and even a legion, which from him was called the Macrian legion, but was ſoon after diſbanded by Galba, whom he refuſed to acknowlege, through fear of being called to an account for the numberleſs murders and extortions, to which his unbounded avarice and cruelty had prompted him. Plutarch tells us, that without either accepting or rejecting the imperial title, he ſtrove to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion of Africa, and to famiſh the city, by ſtopping the veſſels which thence conveyed corn to Rome. He was inſtigated to this revolt, according to Tacitus [b], chiefly by Galvia Criſpinilla, who had been to Nero the directreſs of his luſts, and afterwards, paſſing over into Africa, had inſinuated herſelf into the favour of the proprætor Macer. According to this

[w] Suet. c. 14. [x] Zonar. p. 190. [y] Vide Spanh. l. ix. p. 793. [z] Suet. c. 12. [a] Tacit. c. 31. Idem, hiſt. l. i. c. 7.

Clodius Macer killed in Africa.

this account, Macer seems not to have revolted till after Nero's death. Be that as it will, he was slain at the command of Galba by Trebonius Garucianus, the imperial procurator in Africa. As for Crispinilla, she returned to Rome; and though it was notorious, that she had suggested to Macer the pernicious counsel of famishing the Roman people, and on that score capital punishment was demanded against her by the universal voice of Rome; yet, by the connivance of the prince and the favour of his ministers, (for she was both opulent and childless) she escaped her doom, and lived in perfect impunity during the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius [c]. About the same time,

Ant. Fonteius Capito in Lower Germany.

was assassinated Fonteius Capito, who commanded in Lower Germany, by Cornelius Aquinas and Fabius Valens, two tribunes, without staying for the emperor's command. There were, who believed that Capito, however abominable he was, however stained with avarice, and immersed with impurities, had yet declined engaging in any turbulent counsels; that having rejected the solicitations of Aquinas and Valens to rebel with them, he was by them charged with their own ill faith and treason; and that Galba either imposed upon or afraid of making further enquiry, ratified the execution. However it was, both these executions, that of Macer as well as that of Capito, were ill received, this being, as Tacitus well observes, the usual fate of a prince under public hatred, that every action of his, whether good or evil, is generally disapproved, perversly construed, and contributes to his ruin [d]. Suetonius tells us, that after the death of these two commanders, Galba at length quitted his military habit, and a dagger, which till then he had worn fastened to his neck, and hanging down on his breast, tho' he was not in a condition to make use of it, being enfeebled with age and infirmities [e].

Vitelius governor of Lower Germany.

Capito was succeeded in the government of Lower Germany by Aulus Vitellius, afterwards emperor, who was raised to that post chiefly by the interest of Vinius, whose favour he had gained, by supporting the same faction in the circus. Galba, in conferring upon him that command, openly declared, that he did not prefer him out of any esteem he had for him, or opinion of his abilities, but because he believed those to be less feared, who were most addicted to gluttony, and that his keen appetite might be satiated with the plenty of that pro-

[c] Idem. ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Suet. c. 11.

province; ſo that his preferment was owing to the contempt, and not to the eſteem, the emperor had for him [f]. Philoſtratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyaneus tells us, that this year was born at Syracuſe, and expoſed to public view, a child with three heads; which monſtrous birth denoted, according to the interpretation of his Apollonius, the three heads or emperors, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, by whom the Roman ſtate was for ſome time governed in one and the ſame year. He adds, that the cities of Sicily were then in arms againſt each other, and ſtrangely haraſſed with inteſtine diviſions [g]. But of theſe diſturbances we find no farther account in that writer, nor any mention of them in others.

THE following year, on the calends of January, Galba entered on his ſecond conſulſhip, having his favourite miniſter, Titus Vinius, for his collegue. He had ſcarce aſſumed the faſces, when an expreſs arrived from Pompeius Propinquus, procurator of Belgic Gaul, informing him, that the legions in Upper Germany, in open violation of their oaths and allegiance, demanded imperiouſly another emperor, and referred the free election of one to the pleaſure of the ſenate and people of Rome. Verginius had been removed from them, as we have related above; and as he had neither been reſtored, nor preferred to any other command or employment, but treated in a manner, like a criminal, they conceived themſelves to be charged as delinquents, for having offered him the empire. Hordeonius Flaccus, who had been ſent to ſucceed him, they utterly contemned; and truly he was a man void of firmneſs, void of authority, and from his lameneſs and the infirmities of his age, unequal to the direction of the moſt orderly and peaceable army. Hence, under their preſent frenzy, they were further inflamed by his impotent endeavours to reſtrain them. This intelligence ripened the deſign, about which Galba had been for time deliberating with himſelf and in concert with his friends, concerning the adoption of a ſucceſſor; for he imagined himſelf to be deſpiſed, not ſo much on account of his age, as for want of iſſue. But his favourites already at variance and purſuing each his own private views, were divided into two factions: Vinius was for Otho; Laco and Icelus were combined together, not ſo much to favour the intereſt

The legions in Upper Germany revolt.

Galba deliberates concerning the adoption of a ſucceſſor.

[f] Suet. in Vitell. c. 7.

[g] Phil. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. v. c. 4.

intereſt of any particular, as to exclude him. As Vinius had a daughter who was a widow, and Otho was not married, no one doubted but an alliance between them was intended. But Galba, moved with a concern for the commonwealth, which, he thought, was in vain reſcued from Nero, were it to devolve upon Otho, the chief confident of that prince's impure pleaſures, did not in this particular, ſuffer himſelf to be blindly guided by Vinius; but hearing him favourably, referred the farther conſideration of the affair to another time. However, out of complaiſance to his chief miniſter, he appointed him and Otho conſuls for the enſuing year. Hence it was generally taken for granted, that Otho would, upon his entering the conſulſhip, be by Galba declared his ſucceſſor; which cauſed an univerſal joy among the ſoldiery, who, for the moſt part, favoured Otho, and among the courtiers and creatures of Nero, who were paſſionate for a prince ſo reſembling their former. But while Galba was deliberating about the choice, and putting it off from day to day, diſmal tidings were daily brought from Upper Germany; for the legions there, being ſummoned, according to cuſtom, on the calends of January, to take the uſual oath of fidelity to the emperor, had torn his images, broken his ſtatues, and openly declaring, that they would never acknowledge Galba, ſworn allegiance to the Roman ſenate and people. Hereupon the emperor, beſet with anxieties, as not knowing whither the fury of the revolters might tend, and not truſting to the faith of the troops in Rome, applied what to him ſeemed the only remedy, and held a council for declaring a ſucceſſor, to which, beſides Vinius and Laco, he ſummoned Marius Celſus, conſul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, governor of Rome. On this occaſion Vinius promoted anew with great zeal the adoption of Otho, and Ducennius Geminus that of Dolabella, who was nearly related to Galba. But the emperor, preferring the welfare of the public to all other regards, after a ſhort ſpeech concerning his great age, ordered Piſo Licinianus to be ſent for, and, to the great ſurprize of all, named him his ſucceſſor. Piſo was the ſon of Marcus Craſſus and Scribonia, and both by father and mother nobly born, being by his father deſcended fron the celebrated Marcus Licinius Craſſus, who was ſlain in the fatal battle of Carrhæ, and by his mother from Pompey the Great. He was at this time in the thirty-firſt year of his age, and by all highly eſteemed on account of his extraordinary parts;

He adopts Piſo Licinianus.

his

his engaging behaviour, and ſingular modeſty. His gravity, reſembling that of the antient Romans, was, ſays, Tacitus, by thoſe who judged cenſoriouſly, accounted melancholy and auſtere; but that part of his temper, which alarmed the diſcontented, pleaſed the perſon adopting [h]. Suetonius tells us, that Galba had always ſhewn a great eſteem for him, and named him in his laſt will for his heir, before he was raiſed to the empire [i]. Some, however, believed, that he was by Laco prevailed upon to adopt him for his ſucceſſor; for Laco had, unknown to Galba, held private conferences with him at the houſe of Rubellius Plautus, but artfully recommended him to Galba, as one to whom he was an utter ſtranger. Galba, after having declared to him, in the preſence of his friends and counſellors, his deſign of adopting him, and naming him for his ſucceſſor in the empire, is ſaid to have taken him by the hand, and to have ſpoken thus: "Were I as a "private perſon to adopt you for my ſon, glorious even "then would be the adoption to us both, ſince my family would receive new luſtre from the blood of the great "Pompey and of Marcus Craſſus, and yours from that of "the Sulpitian and Lutatian families. I am now a public perſon, called to the empire by the united conſent of "the gods and men; and of this ſovereignty, for which "our anceſtors have often expoſed their lives, I offer you "the poſſeſſion, while you are neither ſeeking nor purſuing "it. To this I am urged only by the love of my country, and "your excellent qualifications. Auguſtus, who would intail "the empire upon his own houſe, in his own houſe ſought "a ſucceſſor. I chuſe out of the common-wealth an heir "to the common-wealth: not that I am reduced to this "choice by any want of relations of my own; but them "I overlook, as well as your relations, becauſe I do not "judge them ſo well qualified for ſo important a charge as "yourſelf. You have a brother, in nobility your equal, "in age your ſuperior, a man worthy of this fortune, did "I not find in you one ſtill more worthy. You have "paſſed your youth without reproach, and ſuch hitherto "has been your courſe of life, that nothing in your con-"duct thus far is ſubject to blame: but you have yet "only had adverſe fortune to contend with. Proſperity is "more

His ſpeech to him on that occaſion.

[h] Tacit. c. 14. Plut. in Galb. [i] Suet. c. 17.

" more enſnaring; it tries the temper of the ſoul, and
" expoſes its weakneſſes: calamities we often bear with
" patience; but are utterly ſubdued and corrupted by a
" flow of felicity. I do not doubt but you will, with
" your uſual firmneſs, ſtill retain the ſame integrity, faith
" in friendſhip, candor, and freedom of ſpirit, endow-
" ments, which, above all others, adorn the mind. But
" in others, you will find a different conduct towards you;
" by falſe complaiſance they will endeavour to weaken
" your fortitude, and, by deceitful flattery and ſmoothing
" ſpeeches, poiſon every honeſt affection of your mind; and
" to his own ſordid gain will every particular be wreſting
" your honour and good inclinations. You and I, upon
" this occaſion, converſe with hearts perfectly ſincere; but
" others will make their addreſſes to our fortunes, rather
" than to us: and indeed, to reaſon princes into their
" duty is a dangerous taſk; but eaſy is the art of flatter-
" ing any prince whatſoever. Could this immenſe em-
" pire ſubſiſt without a ſingle ruler, I ſhould glory in re-
" ſigning, glory in being the firſt emperor, who reſigned
" the power of the republic into her own hands; but
" ſuch long ſince has been the unhappy ſituation of the
" ſtate, that all the good, which my old age allows me
" to do the Roman people, is, to leave them a good ſuc-
" ceſſor; nor can you, with all your youth, do more for
" them, than afford them in yourſelf a benevolent prince.
" Under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, we were all
" the inheritance of one family. That the empire has
" begun in me to be elective, is ſome equivalent for our
" antient liberty, and the only liberty we are capable of
" enjoying. Now, the Julian and Claudian families be-
" ing extinct, the beſt men, by this way of adoption, will
" become the greateſt. To be deſcended from princes is
" the effect of chance; but, in the work of adoption, the
" judgment is exerciſed; and whenever you want to chuſe,
" the general conſent will direct you to the perſon moſt
" worthy to be choſen. Have always before your eyes
" the example of Nero, who, elated with the glory of his
" race and a long genealogy of the Cæſars, was not in rea-
" lity dethroned by Julius Vindex, the governor of a pro-
" vince, unprovided with forces, nor by me aſſiſted with
" one legion, but by his own cruelty, and infamous de-
" baucheries; nor was there, till then, any inſtance of
" an emperor by public ſentence condemned and depoſed.

" It

" it was my lot to be called to an unſettled ſtate; nor
" muſt you be alarmed, if while the whole world con-
" tinues in this general uproar, there are two legions
" which yet remain unreclaimed to obedience. As to my
" old age, the only objection to my government, it is no
" longer one, ſince when it comes to be known that I
" have adopted you, I ſhall ſeem young in my ſucceſſor.
" Nero will never be regretted by the moſt abandoned
" and profligate: to you and me it belongs ſo to govern,
" that he may not alſo be regretted by the good. To
" ſay more in this way of inſtruction, the preſent conjunc-
" ture does not allow me. One certain rule you have to
" obſerve, which is, ſo to behave yourſelf towards your
" ſubjects, as, were you a ſubject, you would wiſh your
" prince to comport himſelf towards you. This rule com-
" prehends the whole art of reigning with juſtice and e-
" quity; for you muſt remember, that it is not with us
" as with other nations, where a particular family rules
" with abſolute ſway, and all beſides are ſlaves; but you are
" to govern a people incapable of complete liberty, and im-
" patient of abſolute bondage [i]."

Piſo's modeſt behaviour

WHEN Galba had done ſpeaking, Piſo returned him thanks for the extraordinary and unexpected honour conferred on him, addreſſing him, now both his father and emperor, with a ſpeech full of reverence, and, where he mentioned himſelf, full of modeſty. He betrayed no ſymptoms of joy, no change in his countenance, none afterwards in his behaviour, as if he had been inſenſible of ſo mighty a favour; manifeſt indications, ſays Tacitus, that he was more capable of reigning, than deſirous to reign. The next thing that came under debate in the council was, where to declare the adoption, whether to the people aſſembled, to the ſenate, or to the army. The reſult was to do it in the camp; and thither he immediately repaired, tho' that day, the tenth of January, was rendered unuſually terrible by heavy rains, frequent claps of thunder, and inceſſant lightning; which, in antient times, would have proved ſufficient ground for diſſolving public aſſemblies, but were looked upon by Galba, and contemned, as fortuitous and unmeaning. Upon his arrival in the camp, he declared to a full aſſembly of the ſoldiers, with

His adoption declared to the ſoldiery.

[i] Tacit. c. 15.

with the brevity becoming an emperor, that he adopted Piſo after the precedent of the deified Auguſtus, according to the cuſtom of the army, where every one chuſes his man. And leſt the revolt of the German legions might, if by him concealed, be thence thought more formidable, he frankly told them, that the fourth legion and the eighteenth, at the inſtigation of ſome few incendiaries, had departed from their duty, but would ſoon return to their allegiance. As no mention was made of the diſtributions uſual on ſuch occaſions, only the ſoldiers who ſtood next to him applauded his ſpeech, and through all the reſt was obſerved a ſullen ſadneſs and ſilence for having thus loſt the donative, which cuſtom and their own inſolent claims had, in ſome degree, rendered neceſſary. Tacitus tells us, that with any liberality however ſmall, Galba might have gained the affections of the ſoldiery; but ſuffered by practiſing, out of ſeaſon, the rigorous purity of antient times, which they were no longer able to bear [k]. From the camp Galba proceeded to the ſenate, where he ſpoke with the ſame brevity and bluntneſs as to the ſoldiery. The ſpeech which Piſo made was better received. In the mean time, Otho, who had been the foremoſt to eſpouſe the cauſe of Galba, had promoted it with vigor, and thence conceived hopes of being adopted and named by him for his ſucceſſor, enraged at his diſappointment, and burning with anger againſt Galba, with envy towards Piſo, determined to make a reſolute effort, while the authority of the one was daily decaying, and that of the other not yet confirmed. Many concurring motives inſpired him with this reſolution. As he had conſumed his fortune in a courſe of riot and expence, and contracted immenſe debts, in the quiet eſtabliſhment of the ſtate he ſaw nothing but deſpair, and only upon public confuſion founded his hopes. Beſides, he looked upon his being thus put by, as a certain ſign of the diſpleaſure and ill-will of Galba towards him, and thence thought reſignation and acquieſcence more threatening, than boldneſs and temerity. His favourite freed-men too and his ſlaves, inured to a licentiouſneſs and riot inconſiſtent with the œconomy of a private family, were to their lord continually diſplaying the alluring advantages attending the ſovereign power, and repreſenting them as his own, if he routed himſelf and made them ſo. The aſtrologers at the ſame time urged

And to the ſenate.

Otho reſolves to attempt the ſovereignty.

[k] Idem, c. 18, 19.

urged him by their predictions, while they were confidently averring, that the ſtars preſaged approaching revolutions and a year of great glory to Otho. Of this tribe Ptolemy was one, who having accompanied Otho into Luſitania, and foretold him that he ſhould ſurvive Nero, had gained mighty credit from the event. Now he perſuaded him, that, if he exerted his might and laid hold of the preſent opportunity, he would certainly attain the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, the ſovereign power. Hereupon Otho, with whom theſe predictions paſſed as uttered by a prophetic ſpirit, and as the propitious warnings of the fates, reſolved to make a bold puſh and try his fortune. The direction of the treaſonable deſign he committed to one of his freed-men, by name Onomaſtus, who introduced to him two men as proper inſtruments in it, Veturius, a ſoldier of the life-guard, and Barbius Proculus, teſſerarius of the ſame band; that is, one whoſe office it was to receive the parole from the tribune in writing, and carry it to the tents of the ſoldiers. Otho, having firſt in a long converſation tried their temper and capacity, and found them to be men of great addreſs and reſolution, imparted to them his deſign, loaded them with mighty preſents, promiſed them more ample rewards, and furniſhed them with vaſt ſums to bribe and debauch the inclinations of as many of the reſt as they were able. Thus two common ſoldiers undertook to transfer the Roman empire from one prince to another, and transferred it effectually. They admitted very few into the ſecret; the minds of the reſt, already uneaſy and wavering, they eſtranged from the emperor by various artifices, eſpecially by filling them with utter deſpair of the donative, which had been promiſed, and ſo often put off. This, ſaid they, is not only defrauding us of our deſerved rewards, but blaſting our expectations for ever, and giving a bad precedent to other emperors, who will not fail to follow an example ſo prejudicial to us, ſo advantageous to themſelves. Rome was at this time filled with troops; Galba had brought with him a Spaniſh legion; the legion, which had been raiſed by Nero, ſtill remained in the city; and beſides theſe forces, there were many from Germany, Britain, and Illyricum, ſuch as had been thence detached by Nero's orders, and ſent forwards to the Caſpian ſtreights, for the war which he meditated againſt the Parthians, but recalled to ſuppreſs the revolt of Vindex in Gaul. Theſe, dreading the ſeverity of diſcipline, which in this reign began to be revived,

Gives credit to an aſtrologer.

Two common ſoldiers undertake to transfer the empire.

revived, were all ready to revolt; and though not combining in favour of any particular, yet prepared for the firſt daring ſpirit. The prætorian guards indeed, tranſported with a fondneſs for Nero, were entirely addicted to Otho, who, they hoped, would recal the licentiouſneſs which they had enjoyed under that prince; nay, ſome of them were ſo impatient to ſee him inveſted with the ſovereign power, that on the fourteenth of January they were prepared, as he returned home from ſupping abroad, to have hurried him away and declared him emperor; only they apprehended, that, during the dark, whoever chanced to be preſented to the German or Pannonian army, might by them, for the moſt part unacquainted with the perſon of Otho, be, inſtead of him, ſaluted emperor. The execution of the deſign was therefore put off till the next day, when Otho early in the morning went to attend the emperor, and was, according to cuſtom, received by him with a kiſs, and admitted to be preſent at a private ſacrifice, which Galba offered in the temple of Apollo. We are told,

Galba is warned of a treaſonable plot.

that Umbricius the ſoothſayer had no ſooner viewed the entrails of the victim, than he warned the emperor of diſmal preſages, of treaſonable plots juſt impending, and a domeſtic foe, all in the hearing of Otho, who ſtood next to him, and, by a different conſtruction, underſtood it all as propitious to himſelf, and a ſucceſsful iſſue foretold of his own machinations. However, he was not a little diſconcerted at the diſcovery, and could not help betraying ſome diſmay and confuſion. But, in the mean time, Onomaſtus his freed-man arriving, acquainted him, that the ſurveyor and builders waited his coming. This was the ſignal before ſettled amongſt them, to intimate that the ſoldiers were aſſembling, and the conſpiracy ripe for execution. He therefore immediately withdrew, feigning to thoſe who aſked him the cauſe of his departure, that he was about purchaſing certain houſes, which being old, and thence ſuſpected to be decayed, it was neceſſary firſt to examine them. Then, leaning on his freed-man, he proceeded through the palace of Tiberius to the Velabrum, and from thence to the gilt pillar by the temple of Saturn, where the ſeveral high-ways in Italy terminated. There he was received by a party of the guards and proclaimed emperor; but as they were not above twenty-three, though his ſoul was not of the ſame ſoft temper and effeminacy with his perſon, but, on the contrary, bold and daring, yet he

Otho is ſaluted emperor by a ſmall party of the guards

was

was ſo diſmayed at the ſmallneſs of their number, that he deſired to retire and drop his deſign. This the ſoldiers would not ſuffer; but putting him in great haſte into a chair, hurried him away with their drawn ſwords. Plutarch tells us, that he preſſed them to make all the haſte they could, crying out, "I am a loſt man." The party that attended him was ſoon joined by much the like number of ſoldiers, and theſe, in their progreſs to the camp, were followed by others, who came in, three and four at a time, till at laſt they made up a conſiderable body. Upon their arrival at the camp, Julius Martialis the tribune, who that day commanded the main guard, ſuffered them to enter, either overcome with ſurprize at ſo daring an undertaking, or privy to the conſpiracy, or elſe believing the camp to be generally infected, and that it was in vain to reſiſt. In the camp they met with no oppoſition, thoſe who were not privy to the deſign being encompaſſed by ſuch as were; ſo that ſome out of fear, others by choice, joined the revolters, and at laſt all with one voice ſaluted Otho emperor and Cæſar [i].

And carried to the camp.

In the mean time, Galba, utterly unacquainted with the revolution, was ſtill bent upon the ſacrifice, and tiring, ſays Tacitus, with his ſupplications, the guardian gods of the empire, already under the ſway of another head. News was firſt brought him, that a ſenator, it was uncertain who, was by a party of the guards hurried away to the camp, there to be preſented to the ſoldiery; and ſoon after word was brought, that Otho was the ſenator thus hurried thither. Inſtantly from all parts of the city people crouded to Galba with the ſame tidings, each relating them his own way. Some exaggerated every thing beyond meaſure; others, not laying aſide, even at ſo deſperate a juncture, their wonted flattery, ſoothed him with relations far ſhort of facts. In this ſudden alarm Galba haſtily ſummoned his friends, and in a conſultation held with them it was reſolved, that the temper of the cohort then upon duty in the palace ſhould firſt of all be ſounded, not by Galba in perſon, whoſe authority was reſerved as the laſt remedy upon the higheſt emergency, but by Piſo; who having cauſed them to be aſſembled at the foot of the ſtairs of the palace, exhorted them with great elo-

Meaſures taken by Galba to ſuppreſs the revolt.

[i] Plut. ibid. Suet. in Oth. c. 6. Tacit. c. 23—28.

quence and energy, to continue ſteady in their allegiance, diſplayed the vices and debaucheries of Otho, and aſſured them, that they ſhould receive from Galba and him as large a donative for their fidelity preſerved, as was offered them by Otho for dipping their hands in the blood of their ſovereign. When he had ended his ſpeech, ſome of the cohort ſtole away; but the major part diſplayed their enſigns, and prepared their arms to defend their emperor. Celſus Marius was immediately ſent to ſecure the troops that had been detached from the army in Illyricum, and were then poſted in the Vipſanian porch. To Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, centurions of the firſt rank, orders were given to bring away from the court of the temple of Liberty the band of German ſoldiers there. To the camp of the prætorian guards repaired the tribunes Cerius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, to try, whether, by reaſon and exhortations, the mutiny, then in its infancy, might not be quelled and obedience reſtored. Two of theſe tribunes the ſoldiers only terrified with threats, but laid violent hands on Longinus, ſtripped him of his arms, and ignominiouſly drove him out of the camp, he being, above the reſt, obnoxious to them, on account of his known fidelity and invincible attachment to Galba. The band detached from the Illyrian army drove Celſus from amongſt them with flights of darts. The ſecond legion of marines, eager to revenge the blood of their brethren, maſſacred by Galba on his firſt entry as emperor into Rome, joined, without heſitation, the prætorian bands. The German troops continued a great while wavering and irreſolute, being in their bodies ſtill feeble, (for they were lately returned from Alexandria ſickly and fatigued) and in their minds entirely peaceable, and rather inclined to Galba, out of gratitude for the care he was taking to cheriſh and reſtore them [k]. Suetonius tells us, that they immediately haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Galba; but not being acquainted with the ſtreets, they miſtook their way and came too late [l]. Galba, in the mean time, was held in ſuſpenſe between two different counſels. Vinius was of opinion, that the emperor ſhould remain in the palace, arm his ſlaves in his defence, fortify the avenues, and by no means iſſue forth amongſt men mad with rage. All the reſt alledged the neceſſity of diſpatch

The troops refuſe to obey the officers ſent to them.

Galba is in ſuſpenſe what to do.

[k] Idem, c. 31, 32.

[l] Suet. in Galb. c. 20.

diſpatch and inſtant meaſures, before the conſpiracy of a few, yet weak and unſupported, had gathered ſtrength and numbers. Galba yielded to the advice of the latter, their counſels appearing to him more plauſible. Piſo, however, was ſent away before to the camp, as a young man of great fame and reputation, and one who was generally looked upon as an enemy to the hated miniſter Titus Vinius. Scarce had he left the palace, when it was rumoured about, that Otho was ſlain in the camp; and ſoon after there appeared perſons who averred, that they themſelves had been upon the ſpot when the traitor was killed, and beheld his dead body extended on the ground. It was by many conjectured, that this rumour was firſt framed, and afterwards heightened, by the partizans of Otho, with no other view, but to entice Galba from his retirement. However that be, upon this occaſion, not only the ſimple and thoughtleſs vulgar broke out into loud ſhouts and extravagant demonſtrations of zeal; but the greater part of the Roman knights and ſenators, now deveſted of their fears, and therefore void of caution and reſerve, forced the gates of the palace; and ruſhing in, preſented themſelves before Galba, complaining, that the vengeance, by them meditated in his behalf, was now ſnatched out of their hands. The moſt cowardly, ſuch as had not courage enough to face the leaſt danger, as the event well proved, were at this juncture profuſe of words and boaſts, and in tongue valiant and daring. No man knew the fact, and all averred it; ſo that Galba deprived of true information, put on a breaſt-plate; and finding himſelf unable, through age and infirmities, to ſuſtain the preſſing crowd, he was put into a chair. Before he left the palace, Julius Atticus, one of the guards, preſſing through the croud, preſented himſelf before the emperor, and diſplaying a ſword all over bloody, declared with a loud voice, that by his hand Otho had been ſlain. Galba returned no other anſwer, than, Fellow ſoldier, whoſe orders hadſt thou? Such was his firmneſs in reſtraining the licentious inſolence of the ſoldiery, without being diſmayed by menaces, or corrupted with the moſt ſoothing flattery [m].

Receives falſe information from the crowd.

And from Julius Atticus.

In the mean time they had to a man declared for Otho in the camp; and placing him amidſt the enſigns upon that very tribunal, where a little before ſtood the golden ſtatue of

[m] Tacit. c. 35.

The revolt of the ſoldiery for Otho.

Galba, encompaſſed him round with banners diſplayed. The common ſoldiers refuſed to the tribunes and centurions acceſs to his perſon; nay, they gave him caution to beware of all who were in command or authority among them. Firſt the prætorian guards, and then the legion of marines, unanimouſly ſwore allegiance to him, and with loud ſhouts, ſaluted him emperor, Cæſar, and Auguſtus. After this, Otho, now confiding in his ſtrength, inflamed them with a long ſpeech, filled with bitter invectives againſt Galba and his favourites; and then ordered the common armoury to be thrown open, whence arms were inſtantly ſnatched at random, without any regard to the cuſtom of war, or the different orders and ranks of men. Galba, in the mean time, having left the palace, was approaching the forum, when he was overtaken by Piſo, who hearing the cries of the rebellious ſoldiery reſounding quite to the city, had thought it adviſeable not to proceed to the camp. At the ſame time, Celſus Marius, who had been ſent to the Illyrian army, returned with a melancholy account. In this conjuncture, ſome adviſed Galba to retire back to the palace; others propoſed ſeizing the capitol; and ſeveral were taking poſſeſſion of the place where the people uſed to aſſemble. In this conteſt, as in a ſtorm, Galba's chair was borne, ſometimes one way and ſometimes another, according to the different movement and fluctuation of the multitude; when on a ſudden appeared firſt a party of horſe, and then a body of foot, ruſhing furiouſly into the forum. At this ſight, the ſtandard-bearer to the cohort, which had remained with Galba, rent from his ſtandard the effigies of the emperor, and daſhed it againſt the ground. Upon this ſignal, the whole cohort abandoned him, and joined the detachments from the camp. Hereupon, thoſe who carried Galba, ſeized with dread and trembling, flung him from the chair proſtrate upon the ground, and there left him to the mercy of his enemies. His laſt words are differently reported, as he was hated by ſome, or admired by others. By ſeveral it was ſpread abroad, that he aſked in the ſtyle of a ſuppliant, What evil he had merited? and begged time, only for a few days, to diſcharge the donative, which had been promiſed in his name. But moſt agree, that of his own accord he preſented his throat to the aſſaſſins, bidding them ſtrike abſolutely, if the good of the commonwealth ſo required. Of the very perſon, who gave him the mortal blow, we have no clear account. Some hold it to have been one Terentius,

Galba abandoned by all.

He is murdered.

rentius, an evocatus, or reſumed veteran; others one Lecanius. The more current tradition in Tacitus's time was, that Camurius, a common ſoldier of the fifteenth legion, cut his throat with his ſword. The reſt hackled and mangled in a terrible manner, his legs and arms (for his breaſt was covered with armour); nay, they were tranſported with a ſpirit ſo brutal and inhuman, that even after they had cut off his head, they ſatiated their rage by diſfiguring with numberleſs wounds his lifeleſs body. Upon Titus Vinius they next diſcharged their rage. Some writers tell us, that through fear he was quite bereft of ſpeech; others, that with a loud voice he cried out, they had no ſuch orders from Otho; whence they conclude, that he was privy to the conſpiracy, and had embarqued in that treaſon, for which he had adminiſtered cauſe. Before the temple of Julius Cæſar, he was wounded in the knee; and preſently after, by one Julius Carus, a legionary, pierced quite through the body. Among the many perſons who had firſt made boaſt of their inviolable faith and attachment to their ſovereign, one was found who performed what he had promiſed. This was Sempronius Denſus, centurion of a prætorian cohort, and by Galba appointed to guard the perſon of Piſo. He had not received any particular favour of Galba; but only from a principle of honour, and in compliance with the oath he had taken, he placed himſelf before the emperor's chair, commanding thoſe who were advancing againſt him, to ſpare the emperor. As they ſtill advanced, he threw away the vine branch, which he held in his hand as the badge of his office; and drawing his ſword, ſingly encountered them all, boldly upbraiding them as deteſtable parricides; inſomuch that, partly by his blows, partly by his reproaches, he drew upon himſelf the ſwords of the aſſaſſins; and tho' he could not ſave the emperor, yet procured to Piſo, who was already wounded, opportunity to retire. He was himſelf killed; but Piſo eſcaped to the temple of Veſta, where he was by a bondman of the ſtate received through compaſſion and concealed in his chamber; which Otho no ſooner knew, than he diſpatched Sulpitius Florus, belonging to the Britiſh bands, a man juſt before preſented by Galba with the priviledge of a Roman citizen, and Statius Murcus, one of his guards, with orders to diſpatch Piſo. By them therefore Piſo was dragged forth, and butchered near the gate of the temple. His head was immediately cut off and carried

With Titus Vinius.

The fidelity and bravery of Sempronius Denſus.

Piſo murdered.

carried to Otho, who beheld it with unſpeakable joy, thinking himſelf now relieved from all fear and perplexity. The bleeding heads of the emperor and his adopted ſon were ſtuck upon long poles, and thus carried along amidſt the banners of the military bands, cloſe by the eagle of a legion. Many, who had not the leaſt ſhare in the murder either of Galba or Piſo, diſplayed their ſwords and hands all embrued with blood, and demanded of the new emperor a gratuity. Tacitus and Plutarch tell us, that above an hundred and twenty petitions of this nature, preſented in one day to Otho, fell afterwards into the hands of Vitellius, who commanded ſearch to be made after the authors, and puniſhed them all with death, not from any tenderneſs for Galba, but out of policy, looking upon their puniſhment as a wholeſome method of ſecuring himſelf againſt ſuch traitors [n].

The ſenate and people flatter the new emperor.

The news of Galba's death was no ſooner divulged, than the ſenate, the Roman knights, and the people earneſtly crowded to the camp, ſtriving to out-run each other, and to overtake and paſs ſuch as were before them. To a man they condemned the conduct of Galba, magnified the judgment and choice of the ſoldiery, kiſſed the hands of Otho; and the more counterfeit their indications of zeal were, the more loud were their proteſtations. The ſenate, as if they were not the ſame men, ſays Plutarch, or had other gods to ſwear by, took the ſame oath to Otho, which Otho had not long before taken to Galba, and had juſt then violated. The new emperor received all who preſented themſelves to him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and at the ſame time endeavoured to pacify the ſoldiery, breathing menaces and ravage. They demanded, that Manius Celſus, conſul elect, and a faithful friend to Galba even in his laſt diſtreſs, might be inſtantly put to death. They hated him on account of his integrity and unſhaken fidelity; but what they chiefly aimed at was, to have their hands let looſe to general pillage and maſſacre, and to deſtroy every worthy and able man in the Roman ſtate. But, as Otho had not ſufficient authority to check the fury of the licentious ſoldiery, he perſonated great wrath againſt Celſus, ordered him to be put in irons;

[n] Tacit. c. 38——42. Plut. ibid.

irons, as if he reſerved him for ſome more ſevere puniſhment; and by that means redeemed him from a violent death juſt impending. From this moment all things were tranſacted by the arbitrary will of the ſoldiers. By them were choſen the captains of the prætorian guards, namely Plotius Primus, once a common ſoldier, thence preferred to command the watch, and during the reign of Galba, a chief man among the partizans of Otho; and with Plotius they joined Licinius Proculus, one in high confidence with Otho, and thought to have been employed by him to promote his intrigues. To the government of Rome they advanced Flavius Sabinus, partly in deference to the judgment of Nero, in whoſe reign he had adminiſtered the ſame office, and partly out of regard to his brother Veſpaſian. They then demanded, that the fees, wont to be by them paid to their centurions, for exemption from certain military burdens, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; for under this name every ſoldier paid, as it were, an annual tribute. Hence the fourth part of a legion uſed to be abſent at once, roaming like vagrants up and down the countries, where they were quartered, and robbing and plundering, in order to raiſe money wherewithal to purchaſe a diſpenſation from military toils. As moſt of the ſoldiers were debauched by ſuch wild immunity, and reduced to beggary by the fees they paid for it, they were always ready to run headlong into ſedition, diſſenſion, and civil wars. Otho, therefore, readily granted them their requeſt: but that he might not eſtrange from him the affections of the centurions, he undertook to pay out of his own revenue the fees for ſuch exemptions and furlongs, when they were judged neceſſary; a regulation, which, by his ſucceſſors, was perpetuated as part of the military eſtabliſhment. In the cloſe of the day, Laco, captain of the guards to Galba, was ſeized, and ſoon after by Otho condemned to an iſland, where, by his orders, he was murdered by a veteran, whom the emperor had ſent before him for that purpoſe. Icelus, as he was only a manumiſed ſlave, was publicly executed. The day, thus ſpent in black and tragical iniquities, was concluded with public rejoicings. The next day, the city prætor aſſembled the ſenate, when to Otho were decreed the tribunitial authority, the title of Auguſtus, and all the honours enjoyed by other emperors. From the ſenate, the new emperor was carried in a kind of triumph croſs the

Otho ſaves Celſus.

The ſoldiery act arbitrarily.

Otho ſuppreſſes the fees paid by the the ſoldiers to their centurions.

Laco and Icelus put to death.

Otho acknowledged by the ſenate.

the forum, ſtill flowing with blood, and over heaps of dead bodies to the capitol, and thence to the palace, where at length he granted leave to burn and bury the ſlain. The remains of Piſo were, by his wife Verania and his brother Scribonianus, committed to the grave, as were thoſe of Titus Vinius by his daughter Criſpina, after they had found out and redeemed, at a great price, their heads, which their murderers had retained, in order to ſell them to their relations. The body of Galba, after it had lain long neglected in the ſtreets, and ſuffered during the licentiouſneſs of the night, inſults without number, was, by Argius one of his principal bondmen, bearing the office of ſteward, depoſited in a mean grave within his own gardens. His head, miſerably mangled and ſtuck upon a pole by the vile rabble attending the camp, was then ſet up before the tomb of Patrobius, a freed-man of Nero, whom Galba had cauſed to be executed. Here it was found the day following, and laid with the remains of his body, which had been already burnt [o]. Such was the end of Galba, after he had lived ſeventy-two years and twenty-three days, and reigned, from the time he declared againſt Nero, nine months and thirteen days, but from that prince's death only ſeven months and as many days. He had paſſed through the reigns of five emperors, much happier under the ſovereignty of other princes, than his own. He had but moderate talents, and was, according to Tacitus, rather free from vices, than endowed with many virtues. He had commanded with great reputation in the German wars, afterwards governed Africa, as proconſul, with moderation and gentleneſs, and, in the latter part of his life, ruled with the ſame equity and juſtice the Hither Spain. He would, to uſe the expreſſion of our hiſtorian, in the opinion of all men, have paſſed as one capable of the empire, had he never been emperor; not that his being advanced to that high ſtation cauſed any alteration in him, but becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be blindly governed and controuled by his freed-men and miniſters; men who were continually proſtituting the credit and character of their maſter, to their own vile gains and wicked paſſions. Had he been bleſſed with good counſellors, he would, in all probability, have proved an excellent prince. He was temperate, frugal, free from ambition, an enemy to the inſolence of the ſoldiery, and wiſhed

Galba's body buried.

His character.

[o] Tacit. c. 47, 48. Plut. ibid. Suet. c. 20.

wiſhed well to the commonwealth. But what availed his good qualities? He himſelf robbed no man; but his ſervants and miniſters ſet no bounds to their rapines; and he, who ought not to have employed bad men, or at leaſt ought to have reſtrained and puniſhed them, was blind to all their iniquities. As he never enquired into their behaviour, nor blamed it, they never mended it, nor feared him. The ſad fate, which their corruption and his own indolence brought upon him, is a ſufficient warning to princes, either never to truſt implicitly to the advice and conduct of any miniſters, or at leaſt to be well aſſured, that they are ſuch, if ſuch are to be found, as may be implicitly truſted.

OTHO, now honoured by the ſenate with the title of Cæſar and Auguſtus, took upon him the conſulſhip, having for his collegue his brother Salvius Titianus; but reſigned the faſces on the firſt of March to Verginius Rufus, as his brother did to Poppæus Vopiſcus. The new emperor had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, when he was alarmed with diſmal tidings concerning Vitellius; tidings, which, before the murder of Galba, had been ſuppreſſed, with a deſign to have it believed, that only the army in Upper Germany had revolted. Vitellius, as we have related above, had been by Galba preferred to the command of the legions in Lower Germany, which he had entered about the beginning of December in the preceding year, and with great care viſited the winter quarters of the legions there. To their ranks he reſtored numbers who had been degraded; many he redeemed from ignominious puniſhments; and cancelled the marks of ignominy inflicted upon others. Having by this means gained the affections of the ſoldiery, Fabius Valens, who commanded a legion under him and was highly diſguſted with Galba, who, he thought, had not rewarded him according to his deſerts, ſolicited his new general to aſſume the ſovereignty, magnifying to him the zeal and ardour of the ſoldiery, by whom he was no leſs beloved, than Galba hated. By his ſpeech Vitellius was, ſays Tacitus, excited to covet the ſovereignty, rather than to hope for it. In Upper Germany, Alienus Cæcina, who commanded a legion there, had entirely captivated the affections of the ſoldiers by his graceful perſon and engaging behaviour. He exerciſed the office of quæſtor in the province of Spain called Bœtica, when Galba revolted, whom he immediately joined, and was thence by him preferred to the command of a legion.

Vitellius is excited to take upon him the ſovereignty by Valens.

gion. But Galba, having ſoon after diſcovered, that he had embezzled the public treaſure, ordered him to be proſecuted. Cæcina, reſenting this, did all that lay in his power to ſtir up the troops to a revolt, hoping, by an univerſal confuſion, to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crime. Neither in the army itſelf were there wanting ſeeds of tumult and diſcord: for they had all to a man been engaged in the war againſt Vindex; nor could they be induced to acknowledge Galba, till after Nero was ſlain. Hence a report was maliciouſly raiſed among them, and raſhly believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the centurions, for the moſt part, caſhiered. The cities of Treves and Langres, which lay contiguous to the winter quarters of the legions, and had been by Galba deprived of great part of their territories, were more inflamed againſt him than the legions themſelves; and therefore aſſured them by their deputies, that they were ripe for an inſurrection, and ready to join them, as ſoon as they declared againſt Galba. On the firſt of January, when the legions were, according to cuſtom, to ſwear allegiance to the emperor, they refuſed the oath, tore the images of Galba, and declared, that they acknowledged no other ſovereign, but the ſenate and people of Rome; not one tribune or commander daring to exert himſelf in behalf of the emperor, or offering to harangue the multitude from a tribunal. It is true, Hordeonius Flaccus, commander in chief, was upon the ſpot; but had not courage enough either to reſtrain ſuch as were already ruſhing into rebellion, or to recover ſuch as were only wavering, or even to rouze and animate thoſe who ſtill continued ſteady and faithful to Galba. Four centurions, viz. Nonius Receptus, Donatus Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, all belonging to the eighteenth legion, would have protected the images of Galba, but were by the furious multitude ſeized and confined in chains. Further than this, none of them ſhewed the leaſt regard to their duty, or their former oaths: but it happened in this as in other inſurrections, whither the greater part led, the reſt blindly followed. The following night, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion haſtening to Cologn, where Vitellius then reſided, acquainted him with what had paſſed, and exhorted him to lay hold of the preſent opportunity. Hereupon meſſengers were by Vitellius forthwith diſpatched to acquaint the troops under his command, that the army in

The troops in Upper Germany inclined to a revolt.

Refuſe the oath to Galba.

Vitellius proclaimed emperor.

in Upper Germany had revolted from Galba; ſo that they muſt either make war upon the revolters, or, if they preferred peace and tranquillity, join with them and create an emperor: at the ſame time, he deſired them to conſider, that, with much leſs danger, they might elect a prince at once, than continue in ſearch of one. The winter quarters of the firſt legion lay neareſt, and with it Fabius Valens, who entering Cologn the very next day, accompanied with the cavalry of his legion and a body of auxiliaries, openly ſaluted Vitellius emperor, and led him in a kind of triumph through the principal and moſt frequented ſtreets in the town. His example was immediately followed, with great competition, by all the legions of the ſame province. The army in Upper Germany no ſooner heard, that Vitellius had been ſaluted emperor by the troops under his command, than relinquiſhing the plauſible names of the ſenate and people of Rome, they acceded to the party of Vitellius. This happened on the third of January; whence it is evident, ſays Tacitus, that they had been no-ways attached to, or concerned about, the free Roman ſtate the two days before. The zeal of the inhabitants of Cologn, Treves, and Langres was equal to that of the legions; they all offered, with great ardour, ſupplies of men, horſes, and money, each according to the meaſure of his power and ſufficiency. Neither was ſuch liberality confined to the leading men of thoſe colonies; but the common people too ſignalized their zeal for Vitellius, in ſurrendering, inſtead of money, of which they were deſtitue, their girdles, the trappings of their horſes, the ſilver ornaments upon their armour, &c. not doubting, but they ſhould, in due time, be amply rewarded for their ſeaſonable generoſity; for, while Vitellius was giving away his own fortune and laviſhing in bounties that of others, without meaſure or diſcernment, they beſtowed, as Tacitus obſerves, upon this extravagance the title of liberality and good-nature [p].

The zeal of the people in his behalf.

And now Vitellius, truſting to his ſtrength and the zeal of the ſoldiery, began to act as ſovereign, and diſpoſed of ſeveral employments, which had hitherto been adminiſtered by the imperial freed-men, but were by him conferred upon Roman knights. At the ſame time, to gain the

He begins to exercise the ſovereign power.

[p] Tacit. c. 56, 57. Plut. in Galb. Suet. in vit. c. 8.

the affection of the ſoldiery, he ordered the fees exacted from them by the centurions, for exemptions from duty, to be paid out of his own treaſure as emperor. He could not help humouring, in many inſtances, the revengeful temper of the ſoldiers, demanding the execution of particulars: however, in ſome inſtances, he defeated it under colour of committing the obnoxious perſons to priſon.

Several perſons put to death at the requeſt of the ſoldiery.

Pompeius Propinquus, governor of Belgic Gaul, who had acquainted Galba with the commotions begun in Germany, was immediately put to death; but Julius Burdo, commander of the naval forces in Germany, was, by Vitellius's orders, ſecured in priſon, and afterwards diſcharged, when the rage of the ſoldiery began to abate. They ſuſpected, that he had firſt enticed Fonteius Capito, of whom we have ſpoken above, to revolt, and then betrayed him: hence againſt him chiefly the fury of the army raged; but Vitellius, who had a particular value for him, ſaved him by deceiving them; and indeed there was no other means of protecting and ſhewing mercy. Criſpinus, the centurion, by whom Fonteius Capito had been put to death, was publicly executed, and with him Nonius, Donatus, Romilius, and Calpurnius, the four centurions lately mentioned; men condemned for adhering to their faith and duty; a crime ever thought moſt heinous by ſuch as have renounced both [q].

UPON the news of the revolt of the armies in Germany, Valerius Aſiaticus, governor of Belgic Gaul, declared for Vitellius: his example was followed by Junius Blæſus, governor of Gallia Lugdunenſis, or that part of Gaul which took its name from the city of Lions, and by an Italian legion and a body of horſe quartered at Lions. The forces in Rhœtia and thoſe in Britain went likewiſe, without heſitation, over to his ſide. Vitellius, now become, by the acceſſion of ſo many armies, mighty both in forces and treaſure, appointed two generals to conduct the war, and to each aſſigned a different rout. To Fabius Valens,

Orders his troops to march to Italy.

he gave orders to croſs Gaul, and in his march endeavour to gain over the natives to his party; but if he could not prevail upon them to join, to over-run and pillage their country, and then make an irruption into Italy, by that part of the Alps which was called Cottian, and is now known by the name of mount Cenis. Cæcina was ordered

[q] Tacit. c. 57—59.

ed to advance thither by a nearer way, and to pass over the mountains called Penini, now the Great St. Bernard. Valens had under his command the flower of the army of Lower Germany, to the number of forty thousand fighting men. From Upper Germany, Cæcina led thirty thousand. Vitellius was to follow, with a numerous body of German troops, to support the whole weight of the war. But while the soldiers were urgent for action, and eager to begin their march, notwithstanding the rigor of the winter season, the general was passing his time in voluptuous sloth, in revels, and banquets. By the middle of the day, he was always intoxicated with wine, and so gorged with feasting, that he was not capable of giving any directions. But such was the zeal and ardour of the soldiers, that of themselves they supplied all the duties of the leader, as effectually as if he had attended in person. As soon as they were drawn out and armed, they demanded with eagerness, that the signal might be given for marching. We are told, that on the very day the army under the command of Valens began their march, an eagle, measuring his motion by that of the troops, glided gently along, and flew just before them, as if he shewed them the way, without being frighted with the joyful shouts uttered by the soldiery, who thence concluded, that the enterprize would prove successful. They advanced with assurance to the territories of Treves, as to those of a friendly state. But at Dividurum, now Metz, tho' they were there received in a very friendly manner, they were seized with a sudden panic, ran to their arms, and would have put the inhabitants, all to a man, to the sword, without the least provocation, had not their general, with much ado, restrained their fury, and by entreaties prevailed upon them to forbear pursuing the utter destruction of the unoffending city. There were slaughtered, however, not for the sake of pillage or spoil, but from fury and madness, near four thousand persons. The rest of Gaul was so alarmed with the news of this slaughter, that thenceforward, as the army approached any city, the inhabitants crowded out to meet them, accompanied with their magistrates in the attire of suppliants, and readily supplied them with all manner of provisions. In the capital of the Leucians, that is, in the city of Toul, Fabius received tidings of the murder of Galba, and that the sovereignty was devolved upon Otho. This news did not affect the soldiers, for they were only

The march of Valens through Gaul.

intent upon war: as for the Gauls they bore equal hatred to Otho and Vitellius; but as they were poſſeſſed with dread of the latter, they declared for him. From Toul, the army advanced to Langres, a city entirely attached to the party of Vitellius, and were there kindly received. The inhabitants of Autun ſupplied them out of fear (for they hated Vitellius) with money, arms, and proviſions. What the city of Langres had done out of fear, that of Lions did through joy; for Galba had loaded them with taxes, deprived them of part of their territories, and converted to his own exchequer the revenues of their ſtate. As animoſities had been long ſubſiſting between the people of Lions and thoſe of Vienne, Valens, at the inſtigation of the former, marched againſt the latter, under pretence that they had aided the conſpiracy and attempts of Vindex, and had lately levied troops for the ſupport of Galba. But the people of Vienne gained over Valens with an immenſe ſum, and a donative to the ſoldiery of three hundred ſeſterces a man. They were commanded, however, to ſurrender the arms belonging to the ſtate, and to ſupply the ſoldiers with proviſions. From thence, in a ſlow progreſs, the army was led through the territories of the Allobroges and Vocontii; the general, upon every march which he made, upon every ſhifting of his camp, ſtriking infamous bargains with the proprietors of the ſeveral lands, and the magiſtrates of the ſeveral cities, for the favour and exemptions. This he did with ſuch open menaces, that he ordered Lucus, a municipal town of the Vocontii, to be ſet on fire, becauſe they ſhewed ſome reluctance to pay the ſum he had required. Lucus was, in former times, one of the chief cities, of the Vocontii, or Dauphiné, but has been long ſince utterly deſtroyed. Marching in this manner, Valens arrived at length at the Alps. Tacitus obſerves, that he had been long ſordidly poor, but by this march became ſuddenly rich, and abandoned himſelf, as his appetites had been whetted by a long courſe of penury, to all manner of riot and exceſſes[r].

He arrives at the Alps.

Cæcina commits great devaſtations in the country of the Helvetii.

On the other hand, Cæcina rioted in greater ſpoil and more blood. The Helvetians, not appriſed of the tragical end of Galba, refuſed to own the ſovereignty of Vitellius. Hereupon Cæcina, who longed paſſionately for a pre-

tence

[r] Tacit. c. 60——67.

ence to plunder their country, inſtantly decamped, and entering their territories in an hoſtile manner, ravaged their fields, ſacked their cities, and made a dreadful havock of the unhappy inhabitants: many thouſands were cut off, and great numbers made priſoners, and ſold for ſlaves; for the Helvetians, once renowed for their valour and experience in war, were at this time only famous for the reputation which they had formerly acquired: they were fierce and daring, ſays our hiſtorian, while danger was at a diſtance, but ſtruck with terror when it arrived. As the army, after having committed univerſal ravage and ſpoil, was marching in order of battle to Aventicum, the metropolis of the country, deputies from thence were diſpatched to offer a ſurrender of the city, which was accepted. Julius Alpinus, a leading man among the Helvetians, was, by Cæcina's orders, put to death; the fate of the reſt was referred to the judgment of Vitellius, who, moved with the tears and entreaties of Claudius Coſſus, their deputy, a man of great eloquence and addreſs, granted to all pardon and ſecurity [s]. While Cæcina was waiting in the country of the Helvetians, till he had learnt the pleaſure of Vitellius, and preparing at the ſame time to paſs the Alps, he received joyful tidings from Italy, that the ſquadron of horſe named Syllana, and then encamped on the banks of the Po, had declared for Vitellius. They had ſerved under him in Africa, when he was proconſul there; had been recalled from thence by Nero, in order to be ſent forward into Egypt; and, upon the inſurrection of Vindex, detained in Italy. As the officers were unacquainted with Otho, and engaged by obligations to Vitellius, they eaſily prevailed upon their men, by magnifying to them the great ſtrength of the approaching legions and renown of the German armies, to go over to the ſame party, and ſwear fealty to Vitellius. With themſelves, as a preſent to their new prince, they brought into his intereſt the ſtrongeſt municipal cities beyond the Po, viz. Milan, Novara, Jurea, and Vercelli. As ſuch an extenſive country could not be guarded by a ſingle band of cavalry, Cæcina, who had this information directly from themſelves, diſpatched thither forthwith the ſeveral cohorts of Gauls, Luſitanians, and Britons, with a body of German troops, and the ſquadron of horſe called

A ſquadron of horſe revolts to Vitellius, and brings over ſeveral cities to the ſame party.

[s] Idem, c. 68, 69.

called Taurina. As for himſelf, he was ſome time in ſuſpenſe, whether it were not adviſable to bend his march over the mountains of Rhœtia towards Noricum, againſt Petronius, governor of that province, who, having on all hands raiſed forces, and broken down the bridges over the rivers, was ſuſpected to act for Otho. But fearing he might loſe the detachments already ſent forward, and reflecting, that where-ever the deciſive battle was fought, Noricum would certainly prove one of the acquiſitions following a general victory, he ordered his ſoldiers lightly armed to take their rout over the Apennine, and led himſelf the heavy body of legionaries over the Alps, ſtill covered with ſnow [t].

He paſſes the Alps.

Rome in great conſternation.

The arrival of theſe troops in Italy, filled Rome with conſternation. Not only the ſenate and equeſtrian order, who had ſome ſhare in the adminiſtration and ſome concern for the public welfare, but even the populace, loudly complained, that two men, of all the moſt infamous for effeminacy, profuſion, and debauchery, were thus fatally choſen, as it were on purpoſe to rend and deſtroy the empire. They thought their vows for either would be alike deteſtable, their ſupplications alike impious, ſince ſuch men they both were, that whoſoever of the two proved the conqueror, would thence prove the worſt. In the mean time, Otho, tho' hitherto entirely abandoned to his pleaſures, was not at this juncture lulled aſleep by them; but, ſuſpending his voluptuous ſallies and artfully diſſembling his paſſion for luxury, conducted all things ſuitably to the dignity of the empire. In order to gain the affections of the people, who ſuſpected his virtues to be aſſumed, and apprehended a return of his vices, he cauſed Celſus Marius, conſul elect, to be brought before him in the capitol. He had already reſcued him, as we have related above, from the cruelty of the ſoldiers, under colour of committing him to priſon; and now aimed to obtain the character of tenderneſs and clemency, by mercy ſhewn to a man ſo illuſtrious, ſo beloved by the Roman people, and ſo odious to all the partizans of Otho's cauſe. Celſus, when he appeared, confeſſed, without betraying the leaſt fear, the imputed crime of having perſevered ſteady in his allegiance to Galba; he even appealed to Otho, whether he ought not to approve ſuch an example of fidelity. Otho commended his

Otho ſtrives to gain the affections of the people.

[t] Idem, c. 71.

his ſteadineſs, and, in a very obliging manner, deſired him rather to forget his confinement, than remember his releaſe. Neither did he treat him as a criminal pardoned, but forthwith admitted him amongſt his moſt intimate friends, and preſently after choſe him one of his generals for conducting the war. The ſaving of Celſus cauſed an univerſal joy amongſt men of rank, was applauded with loud acclamations to the populace, and was not ill received even by the ſoldiers, who now admired in him the ſame virtue, againſt which they had, in the height of their fury, been ſo much incenſed [u]. The public joy for the deliverance of Celſus was greatly heightened by the doom of Tigellinus. He had been the chief author of all the enormities committed by Nero, whom he had afterwards betrayed and abandoned; and was therefore abhorred by thoſe who loved, and thoſe who hated, Nero. While Galba reigned, he was protected as we have related above, by the power and authority of Titus Vinius: hence the people were the more inflamed againſt him, their old deteſtation of Tigellinus concurring with their recent hatred to Vinius. From every quarter of the city they now flocked to the forum and the palace, and filled with their multitudes the circus and the ſeveral theatres, demanding, with bold and ſeditious words, the execution of Tigellinus, till at length the fatal injunction to die was diſpatched to him, then at the baths of Sinueſſa. There, amidſt an herd of harlots, after many paſſionate embraces and unmanly delays, he at laſt cut his throat with a razor [w].

He pardons Celſus Marius.

Tigellinus is ordered to put himſelf to death.

While the forces of Vitellius were yet on their march to Italy, Otho, with frequent meſſengers and private letters, ſtrove to divert his competitor from engaging in a war which might prove fatal to both. He offered him immenſe ſums, and ſuch a place of retirement as he himſelf ſhould chuſe to live in, agreeable to his profuſe life and taſte; nay, he engaged to take him for his partner in the empire, and to marry his daughter. With the ſame or the like offers Vitellius tempted Otho; ſo that they ſoon proceeded to reproaches, upbraiding each other with their debaucheries and profligate lives; nor in this did either bring a falſe charge againſt the other. Otho, having recalled the embaſſadors ſent by Galba to the armies in

Frequent meſſengers and letters between Otho and Vitellius.

[u] Idem, c. 71. Dio, l. lxiv. p. 731. [w] Idem, c. 72.

Germany, diſpatched others in their room in the plauſible name of the ſenate; but the embaſſadors continued with Vitellius. As for the prætorian guards, who, by the appointment of Otho, accompanied them, Vitellius obliged them to return back, without ſuffering them to mix amongſt his legionaries. At the ſame time, Valens tranſmitted letters to the prætorian bands and city cohorts, in the name of the German army, exhorting them to abandon Otho and embrace the ſame intereſt. He likewiſe upbraided them for transferring the ſovereignty to Otho, when it had been ſo long before conferred upon Vitellius. But the German army continuing faithful to Vitellius, notwithſtanding the great promiſes of Otho, and the prætorian bands ſteady in their allegiance to Otho, notwithſtanding the officers of Vitellius, the two chiefs began to employ ſnares and miniſters of death againſt each other: aſſaſſins were diſpatched by Otho into Germany, and by Vitellius to Rome; but the attempts on both ſides were defeated [x].

Moſt of the provinces declare for Otho.

The firſt tidings from abroad that raiſed Otho's hopes, were from Illyricum, whence he received advice, that the legions in Dalmatia, in Pannonia, and Mœſia, had declared for him, and ſworn allegiance. The army in Judæa was by Veſpaſian ſworn to Otho, as were the legions in Syria, by Mucianus governor of that province. Egypt too, and all the provinces extending to the eaſt ſubmitted to him. The like ſubmiſſion was paid him in Africa, in Spain, and in Narbonne Gaul; but the latter province ſoon acceded to the party of Vitellius, which was the neareſt and ſtrongeſt. Aquitain likewiſe firſt declared for Otho; but ſoon after, from the ſame motive, ſwore fealty to Vitellius: for there was no true zeal, as Tacitus obſerves, in the people for the cauſe and intereſt of either of the pretenders, and only by the impreſſions of fear they were tranſported and changed from one ſide to another. Otho in the mean time, as if full peace had reigned, applied himſelf to the civil adminiſtration of the empire: in the ſenate he had many obliging and popular harangues; upon ſuch antient ſenators as had already ſuſtained the firſt employments in the ſtate, he conferred the pontifical or augural dignities; ſeveral young noblemen, lately

[x] Idem, c. 73. Suet. in Oth. c. 8. Plut. ibid.

lately recalled from exile, he inveſted with ſuch ſacerdotal offices, as had been enjoyed by their fathers or anceſtors. To Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blœſus, and Scævinus Promptimus, ſenators degraded in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, he reſtored their former dignity. By the like benevolence he attempted to gain the affection of whole cities and provinces. He ſupplied the colonies of Hiſpalis and Emerita with a freſh recruit of families, and made the whole people of the Lingones free of Rome. To the province of Bœtica he ſubmitted all the cities of Mauritania; and granted great privileges to the Cappadocians and Africans. But not forgetting, even while his ſovereignty was at ſtake, to honour the memory of his once favoured Poppæa, he procured a decree from the ſenate for replacing her ſeveral ſtatues, which had been thrown down after the death of Nero; nay, he ſuffered the ſtatues of that prince to be reared in public places, and did not betray any diſtaſte, but rather ſatisfaction, upon his being ſaluted by the people in the theatre with the name of Nero Otho. Cluvius Rufus, who wrote the hiſtory of his own times, and ſucceeded Galba in the government of Spain, tells us, that Otho, in his firſt diſpatches to the governors of the provinces, in his grants and letters, ſubſcribed himſelf Nero Otho; but being appriſed, that this gave offence to the nobility, he omited the former name [y].

He ſtudies to gain their affections.

While the minds of all men were intent upon the progreſs and iſſue of the civil war, the Roxolanians a people of Sarmatia, having made an irruption into Mœſia, to the number of nine thouſand men, and cut off two cohorts, were unexpectedly attacked by the third legion, put to flight, and obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in the marſhes, where, through the rigor of the winter, they all periſhed to a man. For this victory, Marcus Aponius, governor of Mœſia, was diſtinguiſhed with a triumphal ſtatue, as were Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titus, and Numiſius Lupus, commanders of the legions there, with the conſular ornaments. Great was Otho's joy on this occaſion; for to himſelf he aſſumed the glory, as if the ſucceſs in war was owing to his auſpices [z].

The Roxolanians defeated.

At Rome, in the mean time, aroſe, from an unforeſeen accident, a ſedition, which well nigh involved the city in

[y] Tacit. c. 77, 78. Suet. c. 7. Plut. in Oth. [z] Tacit. c. 79.

deſtruction. Otho had ordered the ſeventeenth legion to be removed from Oſtia, where it was quartered, to Rome, and committed the care of ſupplying them with arms to Varius Criſpinus, a tribune of the prætorian guards. Criſpinus chuſing, for the execution of his orders, the cloſe of the evening, when the camp was compoſed and the ſoldiers retired to their tents, directed the armoury to be thrown open, and the carriages belonging to the chariots to be loaded. The lateneſs of the hour gave no ſmall jealouſy to the drunken ſoldiery. Some of the moſt turbulent, and moſt intoxicated with wine, began to cry out, That Criſpinus was diſaffected to Otho: that the ſenate was arming againſt the perſon and cauſe of their emperor; and that thoſe arms were to be employed, not for him, as Criſpinus gave out, but againſt him. This report being in a trice ſpread over the whole camp, a general uproar enſued; they all betook themſelves to their arms, and having cut in pieces Criſpinus, while he was endeavouring to repreſs their ſeditious fury, and with him ſuch of the centurions as were remarkable for ſeverity of diſcipline, they inſtantly advanced with their drawn ſwords to Rome, after to the imperial palace. Otho was then entertaining at a great banquet the chief lords and the women of the greateſt diſtinction in the city. As they doubted whether the danger proceeded from the caſual rage of the ſoldiery, or the premeditated treachery of the emperor, they were all ſeized with dread and terror, and not knowing whether they ſhould fly or ſtay, they conſtantly watched the countenance of Otho; who, being alarmed at the danger threatening his gueſts, among whom were eighty ſenators, not only diſpatched forthwith the captains of the guards to ſoften the rage of the ſoldiers, but ordered the company to retire with all ſpeed by private ways; which they did accordingly, rambling in the dark here and there, few to their own home, moſt to the houſes of their meaneſt dependents, where ſearch and purſuit were leaſt apprehended. They were no ſooner gone, than the ſoldiers, breaking down the gates of the palace, forced their way into the banqueting room, and there, with one voice, demanded to have a ſight of Otho, having in their paſſage wounded Julius Martialis and Vitellius Saturninus, two officers, who ſtrove to oppoſe their tumultuous entrance. On every hand arms were brandiſhed, and terrible menaces uttered, not only againſt the tribunes and centurions, but againſt the

A ſedition among the prætorian guards.

Their rage and fury.

the whole body of the ſenate; for as they could aſſign no particular victim to their fury, they claimed a latitude for a general ſlaughter, as if the whole ſenate had conſpired againſt Otho; till the emperor, riſing from his banqueting couch, by ſupplications, entreaties, and even tears, to the diſgrace of the imperial dignity, prevailed upon them, with great difficulty, to deſiſt and return to their camp. The next day, the houſes in the city continued cloſely ſhut up; ſcarce a ſoul was to be ſeen in the ſtreets; and the ſoldiers, with down-caſt looks, ſhewed rather tokens of anger and rage, than remorſe. Their captains therefore, Licinius Proculus and Plotius Primus, harangued them in companies apart, and endeavoured to appeaſe their fury; but to no purpoſe, till they diſtributed among them a large ſum, five thouſand ſeſterces a man. Then, and not before, Otho ventured to enter the camp, where the ſoldiers, returning at length to a ſenſe of their duty, gathered round him, and, with a compoſed behaviour, required of their own motion, that the authors of the inſurrection ſhould be put to death. The emperor, aſcending the tribunal, repreſented to them the enormity of their late conduct, enlarged on the reſpect due to the ſenate, and the neceſſity of maintaining military diſcipline in the camp; but as he was well appriſed, that a ſovereignty, like his, acquired by flagrant iniquity, could never be preſerved by reviving the rigid virtue and diſcipline of the antient Romans, he concluded, that of the late tranſgreſſion but few were guilty, and that of theſe few two only ſhould bear the puniſhment. His ſpeech was favourably received, and two of the ringleaders in the late tumult were immediately executed, no one ſhewing the leaſt concern for them, though capital puniſhment was inflicted upon them in the ſight of their comrades and the whole army. Thus was the ſedition at length entirely quelled; but nevertheleſs the city ſtill continued in the utmoſt conſternation, from the apprehenſion of a civil war, and the dread of being involved in the ſame calamities, which had proved fatal to it in the time of Antony and Auguſtus. They were, on one hand, under neceſſity of obliging Otho, and, on the other, afraid to diſoblige Vitellius, who was ſupported by a ſtrong party, and might in the end get the better of his rival. The ſoldiers, diſperſed all over the city, crept into houſes in diſguiſed habits, as ſpies, watching for matter of miſchief and deſtruction againſt ſuch as were ſignal for their nobility or wealth.

They are appeaſed with a large donative.

The conſternation of the city.

wealth. Some too believed, that certain ſoldiers from the army o Vitellius were arrived at Rome, to ſound the affections of the Roman people. Hence all places were filled with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt; nay, men were not exempt from caution and fear in the moſt ſecret receſſes of their own houſes. But, under the eye of the public, this ſort of dread chiefly prevailed: there people ſtudied with great care to frame their faces agreeable to the quality of the news that was ſaid to be brought, that they might not ſeem to betray any diffidence, when affairs bore an ambiguous aſpect, or be ſlow in rejoicing, when they appeared proſperous. The ſenators chiefly, when aſſembled, were at a loſs how to preſerve in all points a ſafe and unexceptionable conduct. They dreaded the conſequences that might attend their iſſuing decrees againſt Vitellius; and, on the other hand, were afraid, that, by forbearing to iſſue them, they might rouſe the jealouſy of Otho. In this perplexity, without publiſhing any decrees, they contented themſelves with uttering invectives againſt Vitellius, but ſuch as, being common and vulgar, were not remarkable; nay, even theſe the moſt wary took care to utter under the din of a general clamour, and when many were ſpeaking at once [a].

The general alarm heightened by ſeveral prodigies.

THE general terror was greatly heightened by ſeveral prodigies ſaid to have happened at this time. From the hands of the ſtatue of Victory triumphant, ſtanding upon her chariot in the porch of the capitol, the reins dropped, as if ſhe were grown too weak to hold them any longer. Out of Juno's chapel ſuddenly aroſe an apparition of a ſize more than human. The ſtatue of Julius Cæſar, in an iſland in the Tiber, turned quite round from weſt to eaſt, upon a day utterly free from tempeſts. In Hetruria an ox ſpoke. Divers animals were ſaid to have produced unnatural births. But the moſt affecting omen of all was, an haſty and dreadful inundation of the Tiber, whoſe waters, ſwelling to an immenſe height, overthrew the Sublician bridge, and having their courſe obſtructed by the heap of ruins, not only overflowed the adjacent quarters, but covered places, which were reckoned ſecure againſt any ſuch diſaſter. Many were ſwept away in the ſtreets, and many drowned in their ſhops and beds. Amongſt the populace a famine enſued, the corn and other proviſions being in great

[a] Idem, c. 80—85.

great part carried away by the river. As ſoon as the waters retired, Otho performed the ſolemnity of luſtration, and purified the city with ſacrifices. Then weighing carefully with his friends all the methods of conducting the war, he reſolved to ſend a powerful force by ſea to invade Narbonne Gaul, ſince the Apennine mountains, with thoſe of the Cottian Alps, and all the other approaches to Gaul, were beſet and ſhut up by the armies of Vitellius. With this view he reinforced the navy and the marines, with a detachment from the prætorian bands. The direction in chief of the expedition was committed to Antonius Novellus, to Suedius Clemens, both lately centurions of the firſt rank, and to Æmilius Pacenſis a tribune, diſmiſſed by Galba, and now by Otho re-eſtabliſhed. Oſcus, one of the emperor's freed-men, was charged with the care of the ſhips, and employed to inſpect the fidelity and behaviour of the other officers. As for Otho himſelf, he reſolved to march againſt Cæcina and Valens, at the head of the prætorian guards and the other troops, which were then quartered in the neighbourhood of Rome. Under him commanded, as his lieutenants, Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celſus, and Annius Gallus, all men of known valour and experience, and capable of performing great feats, had not Otho placed his chief confidence in Licinius Proculus, captain of the prætorian guards, and ſuffered himſelf to be governed by him, though quite unexperienced in war [b].

Otho propoſes to take the field.

Otho, before he left Rome, ordered Cornelius Dolabella to retire to Aquinum in Campania, where he was kept under confinement for no crime of his, but only as obnoxious on account of the antient luſtre of his name and kindred to Galba. Then the emperor ordered many of the magiſtrates, and a great part of ſuch as had been conſuls, to prepare for the field, with no deſign of allowing them any ſhare or charge in the war, but only under colour of accompanying him. Amongſt theſe was included Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, whom Otho did not diſtinguiſh with any new marks either of his favour or diſpleaſure. Vitellius had likewiſe left at Rome his mother, his wife, and his children; and to theſe Otho, either through fear or from an affected moderation, ſhewed a tender regard, commending them to the protection of his friends. Great was on this

Otho orders the chief ſenators and nobility to follow him to the war.

[b] Idem, c. 87.

on this occaſion the conſternation of the city; the chief ſenators were diſabled by age from bearing the toils of war; the nobles were ſunk in ſloth, and through a long peace had quite forgot the military laws; the Roman knights were unacquainted with the functions and duties of a camp. The more theſe degrees of men ſtrove to conceal their fear, they more apparently they diſcovered it. Some, to diſguiſe their want of courage, purchaſed gay and glaring armour, with fine and ſtately horſes; others provided materials for riot and feaſting, as ſo many implements of war. The giddy and thoughtleſs multitude were puffed up with great hopes. Thoſe who found their fortunes and credit deſperate during peace, rejoiced in the public commotions, promiſing to themſelves in particular moſt ſecurity in the general diſtraction; but they all ſoon felt the heavy evils and preſſures of war, the price of proviſions being doubled, and the populace at once deprived of the uſual bounties of the prince, who with much-ado could find corn and money to ſupply his numerous armies [c].

He takes his leave of the ſenate.

When all Otho's forces were ready to take the field, he aſſembled on the fourteenth of March the ſenate, and to their care recommended the commonwealth. In the next place he ordered the people to meet, and in a long ſpeech to them boaſted, that his intereſt and title were ſupported by the majeſty of the city and the joint conſent of the people and ſenate. Againſt the partizans of Vitellius he ſpoke with great gentleneſs and reſtraint, taxing the German legions rather with ignorance, than with inſolence and rebellion. Of Vitellius himſelf he made no mention; but whether from any moderation of his own, or becauſe the perſon who compoſed his ſpeech, refrained from opprobrious and offenſive words, in due caution for himſelf, is uncertain; for as Otho, in all military deliberations, conſulted Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celſus, ſo in his civil adminiſtration he was believed to employ the talents of Galerius Trachalus. Be that as it will, the emperor's ſpeech was received by the populace with loud ſhouts and many acclamations, each ſtriving to ſurpaſs the other in ſtrains of flattery, not from any affection to Otho, but from a cuſtom tranſmitted from reign to reign of flattering any emperor, whoſoever he were, with empty applauſes and an hollow diſplay

[c] Idem, c. 88, 90.

lay of zeal. Otho, upon leaving Rome, committed to his rother Salvius Titianus the charge of maintaining its tranquillity, and of managing the other affairs of the empire. When he had thus ſettled matters in the city, in the beſt manner he could, he at laſt ſet out, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, of a choſen body of ſuch of the prætorian bands, as ſerved under the ſtandard of veterans, and a vaſt number of marines. He marched himſelf before the enſigns on foot, wearing a breaſt-plate of iron, undreſſed, rough, and utterly unlike his picture drawn by common fame [d].

And leaves Rome.

FORTUNE ſeconded his firſt attempts; for his fleet, having made a deſcent in the province of the maritime Alps, defeated the Ligurians, whom Marius Maturus, who governed that province in quality of procurator, had armed againſt them, plundered Albium Intemelium, now Vintimiglia, and laid waſte the whole country. On this occaſion a woman having concealed her ſon, the ſoldiers ſuſpecting, that with him ſhe had in the ſame place concealed her money, put her upon the rack; but could not with all the torments which rage and cruelty ever deviſed, prevail upon her to diſcover the place where her ſon lay concealed. Tacitus tells us, that pointing to her belly, ſhe replied he lay there, and could not, with all the tortures ſucceſſively tried, nor even with the agonies of death, be brought to return them any other anſwer. In the mean time, news being ſent in great hurry and alarm to Fabius Valens, that Otho's fleet was upon the coaſt of Narbonne Gaul, he ſent thither two cohorts of Tungrians, four troops of horſe, and the whole ſquadron of Treverians, under the command of Julius Claſſicus. To theſe were joined a cohort of Ligurians and five hundred Pannonians. They no ſooner arrived, than they were attacked by Otho's men, who had already landed. The engagement laſted till night, and was renewed the next day, when Vitellius's forces were at length put to flight with great ſlaughter. However, as the victory to Otho's men proved very bloody, they retired to Albingaunum, a municipal city in Liguria, and there continued without making any further attempts upon Narbonne Gaul. At the ſame time, Decimus Pacarius, governor of Corſica, having declared for Vitellius, was ſlain by the inhabitants, who brought his head to Otho [e].

The ſucceſs of his fleet in Narbonne Gaul.

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[d] Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 11. [e] Idem, c. 15——18.

The country between the Po and the Alps ſubmits to Vitellius.

In Italy, the whole country, which extends from the Po to the Alps, was held by the troops of Vitellius; for the ſquadron of horſe, named Syllana, had brought over with them ſeveral cities to his party, as we have related above; and the cohorts, which Cæcina had ſent thither before him, were already arrived. To them therefore ſeveral cities ſubmitted, not from any affection to Vitellius, or that they preferred his cauſe to the cauſe of Otho; but by long peace and eaſe they were quite debaſed, ready for any bondage, and the eaſy acquiſition of the firſt comer. At Cremona Vitellius's men ſurpriſed and took priſoners a cohort of Pannonians; and between Placentia and Ticinum intercepted an hundred horſe and a thouſand marines. Animated with this ſucceſs, they paſſed the Po over-againſt Placentia, and ſurpriſing certain ſcouts, filled the reſt with ſuch dread, that to Placentia they carried tidings, that Cæcina approached with his whole army. Veſtrius Spurinna, who commanded in that city for Otho, and had with him five cohorts of the prætorian guards, a thouſand veterans, and a few horſe, though he was certain that Cæcina was not yet come, determined to confine his own men within the fortifications; but they, headſtrong, unmanageable, and unacquainted with matters of war, ſnatching up the enſigns and ſtandards, ſallied out tumultuouſly, turning againſt their own commander, while he ſtrove to reſtrain them, the points of their weapons, and giving out with fierce clamours, that a plot was intended, and Cæcina treacherouſly called in; ſo that Spurinna was obliged to approve their reſolution, ſince it was not in his power to prevent it. With them therefore he marched out of Placentia, and arriving, when night already approached, within ſight of the Po, repreſented to them the neceſſity of pitching and fortifying their camp againſt any ſudden attack. This toil, which was utterly new to men inured to the gaieties of the city, cooled their courage at once; all over the camp dutiful and ſubmiſſive language was heard; they applauded with one voice the prudent care of their commander, who, for the ſeat of the war, had choſen a colony ſo ſtrong and opulent; and, ſubmitting to orders, ſuffered themſelves to be led back the ſame night to Placentia, where the walls were forthwith ſtrengthened, new bulwarks added, towers raiſed, &c[f]. In the mean time, Cæcina, having paſſed the Alps, entered Italy, and after

[f] Idem, c. 19.

after attempting in vain, by many ſecret conferences and mighty promiſes, to corrupt and debauch Otho's forces, reſolved to lay ſiege to Placentia; and accordingly encamped before the place. The firſt day paſſed in mutual reproaches, Cæcina's men marching up to the walls, and upbraiding Spurinna's upon the ramparts, as players, dancers, idle ſpectators of Pythian and olympic games, men corrupted by the licentious amuſements of the theatre and circus, who triumphed in the murdering of Galba, a naked and diſarmed old man, but were not very forward to face an armed enemy in the field. Theſe reproaches ſo inflamed them, that the next day, when Cæcina ordered a general aſſault, they behaved with incredible bravery, made a dreadful ſlaughter of his men, and obliged them to retreat in the utmoſt confuſion. In this conflict, the amphitheatre of Placentia, which ſtood without the walls, and was the moſt ſtately and capacious building in Italy, was burnt down. This defeat brought great diſgrace upon Vitellius's party; and Cæcina, aſhamed of his diſappointment, immediately repaſſed the Po, and bent his march towards Cremona, which had ſubmitted to Vitellius. Upon his march, Turullius Cerealis revolted to him with a great number of marines, and Julius Briganticus with a few horſe; the latter a Batavian by nation, and commander of a ſquadron of horſe: the other a centurion of the firſt rank, who having ſerved in that character amongſt the forces in Germany, was thence well affected to Cæcina [g]. About the ſame time, Martius Macer, who commanded under Otho, a body of two thouſand gladiators, having embarked them upon the Po, landed unexpectedly on the oppoſite ſhore, where he ſurpriſed and defeated the auxiliary troops which belonged to the forces of Vitellius, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to fly for refuge to Cremona. Macer reſtrained his men from purſuing them, leſt the fugitives, ſtrengthened by freſh ſuccours from the city, might have changed the fortune of the combat. From this reſtraint great diſtruſt aroſe amongſt the ſuſpicious ſoldiers of Otho, the moſt cowardly urging criminal imputations againſt their leaders, and putting a malevolent conſtruction upon all their proceedings. Cæcina, greatly concerned to ſee all his enterprizes abortive, and fearing leaſt Fabius Valens, who

Cæcina beſieges Placentia.

Is forced to raiſe the ſiege.

Vitellius's auxiliaries defeated.

was

[g] Idem, c. 20—23. Plut. in Oth.

was now approaching, ſhould rob him of the whole glo of the war, hurried with more impatience than circun ſpection to retrieve his honour. At a place about twel miles from Cremona, named Caſtores, he ſecretly conve ed the flower of his auxiliaries, into the woods, which la juſt above the great road; the horſe he commanded t march further on, and, after having engaged the enemy to betake themſelves to a voluntary flight, and continu it, till the auxiliaries lying in the woods had an opportu nity of riſing at once out of their ambuſh and falling upo the enemy. But this ſtratagem being betrayed by ſome de ſerters to Otho's generals, Paulinus and Celſus, they craftil drew Cæcina's forces into the ſame ſnare; for Paulinu taking the command of the foot, and Celſus that of the horſe, they placed three cohorts in cloſe ranks in the high-road, and on either ſide of it concealed among the woods the firſt legion, the thirteenth, ſix cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thouſand horſe. The three cohorts in the high-road were immediately attacked by Cæcina's horſe, who after having ſtood their ground a while, turned their backs and fled. But Celſus, who was aware of the artifice, with-held his men from purſuing them; and, in the mean time, the forces, which Cæcina had concealed in the woods, roſe out of their ambuſh. Then Celſus, pretending fear, retired inſenſibly before them, till they found themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides; for on both their flanks they were attacked by the cohorts and the legions, and the horſe, ſuddenly weeeling about, fell upon them in the rear. Tacitus tells us, that Cæcina's whole army had been cut off, if the legions under the command of Paulinus had come up with more expedition; but that general moved too ſlowly, and with more caution than was neceſſary, or indeed conſiſtent with the rules of war. Our hiſtorian charges him with two material overſights on this occaſion: the firſt was, that, inſtead of ſounding the charge and ſupporting his cavalry, by falling briſkly upon Cæcina, he ſpent his time in filling the ditches and clearing the grounds, that he might extend his front, thinking it too early to begin to conquer, till he had provided againſt being conquered. By this delay leiſure was given to the enemy to ſhelter themſelves amongſt the vineyards; whence they renewed the charge, and killed the moſt reſolute and forward of the prætorian horſe. The ſecond was his not taking advantage of the diſorder

Cæcina's forces defeated.

the

the enemy were in, both in the field of battle and in the camp, but cauſing a retreat to be ſounded very unſeaſonably. But Paulinus was, as our hiſtorian informs us, a man by nature wary and ſlow, better pleaſed with deliberate counſels ſupported by reaſon, than with victory reſulting from chance. The ſoldiery complained loudly of his conduct, and prevailed upon Otho to remove him together with Celſus, and to place in their room his brother Titianus and Proculus captain of the prætorian guards. Titianus therefore was ſent for, and to him was committed the rule and direction of the war, though Proculus bore in all deliberations the greater ſway. The two degraded generals were kept in the camp, rather as counſellors than commanders; for Otho entertained a mighty opinion of their experience and abilities in war [h].

Paulinus and Celſus removed.

In the mean time, Fabius Valens arrived with the troops under his command at Ticinum, where, while he was fortifying his camp, news was brought of the late unſucceſsful battle. Hereupon his troops, accuſing him of treachery, as if he had, by feigned delays, detained them from aſſiſting at the engagement, turned away, without waiting for their general's orders, to join Cæcina. Upon the conjunction of the forces of Valens with thoſe of Cæcina, the officers of Vitellius were for coming to a deciſive battle. Otho, on the other hand, advancing to a village between Cremona and Verona, called Bedriacum, had recourſe to a conſultation, whether it were adviſeable to protract the war, or riſk the fortune of a battle. Upon this occaſion Suetonius Paulinus, the moſt experienced commander of his age, declared, that it was his opinion, that haſte and preſent action were advantageous to the enemy; but to Otho procraſtination and delay, ſince the entire army of Vitellius was arrived, and in want of many neceſſaries, which obliged them to offer battle, as the ſpeedieſt way of ſupplying their preſent want. On the contrary, Otho's army was abundantly provided: Italy, the ſenate, and people of Rome were entirely at his devotion, and ready to ſupply him, not only with proviſions, but with treaſure, more prevalent than the ſword in all civil diſſenſions. Moreover, ſeveral provinces had revolted from Vitellius; whereas all the countries which

Paulinus is againſt engaging the enemy.

[h] Tacit. c. 20——24. Plut. ibid.

which had at firſt declared for Otho, continued inviolably attached to him. In his front lay the river Po; his cities were ſecure in the ſtrength of men and walls; and that none of them would yield to the attacks of the enemy, was evident from the brave defence of Placentia. He added, that were the war protracted till the ſummer, the Germans, of all the enemy's forces the moſt formidable, would never endure ſo great a change of country and climate, but inſenſibly moulder away, and utterly vaniſh with all their terrors. He concluded, that as the legions of Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mœſia were upon their march and would arrive in a few days, the emperor might then reſume the preſent deliberation; and if it were judged adviſeable to engage, he might bring into the field a far greater ſtrength. With the counſel of Paulinus Marius Celſus concurred; and Annius Gallus, who was abſent, being ill of the hurt which he had received a few days before from his horſe falling with him, declared to thoſe who were ſent to learn his advice, that he entertained the ſame ſentiments, and would have the emperor by all means to wait, at leaſt till the legions from Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mœſia had joined him. But Otho, Titianus his brother, and Proculus were bent upon engaging. The two latter, hurried by raſhneſs and want of experience, were always averring, that fortune, and the gods and the deity of Otho attended upon his counſels, and would undoubtedly proſper his enterprizes: to ſuch groſs flattery had they betaken themſelves, that no one might dare to thwart their opinion, which in the end prevailed. Many reaſons are alledged by the antients for this ſtrange determination: ſome writers tell us, that the prætorian guards, diſliking the ſtrict diſcipline they were then under, and longing for the diverſions and gaieties of the city, grew refractory, and demanded to be led againſt the enemy, not doubting but they ſhould carry all before them. Others write, that, from an averſion to both princes, the armies had deliberated about dropping their enmity, and agreeing among themſelves to ſet up a proper emperor, or to refer the choice to the ſenate; and that hence Otho's generals had declared for delays and procraſtination; Paulinus particularly, who conſidered himſelf as the moſt antient conſular, as one famous in war, and one who, by his exploits in Britain, had gained a great name. There were, no doubt, in both armies, a few, in whoſe breaſts cordial

Otho reſolves to venture a battle.

cordial wiſhes were entertained for public tranquillity, inſtead of civil diſſenſion, and for a prince worthy and innocent, in the room of two, of all men the worſt, and infamous for every kind of iniquity. But Paulinus, as Tacitus judiciouſly obſerves, was too wiſe a man to imagine, that in an age abandoned to corruption, the common herd, who, from a paſſion for war, had promoted civil diſcords and violated the public peace, would, for the ſake of peace, extinguiſh a fire of their own kindling, and relinquiſh the war; or that two armies ſo different in manners and language, could ever be brought to agree upon a point of ſuch importance. Beſides the generals and leaders in both armies, being deeply involved in debt, preſſed with indigence, and for the moſt part guilty of enormous crimes, would have taken care to make choice of ſuch an emperor, as was moſt like themſelves, and ſhould be obliged to them for his election [i].

When an engagement was reſolved upon, it was debated next in the council, whether the emperor ſhould be preſent in the action, or remove elſewhere. Titianus and Proculus adviſed him to retire to Brixellum, now Berſello, where, ſecure from the uncertain accidents of battles, he ſhould reſerve himſelf, they ſaid, for the direction of the whole and the great ends of ſovereignty. Paulinus and Celſus, that they might not ſeem to adviſe expoſing the perſon of the prince to perils, dared not oppoſe his departure. This advice, which Otho readily embraced, was attended with two bad conſequences; he conſiderably weakened the army, by taking with him a numerous detachment of the beſt troops to guard him; and beſides, the forces remaining loſt all courage, ſince they ſuſpected the fidelity of their leaders. In the mean time, the band of gladiators, who ſerved under Otho, being attacked and defeated by a detachment of Germans, Macer, who commanded the former, was by the whole army required to ſlaughter; nay, they had already wounded him with a lance, and were falling upon him with their drawn ſwords, when, by the ſudden interpoſition of the tribunes and centurions, he was reſcued. However, Otho, being obliged to remove him, ſent Flavius Sabinus, brother to Veſpaſian, to take the charge of the forces that had been under his command,

Otho retires to Brixellum.

[i] Tacit. c. 38.

to the great joy of the ſoldiers, pleaſed with the change of leaders, while the leaders abhorred the charge of a ſoldiery ſo licentious and unruly. After the departure of Otho to Brixellum, the name and honour of the generalſhip remained with his brother Titianus, but the whole authority with Proculus. As for Celſus and Paulinus, they were on no occaſion conſulted, but only bore the empty title of commanders, and thence ſerved as cloaks for the faults and miſtakes of others. The tribunes and centurions were under the greateſt concern, to ſee men of ſuperior worth and capacity thus neglected, while the very worſt men bore ſway. But the common ſoldiers, who ſuſpected their fidelity, were chearful and elated, though rather diſpoſed to canvaſs and interpret, than to obey and execute, the orders of their commanders. The two armies were encamped on the banks of the Po, whence Otho's forces moved their quarters, and retired within four miles of Bedriacum, which is by Tacitus, as we have hinted above, placed between Cremona and Verona, but by Sanſon between Cremona and Mantua, upon the river Oglio, where the preſent city of Caneto ſtands. Their march was ſo unſkilfully conducted, that in it they were extremely diſtreſſed for want of water, though it was then the ſpring of the year, about the thirteenth of April, and there were rivers on all hands. Proculus was for continuing the march the next day, with a deſign to attack the enemy encamped about ſixteen miles off, at the confluence of the Adda and the Po. This reſolution was utterly diſapproved by Celſus and Paulinus, who declared againſt expoſing the army, fatigued with marching, and loaded with baggage, to the enemy, who, being themſelves light and unincumbered, and having moved ſcarce four miles, would never loſe the advantage of attacking them, either as they marched with their ranks broken, or afterwards while they were fortifying their camp. This point was ſtill under debate, when a Numidian, diſpatched by Otho upon a ſwift horſe, arrived with letters to the generals, wherein the emperor, having firſt reproached them in a very bitter ſtrain, with want of ſpirit and reſolution, commanded them peremptorily to engage without loſs of time. Such orders as theſe, ſent by princes who are at a diſtance, prove commonly moſt fatal. Of this we have innumerable inſtances; and the reaſon is very obvious: it is impoſſible for a man, who is not

The whole power devolved upon Proculus.

Otho orders them to engage without delay.

not upon the ſpot, to make a right choice of the ground, the opportunity, and favourable moment for engaging. This is as much as can be expected from the moſt able commanders, who are upon the ſpot. Upon the receipt of the emperor's letters, Celſus and Paulinus dropped all oppoſition, and the army immediately decamped [k].

THE ſame day, two tribunes of the prætorian guards came to Cæcina, as he was intent upon building a bridge croſs the Po, and deſired a conference. He was already ſetting himſelf to receive their overtures, when the ſcouts, in great haſte, appriſed him, that the enemy was at hand. The diſcourſe with the tribunes being thus interrupted, it remained uncertain, whether they intended to betray their own party, to contrive a plot againſt the enemy, or had ſome deſign truly worthy and honeſt. Cæcina, having diſmiſſed the tribunes, immediately quitted his poſt upon the river, and haſtened to the camp, where he found the ſignal of battle already given by Valens, and the ſoldiers under arms. While Valens was drawing up his legions, his cavalry ſallied forth by themſelves, but were by a party of Otho's forces, much inferior in number, repulſed, and forced to fly for ſhelter to their ramparts; whence the Italic legion, with their drawn ſwords, drove them back to the encounter. The legions of Vitellius were ranged in order of battle, without the leaſt conſternation or alarm; for though the enemy approached, they were prevented from ſeeing them by a thick coppice. In the army of Otho, an univerſal confuſion prevailed; the generals diſtruſted the ſoldiery, and the ſoldiery were incenſed againſt their generals. The carriages and retainers to the camp, were mixt and crowded amongſt the ranks; from a deep ditch on each hand, the way was too ſtreight even for an army marching, where no danger from an enemy was to be apprehended. No order was obſerved, ſome thruſting themſelves into the front, ſome retiring to the rear, as each found himſelf prompted by bravery or by fear. Beſides, a groundleſs report was ſpread among the foremoſt ranks of Otho's army, that the forces of Vitellius had revolted from him and would join them. Upon this report, they accoſted the enemy with the ſalutation of friends; but the others returned the compliment with an hoſtile

The battle of Bedriacum.

[k] Idem, c. 39, 40.

hoſtile and threatening murmur, which not only diſheartened them, but gave occaſion to the reſt, who were unapprifed of the cauſe of ſuch greeting, to apprehend that they were betrayed. At the ſame time, the enemy attacked them with great vigor; and Otho's men, though fewer in number and fatigued, ſuſtained the charge with great reſolution and intrepidity. As the place was embaraſſed with trees, hedges, and vineyards, they fought with ſmall regularity, bearing down one upon another, body to body, buckler to buckler, with ſwords and axes, after a dreadful manner, each man exerting his might, as if the event of the whole war depended upon his valour. In the open plain, between the Po and the highway, two legions chanced to encounter; the one-and-twentieth belonging to Vitellius, and named Rapax; and the firſt on Otho's ſide, entitled Adjutrix. The former was famous for feats of valour; the latter till then had never been led into the field, but was fierce, reſolute, and eager of acquiring renown. They engaged with incredible fury, rejecting the uſe of darts, and cloſing reſolutely with ſwords and axes. After a long and bloody conteſt, the ſoldiers of the firſt, having routed the foremoſt ranks of the one-and-twentieth, carried off their eagle; a diſgrace which ſo enraged this legion, that they returned to the charge, ſlew Orphidius Benignus, commander of the firſt, and took ſeveral ſtandards. In another quarter, the thirteenth legion, which fought for Otho, was defeated by the fifth. Alphenus Varius, at the head of his Batavians, having utterly routed the body of Otho's gladiators, attacked his army in flank; which ſtruck the prætorian bands with ſuch dread, that they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, putting in diſorder ſuch of their own men, as ſtill kept their ranks, and faced the enemy. Thus the whole army, no longer able to ſtand their ground, retired in the utmoſt confuſion, bending their courſe towards Bedriacum. As the ways were obſtructed by the bodies of the ſlain, (for above forty thouſand fell on both ſides) the enemy made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives, it being of no advantage to take priſoners, who in civil wars were not converted into ſale, and gain. Suetonius and Proculus took different routs, both ſhunning that to the camp, out of an apprehenſion of the ſoldiery, who had already charged their commanders with the loſs of the battle. Vedius Aquila, commander of the thirteenth legion, having with

Otho's army routed.

more

more courage than diſcretion entered the camp, while it was yet broad day, was charged by the troops that had remained there and by thoſe who were returned from the battle, as a traitor to his cauſe, and abuſed in a moſt outrageous manner; not that he had really committed any crime; but ſuch is the cuſtom of the crowd, for every man to caſt upon others his own guilt and diſgrace. Titianus and Celſus durſt not venture into the camp till night, when the guards were already poſted, and the tumult of the ſoldiery repreſſed. The victorious army of Vitellius purſued the fugitives within five miles of Bedriacum, where they halted, not thinking it ſafe to attempt forcing the enemy's camp the ſame day; and beſides, they entertained hopes of a voluntary ſurrender. Otho's forces ſeemed diſpoſed to make a vigorous defence, boaſting, that they had been overcome by acts of treachery, and by no ſuperior bravery of the enemy. But the officers and Titianus himſelf, in a council which they held the day following, agreed to ſend deputies to Cæcina and Valens to treat of a ſurrender. Their propoſals were accepted, and, upon the return of the deputies, the gates of the camp were thrown open. Then both armies meeting, the conquerors, as well as the conquered, burſt into tears, and, at once pleaſed and grieved, uttered their deteſtations of the ſad lot of civil wars. Aſſembling now without diſtinction in the ſame tents, they dreſſed with great tenderneſs one another's wounds; ſome thoſe of their brothers, ſome thoſe of their friends. There were ſcarce any ſo exempt from affliction, as not to have ſome dead friend to bewail. The bodies of Orphidius and other officers of diſtinction were ſought for and buried with the uſual ſolemnity. In the end, they all ſubmitted to Vitellius, and to him took the oath of allegiance [1].

Thoſe who fled to the camp ſurrender.

Otho, in the mean time, waited at Brixellum for an account of the battle. The firſt rumours were melancholy, but uncertain, till the fugitives brought a certain account of the utter defeat. The firſt who arrived with the diſmal tidings was a common ſoldier, who being taxed with falſhood and cowardice by ſome perſons about the emperor, to convince them of the truth of his account, and to ſhew that he had not fled for want of courage, fell upon his ſword at Otho's feet; who, admiring his reſo-

[1] Tacit. c. 41, 45. Plut. ibid.

refolution and fidelity, cried out, "No more ſuch worthy and gallant men ſhall on my ſcore be brought into danger." This Suetonius the hiſtorian tells us he learnt of his father Suetonius Lenis, who, in the battle of Bedriacum, commanded in quality of tribune the thirtenth legion, which fought for Otho [m]. The battle was no-ways deciſive; for Otho had ſtill with him many brave troops inviolably attached to his cauſe and intereſt; his forces beyond the Po ſtill remained entire; there were numerous garriſons in Bedriacum and Placentia; and the legions from Mœſia, Dalmatia, and Pannonia were advancing; nay, the Aſiatic, Syrian, and Egyptian legions were already near the Adriatic. But nevertheleſs, he was no ſooner informed of the defeat of his army, than he manifeſtly betrayed a fixed purpoſe of ſacrificing his life to the public tranquillity. The ſoldiers appriſed of his deſign, did all that lay in their power to ſupport him under his concern. They preſſed him to take courage, ſince there ſtill remained freſh forces, declaring, without flattery or deceit, that they were ready for his ſake to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers and ſuffer all extremities. Thoſe who ſtood at a diſtance ſignified their zeal and ardour by ſtretching out their hands; ſuch as were neareſt fell at his knees, kiſſed his hand, and with many tears entreated him to ſtand by them, and to accept of that duty and fidelity which could never expire, but with their laſt breath. But above all, the intrepidity and fidelity of an obſcure and private ſoldier diſplayed itſelf on this occaſion; for finding the emperor ſtood altogether unſhaken and fixt in his purpoſe, he drew his ſword; and addreſſing himſelf to Otho; "From this, Cæſar, ſaid he, judge of our fidelity; for there is not a man amongſt us, but would ſtrike thus to ſerve you!" Having thus ſpoken, he turned his ſword againſt himſelf, and fell at the emperor's feet. Plautius Firmus, captain of his guards, by repeated inſtances, beſought him not to abandon an army ſo faithful and zealous; ſoldiers ſo ſingularly affectionate and loyal. In bearing calamities, ſaid he, more greatneſs of ſpirit is ſhewn, than in flying from them. To ſupport themſelves with hope, even in ſpite of fortune, was ever the part of the magnanimous and brave, as it was that of the timorous and ſpiritleſs, to be drawn headlong by cowardice into utter deſpair. As during theſe expreſſions

Otho betrays a deſign to lay violent hands on himſelf. The zeal of his ſoldiers on this occaſion.

[m] Suet. in Oth. c. 10.

preſſions Otho happened to look chearful or penſive, there followed ſhouts of joy or diſmal groans. Nor was this zeal confined to the prætorian guards, who were inviolably attached to the perſon of Otho; but thoſe who had been ſent before the reſt out of Mœſia, and were now arrived, declared, that in the approaching army the ſame ſteadineſs prevailed, and that the legions had already reached Aquileia. Hence it is evident, that the war might have been renewed, and that its iſſue, notwithſtanding the late overthrow, was altogether uncertain. But neither by perſuaſions and entreaties, nor by all the apparent probability of ſucceſs, could Otho be prevailed upon to continue the war, or be diverted from the reſolution he had taken; a reſolution which no one expected from a perſon of his ſoft and effeminate temper. Having commanded ſilence, he ſpoke to them after this manner: this day, my fellow-ſoldiers, which gives me ſuch ſenſible proofs of your affection and loyalty, is far preferable to that on which you ſaluted me emperor. I therefore beſeech you not to deny me the ſatisfaction of laying down my life for the preſervation of ſo many brave men. To expoſe wantonly to freſh perils ſuch virtue and fortitude, is a price, which I judge too high for the redeeming of my own life. I am well appriſed, that the enemy has neither gained an entire nor a deciſive victory: I have advice, that the Mœſian army is not far off; that the legions from Aſia, Syria, and Egypt are near the Adriatic; that the forces in Judæa have declared for us; the ſenate favours our cauſe; we have in our power the wives and children of our enemies, &c. But alas! it is not with Pyrrhus, with Hannibal, with the Cimbrians, we fight; but it is eagle againſt eagle, and Rome againſt Rome. Italy muſt bleed, whether I vanquiſh or am vanquiſhed; and even he who triumphs will have occaſion to mourn. Shall I ever bear, that ſuch a number of Roman youth, that ſo many noble armies be cut off, and raviſhed for ever from the common-wealth? With me let me carry this ſatisfaction, that for my cauſe you were all ready to die; but be content to ſurvive me. Vitellius began the civil war, and thence ſprung the ſource of our ſtruggling for the empire by arms. To me will be owing the example of ſtruggling for it no more than once. By this rule let poſterity judge of Otho. Vitellius ſhall again poſſeſs in ſafety his brother, his children, and his wife. Others have held the ſovereignty longer; in a manner more glo-

His fine ſpeech before he dies.

rious

rious none ever yet relinquished it. Assure yourselves, it is my free choice to die rather than to reign, since I cannot so much advance the Roman state by wars and bloodshed, as by sacrificing myself to the public peace and tranquillity. Nothing but my death can seal a lasting peace, and secure Italy against such another unhappy day. But let us no longer retard one another: let not me delay your care of your own preservation, nor you me in the pursuit of a design never to be shaken or changed. To multiply words about the subject of dying, is the part of a dastardly spirit. How much I am undaunted in this my purpose, I desire you to take this signal proof, that I complain of no man; since to be blaming the gods or men, upon the approach of death, implies a mean and indirect desire of living [n].

After this discourse, he desired those who attended him to leave him, and submit without delay to Vitellius. The young men he pressed with authority, the old by entreaties, addressing himself to all with great courtesy, in a language suitable to their years or dignity. At the same time he rebuked, as ill-judged and unreasonable, the tears and lamentations of his friends, with a countenance calm and composed, and a speech flowing and assured. To such as were about to depart, he ordered boats and carriages to be given. To those who were absent, he sent passports, forbidding any one to stop them in their journey. All such memorials and letters, as were signal for expressions of zeal towards him, or for invectives against Vitellius, he committed to the flames. What money and jewels he had, he distributed amongst his friends. His brother's son, Salvius Cocceianus, one just in the bloom of his youth, who was bewailing him with a flood of tears, he endeavoured to comfort with tender expressions, bidding him be in no apprehension of Vitellius, who, he said, could not, for his whole family preserved in safety, refuse a return of mercy in this single instance. The clemency of the conqueror, continued he, I have purchased by thus hastening to die, since pressed by no desperate distress, but at a juncture when so many brave men were demanding to be lead to battle, I have, for the sake of the commonwealth, forborne making a last effort. To myself I have acquired sufficient fame; to my posterity sufficient lustre. Into an house newly raised, I have translated the sovereignty, after the same

His calm behaviour.

[n] Tacit. c. 46, 47. Plut. ibid. Dio, l. lxiv. p. 732, 733. Suet. c. 9.

fame had been veſted in ſo illuſtrious families, namely, the Julian, the Claudian, and the Sergian: but that Cæſar has been your uncle, you muſt neither forget, nor too zealouſly remember. After this, he cauſed all thoſe who were about him to retire; and withdrawing into a private room, he wrote conſolatory letters to his ſiſter, and to Meſſalina, who had been formerly married to Nero, and whom he himſelf had deſigned to marry, recommending to her his memory and aſhes. While he was thus exerciſing his thoughts about his laſt moments, a ſudden tumult interrupted him; for notice was brought him of an uproar among the ſoldiers, who threatened with preſent death all who were about to depart, as traitors and deſerters. Againſt Verginius chiefly they were enraged, and had already beſieged his houſe, which for his ſecurity he had ſhut up. Hereupon Otho, appearing again, reprimanded the authors of the inſurrection, gave audience to ſuch as were departing, and continued thus employed till they were all gone in perfect ſafety. He then withdrew again to his chamber, which he left open till the night was far ſpent, allowing free entrance to all who were deſirous to ſee him. After this, having quenched his thirſt with a draught of cold water, he called for two daggers; and having carefully examined the points of both, he placed the ſharpeſt under his pillow. He next reſolved to be fully aſſured that his friends were all gone; which he no ſooner underſtood than he lay down, paſſing the night in perfect repoſe, and, as is affirmed, not without ſleep. At break of day he took the dagger, and gave himſelf a mortal ſtab on the left ſide of the breaſt. Upon hearing him groan, his freedmen entered and his ſlaves, with Plotius Firmus, captain of his guards, and found no more than one wound. His death was no ſooner divulged, than the whole place reſounded with the mournful cries of the ſoldiers, accuſing themſelves, with the deepeſt concern, for not watching him more carefully, and ſtriving to ſave a life which was laid down to preſerve theirs. His funeral was diſpatched with great expedition, (for ſuch had been his own deſire) to prevent his head being cut off and expoſed to public deriſion. The prætorian cohorts bore his corſe, magnificently attired, often kiſſing his wound, and his hand, and even paying him divine honours. At his funeral pile ſome of the ſoldiers ſlew themſelves; and others who were at Bedriacum,

His death.

Is lamented by the ſoldiery.

His obſequies.

cum, Placentia, and in other quarters, underſtanding the manner of his death, were ſo deeply and ſenſibly affected, that they ſlew one another, not caring to outlive a prince, whom they ſo tenderly loved. To him they raiſed a tomb of a mean ſtructure, and thence like to remain, with this epitaph only, To the Memory of Marcus Otho; which they thought the beſt ſecurity againſt any inſults from the conqueror[o]. Such was the end of Otho, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, after having reigned, according to ſome three months, according to others three months and five days. He derived his original from the municipal city of Tarentinum in Hetruria. His father had ſuſtained the dignity of conſul; his grandfather that of prætor. His mother's line was not of equal luſtre; but far from ſordid. He ſpent his tender years in idleneſs, in ſcandalous debaucheries his youth, and grew acceptable to Nero, purely by imitating his profligate life. To him therefore, as to the chief confident of his impure pleaſures, Nero committed the care of his beloved miſtreſs Poppæa Sabina, till he could accompliſh the removal of Octavia his wife; but ſoon ſuſpecting him for a rival, he ſent him into Luſitania; where the adminiſtration of that province furniſhed a pretence for keeping him from Rome. In Luſitania he governed with gentleneſs and popularity, was the foremoſt to eſpouſe the cauſe of Galba, and promoted it with vigour. Thence he conceived hopes of being by him adopted and declared his ſucceſſor; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and ſeeing nothing but deſpair in the quiet and eſtabliſhment of the ſtate, (for he lived in a courſe of riot and expence, which even to the fortune of a ſovereign would have proved burthenſome) he revolted from Galba, and ſeized the empire in the manner we have related. His death was much applauded, as his life was cenſured; for though he had lived like Nero, yet he left this character behind him, that no one ever died more gloriouſly[p]: and indeed nothing can be more glorious in a man, than to ſacrifice his life for the good of his country.

His character.

After the death of Otho, the ſoldiers began anew to mutiny; nor was there any one to reſtrain them. They applied to Verginius, preſſing him with many entreaties and menaces, to accept the ſovereignty, or at leaſt to go as their

[o] Tacit. c. 49. Suet. c. 11. Plut. ibid. [p] Tacit. c. 50. Suet. Plut. ibid.

their embaſſador to Cæcina and Valens. Already they were breaking into his houſe, when he, by a back way, ſtole out and eſcaped them. But Rubrius Gallus, a perſon of great note, immediately undertook the embaſſy to Vitellius's commanders, and obtained pardon for all the troops that lay at Brixellum; and at the ſame time Flavius Sabinus prevailed upon the forces under his command to go over to the conqueror; ſo that war had now every-where ceaſed, and peace was at once re-eſtabliſhed. Many ſenators had accompanied Otho from Rome, and had been afterwards by him left with a ſmall body of troops at Mutina. The ſenators found themſelves expoſed there to great danger; for news being brought thither of the defeat, the ſoldiers ſlighted it as a report void of truth; and ſuſpecting the ſenate to be diſaffected to Otho, they watched the words of particulars, and wreſted even their countenances and behaviour to a malignant ſenſe. At laſt they proceeded to inſult them with invectives, and ſeemed only to want a pretence of putting them all to the ſword. On the other hand, they were afraid of being deemed diſſaffected to Vitellius, whoſe brother was among them, if they ſeemed ſlow and cool in their rejoicings for the victory. They reſolved therefore to return as far as Bononia, and wait there for other advices more certain and copious. They poſted men upon the ſeveral roads leading to the city, purpoſely to examine ſuch as paſſed. By theſe one of Otho's freed-men being queſtioned, why he had left his lord? anſwered, That he had about him his lord's laſt will and commands; that he had left him indeed alive, but fixed in his purpoſe of dying, and of ſacrificing his life to the public tranquility. Hereupon they immediately declared for Vitellius, whoſe brother now preſented himſelf to be flattered, as did all the ſenators to flatter him; when on a ſudden one Cœnus, a freed-man of Nero's, arriving, affirmed, that by the arrival of the fourteenth legion, in conjunction with the forces from Brixellum, the army which had lately conquered, was entirely routed, and the fortune of the other party retrieved and changed. What prompted him to ſuch forgery was, that Otho's warrants for poſt-horſes, which were now neglected, might by ſuch tidings be reſtored to force: and truly Cœnus was by this means with great ſpeed carried to Rome; but there, a few days after, put to death by Vitellius's orders. The fiction, however, was believed by the ſoldiers, who began anew to threaten the ſenators for having

Otho's troops ſubmit to Vitellius.

having departed from Mutina, and declared for Vitellius; inſomuch, that they were obliged to conceal themſelves, not daring for fear of the incenſed ſoldiery, to appear abroad, till letters from Fabius Valens, aſſuring them of Otho's death, removed their fright [q].

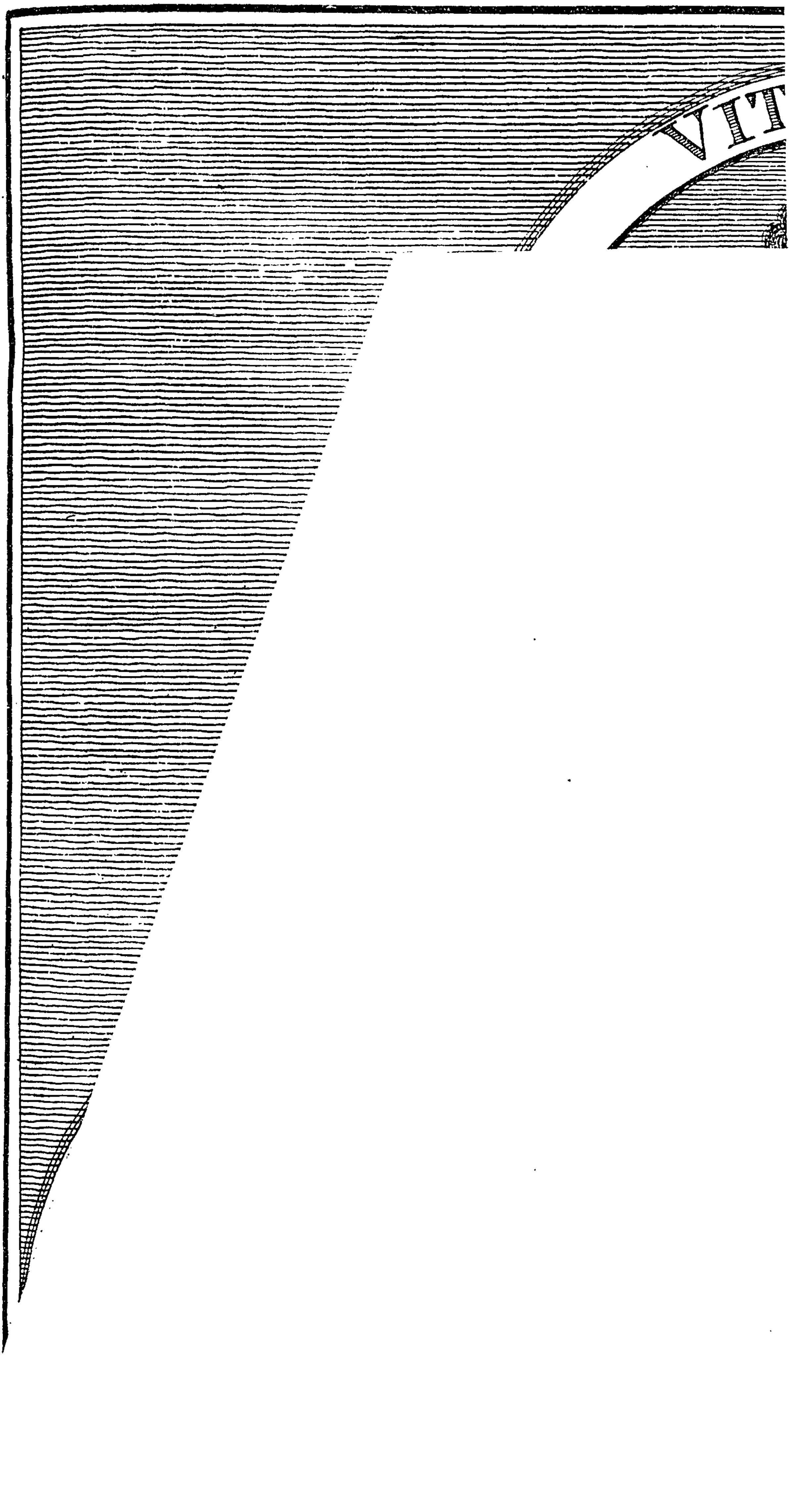
Rome was, in the mean time, free from all terror and alarm; the interludes ſacred to Ceres, which yearly began on the twelfth, and ended on the nineteenth, of April, were celebrating, when news was brought into the theatre, that Otho had by a voluntary death, put an end to his life. Hereupon, the ſpectators with loud ſhouts applauded the name of the new emperor, uttering againſt Otho the ſame invectives which a little before they had uttered againſt Vitellius. The troops in the city immediately ſwore allegiance to Vitellius. The people carried the images of Galba round the temples, crowned with laurels and adorned with flowers, and piled up heaps of coronets, after the manner of a ſepulchre, cloſe by the lake of Curtius, where Galba had been ſlain. In the ſenate the many honours given to former princes at intervals, and during a long courſe of reigning, were at once decreed to Vitellius. On the German armies high commendations were beſtowed, and an embaſſy ſent to return them public thanks, and congratulate them upon their late victory. The letters addreſſed by Fabius Valens to the conſuls Verginius Rufus and Poppæus Vopiſcus, of whom the firſt was abſent, were publicly read, and found to be conceived in terms no-ways arrogant; but more applauded was the modeſty of Cæcina, who had not ſent any, it being deemed aſſuming in any but the emperor to write to the ſenate and magiſtrates [r]. In the mean time, Italy was afflicted with greater calamities than ſhe had ſuffered during the war. The ſoldiers of Vitellius, diſtributed amongſt the cities and municipal towns, committed moſt dreadful devaſtations, without ſparing even the temple. Some, in the diſguiſe of ſoldiers, killed their particular enemies; and the ſoldiers themſelves, as they were well acquainted with the country, marking out the richeſt inhabitants, plundered their houſes and farms, putting all to fire and ſword without mercy, if any reſiſtance was offered. Their generals durſt not reſtrain them, being themſelves equally guilty

Honours heaped upon Vitellius by the ſenate.

Italy miſerably afflicted.

[q] Tacit. c. 53, 54. [r] Idem, c. 55.

over against Page 614. Vol. V.



VITELLIUS.



VESPASIAN.



TITUS.



DOMITIAN.



Phillips Simmons Sculpt

guilty and awed by their men. Of the two Cæcina was leſs addicted to avarice, but courted the favour of the ſoldiery. Valens was himſelf infamous for pillage and rapine, and thence blind to the exceſſes of others. Thus, by ſo mighty a force of foot and horſe, by ſuch acts of violence, ſo many depredations and inſults, was Italy quite exhauſted, and many of the moſt wealthy inhabitants reduced to beggary [s].

Vitellius receives intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum.

VITELLIUS, in the mean time, not yet appriſed of the ſucceſs of his own arms, having left Hordeonius Flaccus with a ſufficient force to guard the banks of the Rhine, was marching towards Italy with the reſidue of the German army, reinforced with eight thouſand men drawn from Britain, and freſh levies haſtily made amongſt the Gauls. After a few days march, he received the agreeable news of the victory at Bedriacum and the death of Otho. Hereupon, tranſported with joy, he aſſembled his men, and from the tribunal acquainted them with the intelligence he had received, beſtowing mighty praiſes upon the bravery of his victorious troops. The army, not yielding in the baſe arts of flattery to the ſenate, made him at this juncture a general requeſt, that he would raiſe his favourite freed-man Aſiaticus to the equeſtrian dignity. The emperor, with ſeeming indignation, rejected their demand; but what in the face of the public he had refuſed, he ſoon after privately conferred at a banquet, honouring Aſiaticus, a moſt infamous and rapacious ſlave, with the gold ring, the badge of knighthood. This proceeding was not a little reſented by the ſoldiery. As he was marching through Gaul, other meſſengers came with tidings, that to his party had acceded both the Mauritanias, viz. the Tingitana and Cæſarienſis; Lucius Albinus, who, in quality of procurator, governed there and had declared for Otho, being killed by the Moors, upon a report, that Albinus, ſcorning the title of procurator, intended to uſurp the enſigns of majeſty and the royal name of Juba. With him were ſlain Aſinius Pollio, who commanded a body of horſe, Feſtus and Scipio, both captains of cohorts, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. Into theſe tranſactions Vitellius made no enquiry, nor took any notice of the murder of ſo many great men, an haſty hearing being all he afforded to any affair, however important. His army he com-

Both the Mauritanias declare for him.

manded

[s] Idem, c. 56.

He purſues his march to Italy.

manded to purſue their march by land; he himſelf ſailed down the Saône, without the luſtre and appointment of an emperor, till Junius Blæſus, governor of Lioneſe Gaul, a man of great generoſity and proportionable wealth, furniſhed him with a princely train, and accompanied him with great ſtate and magnificence. But this very behaviour provoked Vitellius againſt him, tho' he then diſguiſed his averſion under many courteous expreſſions. At Lions he was met by the generals of both parties, the conquerors and the conquered. Valens and Cæcina he commended in public, and placed them on each ſide his chair of ſtate. Soon after he ordered the whole army to march out and meet his ſon, yet an infant, who was brought covered with an imperial coat of armour. His father, taking him thus dreſſed in his arms, beſtowed upon him the ſurname of Germanicus, and all the marks of ſovereignty. He freely forgave Salvius Titianus, Otho's brother, the inſtinct and tenderneſs of nature, which had prompted him to eſpouſe his brother's cauſe, and his own want of abilities pleading for him.

How he treated the generals of Otho.

Of Marius Celſus we are only told, that Vitellius reſerved for him the conſulſhip, to which he had been formerly deſigned, and which he was to diſcharge in the month of July. He long poſtponed admitting Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus, keeping them in ſuſpenſe like criminals. At length he heard them, when they both made a defence rather neceſſary than honourable; nay, altogether unworthy of a man of Paulinus's character; for upon themſelves they freely took the ſhame of treaſon, aſcribing to a fraud concerted between them the long march before the battle, the great fatigue of Otho's ſoldiers, the intermixing the carriages among the troops, when drawn up in battle-array, &c. Vitellius gave credit to the confeſſion of their treachery, and forgave them the crime of fidelity, with which they were charged. Galerius Trachalus, who compoſed Otho's ſpeech, was ſaved by Galeria, the wife of Vitellius. But all the centurions, who had ſignalized their faith and bravery in the cauſe of Otho, were by the new emperor's orders put to the ſword; which eſtranged from him the minds of the ſoldiery, eſpecially of the Illyrian legions. However, he ſuffered the laſt wills of ſuch as died fighting for Otho to continue in force, and the law in behalf of thoſe who died inteſtate.

Sends ſeveral edicts to Rome.

Before him he ſent an edict to Rome, to ſignify, that he deferred receiving the name of Auguſtus, and

and would not at all accept that of Cæſar. By another, he ordered the aſtrologers to depart Italy by the calends of October; which was no ſooner publiſhed, than a libel was hung up in the ſame ſtyle, ordering, in the name of the aſtrologers, Vitellius Germanicus to quit the world by the ſame day; which ſo incenſed him againſt all thoſe of that profeſſion, that no ſooner was any of them detected, than he cauſed them, without further enquiry, to be forthwith executed. By a third edict he enjoined, under a heavy penalty, that thenceforth no Roman knight ſhould debaſe himſelf to fight among the gladiators, or with the wild beaſts; a practice which had been greatly encouraged by former emperors. Before Vitellius left Lions, he diſpatched orders to Rome, for the execution of Dolabella, who had been confined by Otho, as we have related above, to the city of Aquinum, and, upon tidings of the death of that prince, was returned to Rome. The crimes alledged againſt him were, that he had broke out of priſon, and, preſenting himſelf as a new leader to the vanquiſhed party, had attempted to corrupt the cohort quartered at Oſtia. Theſe crimes were urged againſt him before Flavius Sabinus, governor of the city, by Plautius Varus, a man of prætorian dignity and one of Dolabella's intimate friends. The charge of treaſon could not be proved; but nevertheleſs Vitellius, who dreaded a man of his birth and abilities, and likewiſe hated him on account of his having married Petronia, his divorced wife, reſolved by all means to get rid of one, whom he looked upon as a competitor. Having therefore ſent for him from Rome, and directed him in the letter he wrote to him, not to take the Flaminian road, but to come round by Interamna, now Terni, he placed aſſaſſins there, with orders privately to diſpatch him; but they, without waiting till he arrived at the place appointed, cut his throat in an inn upon the way, while he was not under the leaſt apprehenſion of danger [t]. This inſtance of cruelty raiſed great murmurs both among the people and nobility, and upon the new reign derived univerſal hatred and abhorrence.

Dolabella falſly accuſed.

And maſſacred by Vitellius's order.

From Lions Vitellius removed to Vienne, where he publicly adminiſtered juſtice, and thence continued his rout to Italy. As he was a man of a moſt voracious appetite, which

Vitellius's gluttony.

[t] Idem, c. 63.——65.

which Tacitus ſtyles quite beaſtly and boundleſs, and greatly addicted to banquetting, from Rome and Italy were brought him dainties of all ſorts, and every incentive to gluttony, the roads from both ſeas being continually filled with carriers loaded with viands for the emperor's table. The chief men of the municipal cities through which he paſſed, were quite beggared by their magnificent feaſts, that being the only means of making court to the new prince. The ſoldiers, following the example of their leader, rioted in all manner of exceſſes, plundering and laying waſte, without controul, the cities, villages, and farms contiguous to the road. The emperor was overtaken on his rout, by Marcus Cluvius Rufus, governor of Spain, who came to clear himſelf of the crimes with which he was charged by Hilarius, the emperor's freed-man, who urged, that, upon advice of the conteſt between Otho and Vitellius, Cluvius had attempted to eſtabliſh an independent principality, and to appropriate to himſelf both the provinces of Spain. But, the charge appearing groundleſs, Vitellius ordered his freed-man to be puniſhed, and took Cluvius into the number of his chief favourites, commanding him to attend him, without depriving him of the government of Spain, which he ſtill adminiſtered, though abſent. The like honour was not ſhewn to Trebellius Maximus, who had fled out of Britain, frightened by the menaces of the ſoldiers there. In his room he ſent Vetius Bolanus, then attending at court. Vitellius arriving in Italy, found the country filled with troops, thoſe of his own army and the army of Otho, diſperſed amongſt the villages and municipal towns, and mixed together; which occaſioned continual quarrels, and innumerable diſorders: for the vanquiſhed legions continued ſtill in their former diſaffection, and breathed nothing but war. The emperor therefore reſolved to ſeparate them, and deliver Italy from ſo heavy a burden. The fourteenth legion was accordingly remanded back to Britain, from whence they had been by Nero called over. With them were ſent the Batavian cohorts, who had fought for Vitellius; whereas the legion had eſpouſed the cauſe of Otho; and hence a ſource of perpetual quarrels. At Turin eſpecially a tragical battle had enſued, while a Batavian inſulted an artificer, as having defrauded him, and a ſoldier of the legion protected the artificer, as his hoſt, had not two prætorian cohorts quartered there, by eſpouſing the party of the legionaries, intimid-

He receives Cluvius Rufus into favour.

He ſeparates the diſaffected forces.

intimidated the Batavians as the weaker. The emperor, when informed of their disagreement, ordered the Batavians, as men in whom he could confide, to be incorporated with his own army, and the legion to be led forthwith over the Alps, bending their rout so as to avoid Vienne; which city was thought to be disaffected to Vitellius. But, notwithstanding this order, they no sooner descended from the Alps, than they turned their ensigns to Vienne, and were marching thither, till such as were prone to mutiny were by the better-disposed prevailed upon to march back, in compliance with the emperor's orders, and pursue their rout to the coast of the ocean, whence they were transported in a body to Britain. In the next place, the prætorian cohorts were first separated, and then discharged; but sweetened with the rewards which were bestowed upon such as had fully served their term of warfare. The first legion of marines was sent into Spain, to be there tamed with tranquillity and repose. The seventh and eleventh were sent back to their old quarters in Dalmatia and Pannonia. The thirteenth was kept in Italy, and there employed in erecting two amphitheatres, since Cæcina and Valens were preparing each a public combat of gladiators, the former at Cremona, the other at Bononia. Thus Vitellius parted and dispersed, without the least noise or disturbance, the disaffected troops which had served under Otho; but had not authority enough to restrain the licentiousness of his own army. As the officers, and even the common soldiers, usually adopt the manners of their emperors, about Vitellius was seen only universal disorder, universal drunkenness, and all things rather resembling nocturnal revellings and the debauchees of Bacchanals, than a Roman army and military discipline. In this situation a tumult arose, which derived its beginning from matter of pastime, but was not quelled without much bloodshed. Two soldiers, one of the fifth legion, the other from amongst the auxiliary Gauls, having, while they sported together, provoked each other to wrestle, the legionary was thrown down, and the Gaul triumphed over him with great scorn. This immediately divided those, who had assembled only as beholders, into two parties; insomuch, that the soldiers of the legions, falling with fury upon the auxiliaries, put two cohorts to the sword. But this tumult was in the end composed by another; for dust and the lustre of arms being discerned at a

Frequent disturbances amongst the troops of Vitellius.

distance, a general cry ran in an instant through the whole army, that the fourteenth legion had returned, and was approaching with hostile minds; for they were known to be disaffected to Vitellius. Hereupon they all joined to oppose the common enemy. But their fear was soon allayed; for it proved the rear of their own army. However, as they chanced, in the mean time, to meet a slave belonging to Verginius, they charged him as one employed to assassinate Vitellius; and, rushing into the banqueting room, insisted, that Verginius should be put to death. Tho' Vitellius entertained not the least doubt about the innocence of Verginius, yet it was with the utmost difficulty that he prevailed upon the enraged soldiery, to forbear shedding the blood of one, who had borne the supreme dignity of consul, and been once their own general [u].

The next day, Vitellius gave audience to the embassadors from the senate, whom he had ordered to wait for him at Ticinum, now Pavia; then he entered the camp of the victorious army, where he was received with loud shouts and joyful acclamations. After he had commended the zeal and bravery of the conquering legions, and promised them their usual rewards, he sent back to their own country the eighteen Batavian cohorts, which had attended him in his journey, having found by experience, that they were altogether ungovernable and too prone to mutiny. He likewise dismissed to their several territories all the auxiliary Gauls, who had been levied in the beginning of the war. At the same time, that the revenues of the empire, already exhausted, might be able to supply his wild extravagancies, he ordered the number of men in the legions and auxiliaries to be retrenched, put a stop to further levies, and granted discharges to all who required them; which, to those who continued in the service, proved matter of great disgust, since upon them, now reduced to a few, rested all the military duties before shared amongst many. From Ticinum the emperor bent his rout to Cremona, where he beheld the public sports, exhibited with extraordinary magnificence by Caecina. While he was there, he conceived a desire of viewing the field of battle at Bedriacum, and surveying the scene of the recent victory. As the battle had been fought not quite forty days before, the field was still covered with bodies all rent and deformed, with torn and mangled limbs, car-

He disbands several troops

He surveys the field of battle.

[u] Idem, c. 65—69.

cases

caſſes of men and horſes putrified, and the ground dyed with corruption and gore; all the trees felled, the corn trod down, and the whole a ſhocking ſcene of cruelty, ſlaughter, and deſtruction. The emperor, however, perſiſted in his reſolution, and with a great retinue ſet out for Bedriacum; the people of Cremona ſtrewing the road with flowers and laurel, rearing altars, and ſacrificing victims, even where the ghaſtly remains of their ſlaughtered countrymen were ſtill to be ſeen. Cæcina and Valens accompanied him, and pointed out the ſeveral quarters of the combat. Here the legions begun the onſet; here the horſe in a body ruſhed upon the enemy's ſquadrons; from thence the auxiliaries fell upon the rear; in this place the one-and-twentieth legion engaged and routed the firſt; in that the thirteenth was put to flight by the fifth, &c. The tribunes and commanders of the ſeveral legions recounted and heightened, by boaſts and invention, their own feats of bravery. The common ſoldiers too, turning aſide from the road to review the field, from ſpace to ſpace, called to mind the ſeveral conflicts paſſed, ſome with ſhouts of joy, but many not without concern, and even tears, in beholding the bodies of the ſlain, mingled in heaps with the carcaſſes of horſes and other beaſts of burden. As for Vitellius, he turned not once his eyes from a ſpectacle ſo tragical, nor ſhewed he the leaſt horror at the ſight of ſo many thouſand Roman citizens ſlain and unburied; nay, he even teſtifyed joy, and offered a pompous ſacrifice to the tutelar gods of the place [w]. Suetonius writes, that ſome of his train being offended with the ſtench of the half-putrified bodies, the emperor was ſo imprudent as to tell them, "A dead enemy ſmells well, but a dead citizen better;" evidently betraying, by that impious ſaying, his natural bent to cruelty and bloodſhed. The ſame writer adds, that afterwards calling for a large quantity of wine, he firſt drank plentifully himſelf, and then cauſed the reſt to be diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers [x]. From Bedriacum, Vitellius purſued his rout to Bononia; and the nearer he advanced to that place, his march proved the more looſe and debauched. Amongſt his military bands were blended bands of the comedians and herds of eunuchs, agreeable to the genius of the court in Nero's reign: for of him Vitellius always ſpoke with admiration and praiſe. At Bononia he aſſiſted at the combat of gladiators exhibited by Valens, which was extremely

A ſingular inſtance of the cruelty of Vitellius.

[w] Idem, c. 70, 71.

[x] Suet. ibid. c. 9.

pompous and magnificent, all the decorations of the entertainment having been brought from Rome. Before he ſet out from thence, that he might to Valens and Cæcina procure ſome vacant months for exerciſing the conſulſhip, he abridged the term appointed for others, and Valerius Marinus, deſigned conſul by Galba, he poſtponed to a farther time, for no offence given, but becauſe Valerius was a man apt to acquieſce under any injury. As he was on his march from Bononia, he received letters from his friends in Syria and Judæa, informing him, that the provinces in the eaſt had taken the oath of fidelity to him. As he dreaded Veſpaſian and upon the very mention of his name was frequently obſerved to ſtart, he no ſooner received theſe tidings, than both he and his army, having now no rival power to fear, abandoned themſelves to all the exceſſes of cruelty, luſt, and rapine. In all the great towns through which he paſſed, every pleaſure, and every diverſion, proved a bait to ſtop him. He entered the cities in a kind of triumph, and ſtirred not upon the rivers but in his painted galleys, curiouſly adorned with garlands of flowers, and plentifully ſtored with the moſt exquiſite delicacies and incentives to gluttony. He was accompanied by threeſcore thouſand armed men, a greater number of retainers to the camp, and an immenſe multitude of buffoons, mimics, players, ſingers, charioteers, &c. for in ſuch diſgraceful familiarities he took great pleaſure. Among theſe there was no order or diſcipline; nay, their rapines and daily diſorders, however inſupportable, proved to the emperor matter of ſport and diverſion. Hence, not ſatisfied with free quarters where-ever they came, they infranchiſed ſlaves, plundered the houſes of their hoſts, inſulted their wives and children, and, where any reſiſtance was offered, beat, wounded, and killed at their pleaſure; for tho' they were conſtantly quarrelling among themſelves, yet, in conteſting with the peaſants, they were always unanimous. Not only the colonies, villages, and municipal cities were conſumed by furniſhing ſuch vaſt ſupplies of proviſion; but, as the grain was then ripe, the lands were ſtript and laid waſte. As the emperor drew near Rome, the crowd, great in itſelf, was encreaſed by the arrival of the ſenators and Roman knights, who came out to meet the emperor; a compliment which ſome paid out of fear, others out of flattery. When the mighty multitude was within ſeven miles of Rome, Vitellius cauſed a quantity of meat ready dreſſed

His army let themſelves loſe to ſpoil and ravage.

to be distributed among the soldiers, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of gladiators. In the mean time, the populace, who came in droves to the camp and were scattered all over it, while the soldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts without being perceived; which it seems, was a joke in great vogue with the multitude and the rabble of the city. But the soldiers, who were strangers to such jokes, and could not brook them, upon being asked by way of derision, what was become of their belts? ran to arms, and with their drawn swords falling upon the disarmed multitude, slaughtered great numbers of them, which occasioned a general alarm and consternation in the city. When the tumult in the camp was composed, Vitellius, mounted upon a stately courser and in his coat of armour, with his sword by his side, began to advance to the gates of the city, ordering the senate and people to march before him. But being advised by his friends not to enter the city in his warlike dress, as if it had been taken by storm, he put on the senatorial robe, and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific, surrounded with standards and colours, and followed by his numerous troops; the whole a glorious sight, and an army worthy of a better emperor[y]. In this state he went to the capitol, to offer sacrifice to Jupiter; and there finding his mother Sextilia, embraced and honoured her with the title of Augusta. From the capitol, he marched in the same pomp to the imperial palace. The next day, he assembled the senate, and made a public speech, in which he promised extraordinary advantages from his administration, uttered high and pompous things of himself, and chiefly enlarged upon his temperance, tho' all Italy had seen him, during his march, wallowing in voluptuousness and continually intoxicated with wine. The thoughtless multitude, however, broke out into loud acclamations and wishes; and, as he refused the title of Augustus, they pressed him so, that he accepted it at last with as much vanity as he had before refused it. He likewise took upon him the office of chief pontiff; but was so ignorant of religious rites, that a few days after, that is, on the eighteenth of July, he published an edict concerning the celebration of certain solemnities, tho' that day had been always held unlucky, because on it had happened the tragical overthrows at Cremera and Allia. His chief study

The populace slaughtered by the soldiery.

The emperor's entry into Rome.

His conduct

was

y Tacit. c. 87—89.

was to gain the good graces and applauſe of the rabble. With this view he frequented the theatre and circus, exhibited public ſhews, and did all that lay in his power to keep them in good humour. He went often to the ſenate, even when the deliberations were about things of ſmall moment. As Helvidius Priſcus, prætor elect, chanced to offer his ſentiments againſt thoſe of the emperor, he ſeemed at firſt to reſent it; but afterwards returning to himſelf, he anſwered the ſenators who interpoſed, that it was nothing new nor ſurpriſing, that two ſenators ſhould be of different opinions; and that he himſelf had often oppoſed Thraſea; a compariſon which was generally ridiculed. In room of the prætorian cohorts, which he had diſcharged, he raiſed ſixteen new ones and four city cohorts, each containing a thouſand choſen men. For captains of the prætorian guards, he appointed Publius Sabinus, raiſed from the command of a cohort, and Julius Priſcus then only a centurion. Priſcus owed his preferment to the intereſt of Valens, and Sabinus his to that of Cæcina; for by theſe two favourites all the functions of ſovereignty were diſcharged, and no portion of power left to Viteilius. They ſtrove to excel each other in credit and ſway, in greatneſs of train, in numerous levees and dependents; and hence were ever at variance with one another, their antient and mutual hatred, which, even during the war, had been ill-diſguiſed, being inflamed by the malignity of their ſeveral friends. However, this their animoſity did not render them more remiſs in ſeizing for themſelves fine houſes and gardens, and the wealth of the empire. Aſiaticus too, formerly the emperor's pathic and now his freed-man, had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration; for, before two months were elapſed, he is ſaid to have equalled in wealth all former imperial freedmen. As for Vitellius, he quite abandoned the functions of an emperor, reſigning himſelf entirely to riot, luxury, and gluttony. In his court no man ſtrove to riſe by virtue or ability. One only road there was to preferment, namely, by means of conſuming banquets, to gorge the appetite of the emperor, ever craving, and never ſatisfied. He eat conſtantly three, and often four and five, meals a day, having brought himſelf to an habit of diſcharging his ſtomach by vomiting when he pleaſed. All his meals were expenſive almoſt beyond belief, but not always at his own charge; for he frequently invited himſelf to his friends houſes to breakfaſt in one place, to dine in another, and to ſup in a third,

His favourites uſurp all the power.

His gluttony and profuſeneſs.

third, all on the ſame day. He was every where entertained in a moſt ſumptuous and expenſive manner: but of all theſe entertainments the moſt memorable was made for him by Lucius his brother; in which, if Suetonius [z] and Eutropius [a] are to be credited, two thouſand different diſhes of fiſh and ſeven thouſand of fowl were ſerved up; the choiceſt of both ſorts that the ſea and land afforded. His own profuſeneſs fell not much ſhort of his brother's at the dedication of a charger, which by reaſon of its vaſtneſs and capacity, he termed the target of Minerva. It was nevertheleſs filled with the ſounds of the fiſh called ſcari, the brains of pheaſants and peacocks, the tongues of birds called phænicopteri, and the ſmall guts of lampries, brought from the Carpathian ſea and the farthermoſt coaſts of Spain. As he judged it ſufficient to enjoy preſent pleaſures, without troubling himſelf about future events, he ſquandered away in banquets above ſeven milions of our money in four months time [b]; nay, Joſephus tells us, that if he had reigned long, the whole wealth of the empire would not have been ſufficient to ſupply the expence of his table. Beſides the vaſt ſums he conſumed by his riotous living, he erected at a great charge ſtables for the uſe of charioteers, exhibited almoſt daily ſhews in the circus, combats in the theatre and amphitheatre, thoſe of gladiators, thoſe of wild beaſts, and in the moſt flowing plenty wantonly ſcattered treaſure. But nothing gave greater diſguſt to the virtuous, tho' it proved matter of joy to the profligate and debauched, than his ſolemnizing with great pomp in the field of Mars the obſequies of Nero, and obliging the Auguſtal prieſts, an order by Tiberius conſecrated to the Julian family, to aſſiſt at that ceremony [c].

WHILE Vitellius was thus waſting the wealth of the empire in voluptuouſneſs and conſuming banquets, fortune, or rather providence, was raiſing him a competitor in a diſtant part of the world. Veſpaſian had been ſent by Nero as we have related elſewhere, with three legions and a conſiderable number of auxiliaries, to make war upon the Jews, which he was carrying on with great ſucceſs, when news was brought him of the death of that prince and the acceſſion of Galba to the empire. Hereupon he immediately

The ſtate of affairs in the eaſt.

[z] Suet. c. 13. [a] Eutrop. p. 720. [b] Tacit. c. 95. [c] Idem ibid.

ately dispatched his son Titus to pay homage to the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the prosecution of the war. But receiving upon his arrival at Corinth, as he had been long stopped by contrary winds, certain advice of the murder of Galba, and at the same time understanding that Vitellius had taken up arms and designed to dispute the empire with Otho, he resolved to return to Judæa, to receive there farther instructions from his father. Having therefore left Greece, he steered his course to the island of Rhode, to that of Cyprus, and thence to Syria. In the island of Cyprus his curiosity prompted him to visit the temple of Venus at Paphos, which was at that time highly renowned amongst the natives as well as foreigners. After he had surveyed the signal wealth of the temple, the donations of princes, and other curiosities, he began to consult the oracle, first concerning the security of his voyage, and then proposed, but in dark terms, questions concerning himself. The priest, by name Sostratus, returned him in public a short answer, but desired a secret interview, wherein he disclosed to him his future grandeur. Hereupon, full of hopes, he proceeded to his father; but before his arrival the armies in the east had already sworn fidelity to Otho. In Judæa three legions, as we have hinted above, were under the command of Vespasian; men thoroughly exercised in war. Mucianus governed Syria at the head of four legions. Between these two commanders, as they ruled in two bordering provinces, great animosities had reigned; which, however, they dropped upon the death of Nero, and agreed to act in concert for their mutual security and interest. This union was first begun by the interposition of their common friends, and afterwards accomplished by Titus. Into the same confederacy were gained the tribunes, the centurions, and by degrees the common soldiers, who, upon hearing that Otho and Vitellius were contending for the empire, began to rage and complain, that while others enjoyed rewards for bestowing the empire, they alone were doomed slaves to every emperor. The ardour of the soldiery was well known to the generals; but they judged proper to wait the issue of the war between Otho and Vitellius. Nay, even after Otho's death, Vespasian took the usual oath to Vitellius, and wished him a prosperous reign in presence of his army, as a precedent for them to follow. His troops heard him with disgust and silence, and were not without great difficulty prevailed upon to take the same oath, thinking themselves no less able to create and support

Vespasian and Mucianus enter into an alliance for their mutual defence.

an emperor, than the German legions or the prætorian bands. They were ſeven legions with mighty auxiliaries, and the two provinces of Syria and Judæa, were in their poſſeſſion: to them lay contiguous that of Egypt, which was governed by Tiberius Alexander, by birth an Egyptian, at the head of two legions. Several forces were quartered in Cappadocia and Pontus, upon the frontiers of Armenia, in Aſia and the other provinces. The governor of Egypt, who was entirely addicted to Veſpaſian, accounted for his own the third legion then in Mœſia, ſince it had been tranſlated thither out of Egypt. Hopes too were entertained, that the other legions in Illyricum would eſpouſe the ſame intereſt. Veſpaſian, however, continued ſtill in ſuſpenſe, conſidering with himſelf, how dangerous it was to caſt himſelf, at the age of ſixty, and his two ſons Titus and Domitian in the prime of their years, upon the caprice of fortune and fate of war: in private purſuit, room was always left for retreat; but to thoſe who ſtrive for the ſovereignty, no middle lot remains; they muſt either reign or periſh. At the ſame time, he had before his eyes the great ſtrength of the German army; a thing perfectly known to him, who was a man of great experience in war. However he yielded at length to the ſolicitations of Mucianus and the other officers, promiſing to aſſume the title of emperor, when a proper opportunity offered. Hereupon the two commanders, after having ſpent ſeveral days in private conferences, parted, Mucianus to Antioch, and Veſpaſian to Cæſarea, the former the metropolis of Syria, the latter of Judæa. In the mean time, at Alexandria was begun the example of acknowledging Veſpaſian for emperor, through the haſte and zeal of Tiberius Alexander, who brought the legion there to ſwear allegiance to him on the firſt of July, which was the day ever afterwards kept and ſolemnized as the firſt of his reign. The army in Judæa took to him in perſon the ſame oath on the third of July, with ſuch ardour, that they would not wait the arrival of Titus, who was then on his journey back from Syria, where he had been concerting meaſures with Mucianus. Theſe glad tidings no ſooner reached Syria, than Mucianus adminiſtered to his ſoldiers, who were themſelves well-diſpoſed, the oath to Veſpaſian. Before the fifteenth of July the whole province of Syria had taken the ſame oath. To the party too acceded Sohemus king of Edeſſa, Antiochus king of Comagene, and Agrippa king of Ituræa,

Veſpaſian proclaimed emperor.

ræa, who was returned with great expedition from Rome, upon private intelligence conveyed to him by his friends concerning the tranſactions in the eaſt. Allegiance was likewiſe ſworn by all the maritime provinces, extending to Aſia and Achaia, and by all the inland regions bordering upon Pontus and the two Armenias [d].

He eſtabliſhes a council at Berytus.

Vespasian, having now taken upon him the imperial authority, eſtabliſhed in the firſt place, at Berytus in Phœnicia, a council for the direction of all important affairs. Thither repaired Mucianus, with a train of general officers and tribunes, and of all ſuch centurions and private men as made a ſignal appearance. From the army too in Judæa came a great number of the principal officers, who, while they ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other in pomp and parade, furniſhed the appearance of the court and grandeur of an emperor. The firſt ſtep taken for proſecuting the war was, to inliſt men, and to recal to the ſervice the diſmiſſed veterans. Fortified cities were allotted for forging of arms. At Antioch money was coined, gold and ſilver. All theſe undertakings were, in their ſeveral quarters, diligently diſpatched by careful and capable inſpectors. To the kings of Parthia and Armenia, Vologeſes and his brother Tiridates, embaſſadors were ſent; and at the ſame time proviſions was made, that, when the legions were withdrawn to proſecute the civil war, the countries behind ſhould not be left naked and defenceleſs. It was reſolved in a council of all the chief officers, that Titus ſhould carry on the war in Judæa, Veſpaſian ſeize the ſtreights leading into Egypt, and Mucianus with part of the forces encounter Vitellius. To all the generals and armies letters were ſent, with orders to invite to arms, with the promiſe of great rewards, the prætorian ſoldiers which had been diſbanded by Vitellius. In the mean time, Mucianus, at the head of the ſixth legion, and thirteen thouſand veterans, began his march, acting rather like a collegue, than a miniſter, of the emperor. He bent his rout through Cappadocia and Phrygia to Byzantium, where he had ordered the fleet to attend him. He loaded the countries, through which he paſſed, with exorbitant taxes; for which, however, the craving

His preparations for war.

[d] Tacit. c. 72——81 Suet. in Veſp, c. 9. Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 36.

craving neceſſities of war furniſhed an excuſe. Out of his own treaſure too he helped to ſupport the war; thus liberal of a private ſum, which he was ſure to repay himſelf with uſury out of the public. The reſt contributed after his example; but few were found who recovered their ſhare [c].

The Illyrian army declares for Veſpaſian.

In the mean time, the Illyrian army, upon advice that the legions in the eaſt had declared Veſpaſian emperor, eſpouſed the ſame party with extraordinary zeal. The third legion, then in Mœſia, was the foremoſt; the eighth and the ſeventh, entitled Claudiana, followed the example of the third, being both devoted to Veſpaſian, though they had not been in the laſt fight. They had indeed advanced as far as Aquileia, and there hearing melancholy tidings of Otho, inſulted thoſe who brought them, rent the ſtandards bearing the name of Vitellius, and, ſharing the public money amongſt themſelves, acted with open hoſtility. Hence, conſidering that they might urge to Veſpaſian theſe acts of violence as matter of ſervice and merit, whereas they muſt expect to be puniſhed for them by Vitellius, they not only declared for the former, but by letters ſolicited the army in Pannonia into the confederacy, and were preparing to have recourſe to force, if they refuſed. In Pannonia the thirteenth legion and the ſeventh, called after the name of Galba, acceded without heſitation to the cauſe of Veſpaſian, being chiefly inſtigated by Antonius Primus. He was a native of Toloufe; and there, while he was a youth, known by the nick-name of Beccoc, or rather Beccoc, which in the language of the Gauls, ſignified the bill of a cock. He had been degraded under Nero from the ſenatorial dignity, for forging a will; but reſtored to his rank by Galba, who likewiſe preferred him to the command of the ſeventh legion. He was believed to have made frequent applications to Otho by letters, offering to ſerve him in the capacity of general; but being by him neglected, he had borne no ſhare in that war. When he found, that Veſpaſian was likely to prevail, abandoning Vitellius, he betook himſelf to him, and proved a mighty addition to the cauſe; for he was a man of great perſonal bravery, daring, and enterpriſing, a prompt ſpeaker, powerful in popular tumults, and tho' rapacious, profuſe,

And the Pannonian legions.

The character of Antonius Primus.

[c] Tacit. 82——84. Joſeph. ibid. c. 40.

fuſe, and in peace altogether wicked and corrupt, yet very uſeful in war. The Mœſian and Pannonian armies drew after them the forces in Dalmatia. Into Britain too diſpatches were ſent to the fourteenth legion, others into Spain to the firſt; for they had both engaged for Otho againſt Vitellius. At the ſame time, letters were diſperſed over all the territories of the Gauls [f].

Vitellius hears of the revolt.

Vitellius firſt informed of the revolt of the third legion in Mœſia; which intelligence was conveyed to him by Aponius Saturninus, who commanded in that province; but much ſoftened and qualified. The emperor's friends too, ſoothing him with flattering ſpeeches, took care to put favourable conſtructions upon the ill tidings. Vitellius himſelf, in a harangue to the ſoldiers, inveighed againſt the prætorians lately diſcharged, as if they had publiſhed lying reports, and aſſured both the ſoldiery and people, that there was no ground to fear a civil war. The name of Veſpaſian he took care to ſuppreſs, and diſperſed ſoldiers all over the city, with directions to ſilence the rumour among the populace; a precaution which greatly encreaſed the public alarm.

Sends for ſuccours.

From Germany, however, from Britain, and from both Spains, he ſent for ſuccours, but in a very negligent manner, the better to conceal the neceſſity which preſſed him. In the provinces and commanders of the provinces, no leſs remiſſneſs was found: Hordeonius Flaccus, who commanded in Germany, and Vettius Bolanus, governor of Britain, were wavering in their fidelity to Vitellius; nor in Spain was there any forwardneſs or expedition ſhewn, the commanders of the three legions there, men equal in authority, (for over thoſe provinces preſided then no ruler of conſular dignity) watching the fortune of the war, and being ready to follow it.

Africa faithful to him.

In Africa, the legion and cohort levied by Clodius Macer, and afterwards diſcharged by Galba, upon orders from Vitellius, returned to the ſervice. The youth too of the province offered themſelves to be inliſted with ſignal alacrity, Vitellius having ruled there as pro-conſul with great uprightneſs, as had Veſpaſian in the ſame quality with ignominy and public hatred. Valerius Feſtus, governor of the province, promoted at firſt the inclinations of the people with exemplary

[f] Tacit. c. 85——87. Suet. c. 18. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 737.

emplary zeal; but ſoon after beginning to waver, while he aſſerted in public the cauſe of Vitellius, by ſecret intellience he encouraged that of Veſpaſian, being reſolved, whatever party prevailed, to maintain the juſtice of the ſtronger [g].

THE meaſures concerted and agreed on by Veſpaſian and Mucianus were, that the Illyrian army ſhould advance as far as Aquileia, poſſeſs themſelves of the Pannonian Alps, and there wait, till their forces from all quarters behind them came up, in order to enter Italy the following year in a body. In the mean time, the fleet was to keep conſtantly cruizing both in the Mediterranean and Adriatic ſeas, in order to prevent the conveying of corn to Rome from Egypt, and proviſions from Achaia or Sicily. By this means they did not doubt, but Italy would be obliged to ſubmit without bloodſhed But theſe orders did not reach the Illyrian army, till it was too late to put them in execution; for the leaders of Veſpaſian's party in Illyricum, having held a council at Petovio, now Pettaw in Stiria upon the Drave, to deliberate, whether they ſhould content themſelves with guarding the paſſes of the Pannonian Alps, till the forces behind them advanced, or, by a reſolution more daring, march forward and venture a ſtruggle for Italy, ſome indeed, thought it adviſeable to wait the arrival of ſuccours, magnifying the fame and renown of the German legions; but Antonius Primus, who was againſt all delay, argued, that to themſelves diſpatch was altogether advantageous, and to Vitellius only pernicious; ſince the German legions, once indeed formidable, were, by haunting the circus and theatres, and following the idle diverſions of the city, at preſent utterly ſoftened and debauched, and dreadful to none but their hoſts; whereas, if time were allowed them, their antient vigour would ſtill return, by their applications to the cares and purſuits of war. Not far from them, added he, lies Germany, from whence a ſure recruit of forces; beyond the Channel, Britain; juſt by, Gaul, as alſo both Spains; from all a ready ſupply of men, horſes, and contributions. Italy itſelf is in their poſſeſſion, with the immenſe treaſures of Rome. The protracting of the war therefore to another ſummer will prove highly advantageous to them; but in this interval where ſhall we find proviſions?

Antonius Primus is for invading Italy with the Illyrian army.

[g] Tacit c. 96—98.

ſions? where money? Let us therefore delay no longer, but, with a bold puſh, make an irruption into the boundaries of Italy. The meaſures which I adviſe, I am reſolved to purſue. You, who are yet free to follow fortune on either ſide, ſtay, and with you detain the legions. To me a few cohorts, lightly equipped, will be ſufficient. You ſhall ſoon hear that I have opened my way into Italy, and ſhaken the power of Vitellius. You will then be glad to follow in the track of one who has conquered for you. This ſpeech, uttered with eyes darting fire and a fierce and thundering voice, moved even ſuch as were moſt cautious and wary. The common ſoldiers, who, together with the centurions, had conveyed themſelves into the council, ſcorning the reſolution of others as cold and ſpiritleſs, extolled him as the only brave man, the only reſolute leader. His reſolution being generally approved of, to render the march into Italy ſecure, letters were forthwith diſpatched to Aponius Saturninus, who had already joined the party of Veſpaſian, with directions to follow in haſte with his army from Mœſia. That the provinces, thus bereft of their armies, might not be expoſed to the incurſions of the bordering nations, the chiefs of the Jazyges, a Sarmatian nation, were taken into the ſervice and retained in pay. Into the party too were drawn Sido and Italicus, kings of the Suevians, men noted for their attachment and fidelity to the Romans. On the ſide towards Rhœtia guards of auxiliaries were poſted, that country being governed by Portius Septimius the procurator, a man unſhaken in his fidelity to Vitellius. Sentilius Felix was ordered to poſſeſs himſelf of the bank of the Oenus, now the Ins, flowing between Rhœtia and Noricum. Theſe precautions being taken, Primus marched with great expedition to invade Italy, at the head of a choſen body of infantry and part of the horſe. He was accompanied by Arvius Varus, an officer of great bravery and experience in the art of war, which he had learned under the renowned Corbulo, whom he was ſuppoſed, in ſecret conferences with Nero, to have accuſed, and thereby occaſioned the ruin of that celebrated commander. By favour, thus infamouſly gained, he was raiſed to the rank of a principal centurion. Primus and Varus advancing to Aquileia, were admitted into the city, and likewiſe into the neighbouring towns of Opitergium and Altinum: Padua too and Abeſte, now Eſte, received them with

His propoſal approved.

He ſeizes Aquileia, and ſeveral other cities.

with great demonſtrations of joy. In the latter place they learned, that three cohorts of Vitellius's army, with the ſquadron of horſe called Scriboniana, had erected a bridge at Forum Allienum, now Ferrara, and were poſted there. At break of day therefore they attacked them, before they were appriſed of their approach, put ſome of them to the ſword, and obliged the reſt either to ſave themſelves by flight, or to change their allegiance. In the mean time, two legions arriving at Padua from Pannonia, viz. the ſeventh, ſurnamed Galbiana, and the thirteenth, named Gemina, Primus, after having allowed them a few days for repoſe, bent his march to Verona, with a deſign to ſeize that city, and make it the ſeat of war, as it was ſituated among ſpacious plains, fit for encounters of horſe, in which his prime force lay. In their march they became maſters of Vicetia, an acquiſition, which, tho' ſmall in itſelf, paſſed for one of great moment; ſince in it Cæcina was born, and from the general of the enemy the place of his nativity was ſnatched. The ſeizing of Verona was deemed a more important conqueſt; for it was a wealthy and flouriſhing city, and beſides, the key of Germany and Rhœtia: ſo that now all communication between Vitellius and thoſe countries was cut off. In the mean time, letters arrived from Veſpaſian, with orders to his generals not to venture beyond Aquileia, but to wait there the coming of Mucianus. To his authority he added reaſoning, viz. that ſince Egypt, ſince the magazines for ſupplying Italy with proviſions, ſince the revenues of the moſt opulent provinces, were under his power, the army of Vitellius, through want of grain and pay, might be forced to come over. Mucianus in his letters urged the ſame counſels; but he was prompted by a paſſion for gaining all the glory, and reſerving for himſelf the whole honour of the war. But from quarters of the world ſo diſtant, the counſels arrived when other meaſures were already taken [h].

Takes Verona.

THE diſmal tidings of the irruption of the enemy into Italy no ſooner reached Rome, than Vitellius, at length thoroughly alarmed, ordered his two generals, Cæcina and Valens, to prepare with all expedition for taking the field. New levies were raiſed, and to all, who ſhould voluntarily liſt themſelves, not only diſmiſſion was promiſed after the victory,

Vitellius orders Cæcina and Valens to take the field.

[h] Tacit. l. iii. c. 1—5.

victory, but the ſame rewards that were paid to veterans after a long courſe of warfare. As Valens was juſt then recovered from a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, Cæcina alone was ſent forward at the head of the German army. But the appearance of thoſe forces, ſo awful upon their late entry, proved far different upon their departure. They had, by imitating the exceſſes of their emperor, by ſurrendering themſelves to the voluptuous entertainments of the city, and following other practices too abominable to be named, quite waſted their martial ardour and enfeebled their bodies. Their march was lazy and ſlow, their ranks thin, great numbers, eſpecially of the Germans and Gauls, having been ſwept off by diſtempers ariſing from their riotous living. Their horſes were quite lifeleſs, and the men grown too delicate to bear the ſun, the duſt, or the weather; but the more averſe they were to military toils, the greater propenſity they had to diſobedience and mutiny. It was generally believed, that Cæcina, who commanded them, out of jealouſy and hatred to Fabius Valens, Vitellius's chief favourite, had already reſolved to change ſides, and ſignified his intention to Flavius Sabinus, Veſpaſian's brother, whom Vitellius had not yet removed from the government of Rome. Cæcina, after Vitellius had embraced and diſmiſſed him with high marks of honour, leaving the city, ſent forward part of the cavalry to poſſeſs themſelves of Cremona, ordering the reſt to repair to Hoſtilia, a place of ſome ſtrength, and about thirty miles from Verona. He himſelf turned away to Ravenna, to confer there with Lucius Baſſus, who, from the command of a ſquadron of horſe, had been by Vitellius preferred at once to that of the two fleets, the one riding at Ravenna, the other at Miſenum; but was nevertheleſs highly diſſatisfied, becauſe he was not appointed captain of the prætorian guards. It is uncertain, whether he drew Cæcina off from Vitellius, or Cæcina him. Thoſe who compoſed the relation of this war, while the Flavian family was poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty, tell us, that they were both guided by a ſincere concern for the public tranquillity, and affection for the commonwealth. But our hiſtorian is of opinion, that as they were men of no faith or principles, they were prompted by jealouſy and ſpite; and that, rather than others ſhould ſurpaſs them in intereſt with Vitellius, they choſe to overthrow Vitellius himſelf [i]. Cæcina having rejoined the legions, employed many

The bad condition of the German army.

Cæcina wavers in his fidelity.

His treachery.

[i] Idem, c. 6.

many devices to alienate the affections of the centurions and common ſoldiers from Vitellius, to whom of themſelves they were ſtrongly devoted. Baſſus undertook the ſame taſk with the fleet, and accompliſhed it without much difficulty; for, as they had lately ſerved under Otho, they were ready to abandon their faith to Vitellius. Cæcina advanced to Hoſtilia, and pitched his camp between that village and the marſhes formed by the river Tartarus, being defended behind by the river, and on each ſide by the marſh. As he had with him ſix legions and a great number of auxiliaries, it was in his power to have utterly defeated Primus's two legions, (for his other forces were not yet arrived)and to have forced them, by a ſhameful flight, to abandon Italy. But framing delays, he privately carried on a correſpondence with the enemy's generals, till, by intercourſe of meſſengers, he agreed with them upon articles of his treachery. In the mean time, arrived at Verona the ſeventh legion, named Claudiana, under the command of Vipſtanus Meſſala, a man of a moſt illuſtrious family, and the only one who engaged in the war upon worthy deſigns. The ſeventh legion was ſoon after followed by the third and eighth; and then it was judged proper to draw an intrenchment round Verona. In the mean time, the fleet at Ravenna, revolting from Vitellius, tore his images, and openly eſpouſed the cauſe of Veſpaſian; which Cæcina no ſooner underſtood, than aſſembling all the principal centurions and ſome of the common ſoldiers, he repreſented to them the deplorable condition of Vitellius's affairs, exhorted them to gain betimes the favour of the new prince, and then forthwith gave them the oath to Veſpaſian. Thoſe who were his accomplices ſetting an example, the reſt, aſtoniſhed at ſo ſudden an event, took it after them. At the ſame inſtant, the images of Vitellius were pulled down and defaced, and meſſengers diſpatched to acquaint Antonius Primus with the whole. But as ſoon as news of the defection was ſpread through the camp, the ſoldiers flocked to the quarter where the images of Veſpaſian were ſet up, and with the utmoſt indignation, flung them down, and replaced thoſe of Vitellius; then chuſing for their leaders Fabius Fabullus, commander of the fifth legion, and Caſſius Longus, prefect of the camp, they put Cæcina in irons, cutting in pieces certain marines, who by chance fell in their way, abandoned their camp, and breaking down the bridge,

The fleet at Ravenna declares for Veſpaſian.

Cæcina revolts, and is by his troops put in irons.

bridge, marched back to Hoſtilia, and thence to Cremona, to rejoin there the firſt legion named Italica, and the one-and-twentieth, ſurnamed Rapax [k].

THESE tranſactions were no ſooner known to Primus, than he reſolved to attack the enemy, thus divided in their affections, ere the leaders had recovered their authority, the ſoldiers their diſcipline and obedience, or the legions their former ſpirit and boldneſs. He imagined, that Fabius Valens, who was inviolably attached to Vitellius, and a commander of great experience, had ere now left Rome, and would upon learning the deſertion of Cæcina, travel with great expedition. With his whole army therefore he marched from Verona, and the next evening encamped at Bedriacum. The day following he ſent out his auxiliaries to forage in the territories of Cremona, and marched himſelf at the head of eight thouſand horſe to ſupport them. When he advanced about eight miles from Bedriacum, news was brought him, that the enemy approached. While Primus was conſulting what meaſures to take, Arrius Varus ruſhed out with a party of the moſt reſolute horſe, and put the enemy's van-guard in confuſion; but many advancing to ſupport their comrades, the fortune of the encounter changed, and Arrius was put to flight. This haſty ſtep had been taken without the approbation of Primus, who judged, that the iſſue would be ſuch as it proved. He now exhorted thoſe about him to prepare for battle; to the legions he diſpatched orders to arm, and notice to the auxiliaries ſpread over the country, to quit their pillage, and haſten by the ſeveral neareſt ways to the combat. In the mean time, Arrius's routed troops arriving, communicated their dread to the reſt; inſomuch that the whole body of horſe under the command of Primus betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. During this conſternation, Primus, diſcharging the duty of an experienced commander and a moſt courageous ſoldier, ſtrove to animate ſuch as were diſmayed, to ſtop ſuch as were flying, readily aſſiſting here with his counſel and orders, there with his ſword, where-ever the greateſt efforts were required, where-ever any hope was preſented. With his javelin he pierced a ſtandard-bearer who was flying, and ſeizing the ſtandard, turned it againſt the enemy. Hereupon an hundred horſe, aſhamed to deſert their general,

Arrius Varus put to flight by the troops of Vitellius.

The gallant conduct of Primus.

[k] Idem, c. 7——14.

general, returned to the fight. With theſe drawn up in cloſe ranks, he ſuſtained the onſet, till the reſt of his men, finding the bridge behind them broken and their flight interrupted, returned to the charge. Hereupon conſternation and diſmay ſeized the enemy; they began to give ground, and at laſt, Primus preſſing them with freſh vigour, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The conquerors purſued them within four miles of Cremona, where they met, attacked, and routed two legions, that called Rapax and that named Italica, who were advancing to the relief of their cavalry. Primus forbore purſuing them, mindful of the condition of his men and horſes, quite ſpent with the fatigue of the day. In the cloſe of the evening arrived the reſt of Primus's forces; and as they marched over heaps of ſlain, they concluded from thence, that the war was ended, and demanded to be led directly to Cremona, being well appriſed, that by ſtorming the town in the dark, they ſhould have a greater latitude for plundering; whereas if they waited the return of day, ſupplications would be offered, and terms granted: by which means the wealth of Cremona would accrue to the commanders of the legions and principal officers; for the plunder of a town taken by ſtorm belonged to the ſoldiers, but to the leaders when gained by ſurrender. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that Primus (for they utterly ſlighted the other commanders) prevailed upon them to delay the attack for one night. In the mean time, ſome horſe-men, who had advanced cloſe to the walls of Cremona, having ſeized ſome ſtragglers from thence, learnt of them, that ſix legions of Vitellius, and the whole army that had encamped at Hoſtilia, having that day marched thirty miles, were juſt approaching in battle-array. Hereupon Primus immediately drew up his men according to the nature of the ground, and made the neceſſary preparations to receive the enemy, who, as they wanted a leader of experience, inſtead of reſting at Cremona, attacked, ſpent as they were with a long march and faſting, Primus's forces, and began the engagement at the third hour of the night; that is, about nine in the evening. The combat laſted the whole night, fortune ſometimes favouring one ſide, ſometimes another. As they fought in the dark, and the watch-word of each, by being frequently aſked and repeated, became known to the other, they could not diſcern friend from foe. In this dreadful confuſion, the ſeventh legion, called Galbiana, was ſorely beſet. Out of it ſix centurions

Vitellius's cavalry routed.

The battle of Cremona.

of principal rank were ſlain, and ſome of the enſigns taken. The eagle, however, was preſerved by Atilius Varus, the chief centurion, who, in defending it, ſlew heaps of the enemy, and at laſt fell himſelf. Primus's men were chiefly annoyed by a baliſta of amazing bulk, which, being placed upon the ridge of the highway, ſwept away whole ranks, by diſcharging againſt them great, maſſy ſtones; but at length two common ſoldiers, paſſing undiſcoved through the midſt of the enemy, cut the ſprings of the engine, and by that means, at the expence of their own lives, (for they were immediately cut in pieces) ſaved part of the army from utter deſtruction. To neither ſide was fortune yet leaning, when the night being near ſpent, the moon riſing diſcovered the two armies to each other. More favourable, however, ſhe proved to that of Veſpaſian, as ſhe ſhone upon their backs, and full in the enemy's faces. Primus, now that he could diſtinguiſh his own men and be by them diſtinguiſhed, applied himſelf to animate them, ſome by ſhame and reproof, others by applauſe and exhortation, all by hopes and promiſes. There enſued from every quarter cries and ſhoutings; and juſt then the third legion, according to the cuſtom in Syria, where they had been long quartered, paid their adoration to the riſing ſun. This incident gave birth to a report, which flew in an inſtant through the whole army, and reached the enemy, that Mucianus was arrived, and between his forces and the third legion mutual ſalutations had paſſed. This diſheartened the troops of Vitellius; which Primus perceiving, made a laſt effort, puſhed them with great vigour, and utterly broke their ranks; which they attempted indeed to reſtore, but in vain, being embaraſſed by their own carriages and engines.

Vitellius's army defeated.

Being therefore no longer able to keep their ground, they betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, and ſtrove to gain Cremona, Primus's men purſuing them with great ſlaughter. Vitellius is ſaid to have loſt, what in the engagement, what in the flight, about thirty thouſand men. But the ſight of ſo many dead bodies lying together in heaps, and covering the fields and ways, did not occaſion ſo much horror, as the death of a father ſlaughtered by his own ſon. The fact is thus related by our hiſtorian, upon the authority of Vipſtanus Meſſala, who, in this engagement, commanded the ſeventh legion, named Claudiana: Julius Manſuetus, a native of Spain, liſting in the legion called Rapax, left behind him

him a ſon, then a boy, who afterwards, being under Galba inrolled in the ſeventh legion called Galbiana, happened in this battle to engage his father and killed him; but being known by his parent juſt expiring, as he was rifling him, and knowing him again, he embraced with a flood of tears his pale corſe; charged with a ſad and doleful voice the public with the crime of parricide; and lifting up the body digged a grave, and, under the utmoſt affliction, diſcharged towards his parent the laſt duty. Thoſe who were neareſt obſerved what had paſſed, and in a moment the tragical accident was divulged throughout the whole army, with many lamentations and bitter execrations upon a war thus unnatural and barbarous; yet they continued to butcher and ſpoil their kinſmen, their relations, nay, their brethren, at the ſame time relating what a crying iniquity had been committed, and committing it themſelves [1].

A father killed in the battle by his ſon.

As the conquerors approached Cremona, they found the enemy encamped quite round the walls, and defended by a deep ditch, which had been dug in the war againſt Otho, and ſince ſtrengthened with freſh works. To proceed to the aſſault with an army already weary with the continued toil of a day and a night, ſeemed to the leaders an enterprize full of danger and difficulty; but the ſoldiers more apt to brave perils than bear delays, demanded to be forthwith led on to the attack; and Primus yielding to this humour, ordered them in the form of a ring, to inveſt the intrenchments, and begin the aſſault; which they did with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, raiſing their ſhields over their heads, and thence forming a teſtudo, under the ſhelter of which they advanced to the foot of the ramparts. But Vitellius's men, by hurling down upon them huge ſtones, looſened the teſtudo, beat to the ground the men beneath, and made a dreadful havock of them, thus naked, and expoſed to vollies of ſtones and arrows. The onſet began to ſlacken, when the leaders, finding their men exhauſted and unmoved by exhortations, pointed to Cremona as the price of their victory. Thus encouraged, they renewed the aſſault, all obſtinately combined to ſucceed or die: regardleſs of wounds and blood, they ſtrove to demoliſh the rampart, battered the gates, ſtood upon the ſhoulders of one another, and upon the teſtudo now reſtored, and thence ſeized the weapons

They attack the enemy's camp.

[1] Idem, c. 15—25. Dio, l. lxv. p. 740.

pons in the hands of the enemy, and the hands too which held them; ſo that the hale and the maimed, ſuch as were half-dead, and ſuch as were juſt expiring, tumbled headlong together and periſhed. When Vitellius's men were no longer able to ſuſtain the ſhock, and found that all the diſcharges from the baliſta were rendered ineffectual by the teſtudo below, they at laſt hurled down the engine itſelf, huge and ponderous as it was, which failed not to cruſh thoſe upon whom it fell; but at the ſame time, drew with it the battlements, the upper part of the rampart,
And forceit. and the adjoining tower. In this confuſion, Caius Voluſius, a ſoldier of the third legion, having mounted the rampart, puſhed down all who reſiſted, and cried aloud, That the camp was taken. The reſt then having broke the gate with their ſwords and axes, burſt in, Vitellius's men being utterly diſmayed, and leaping with great fury from the battlements. The whole ſpace between the camp and Cremona, whither the enemy retired, was covered with dead bodies. And here again was preſented a new ſcene of difficulties, the walls of the city very high, ſtrong towers of ſtone, the gates ſecured with vaſt bars of iron, the garriſon numerous, the inhabitants devoted to the party of Vitellius, and at this time a great part of Italy aſſembled in the town on occaſion of a fair. Primus ordered fire to be immediately ſet to the moſt ſumptuous and beautiful buildings in the neighbourhood of the city, hoping by that means to oblige the people of Cremona to
Cremona attacked. abandon the party of Vitellius. At the ſame time, he conveyed all his braveſt men into ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, from whence, with vollies of darts, arrows, and ſtones they drove away all who made oppoſition, while the legions, forming a teſtudo, advanced to the foot of the walls. Vitellius's men ſuſtained the attack with great intrepidity, till their officers, fearing that, were the city taken by ſtorm, all the fury of the conquerors would vent itſelf upon them, began to deliberate about ſurrendering. Having therefore agreed to throw themſelves upon the mercy of the conquering army, they razed the name and defaced the images of Vitellius; then diſcharging Cæcina from his bonds, beſought him to plead in their behalf. Thus were ſo many brave men reduced at length to im-
It ſurrenders. plore the aid and protection of a traitor. At his requeſt Primus granted them their lives, ordering them to ſurrender their arms and march out of the town; which they did

did accordingly, Cæcina, who was then conſul, walking before them, attended by his lictors, and arrayed with the enſigns of the conſular dignity. This the conquerors could not bear; they upbraided him in bitter terms with his pride, with his cruelty, nay, and with his treaſon, and would have proceeded to violence, had not Primus checked them, and furniſhing Cæcina with a guard, ſent him away to Veſpaſian [m]. For the city of Cremona; as it had, even in the war againſt Otho, ſupported the cauſe of Vitellius, and ever ſhewed a paſſionate zeal for his intereſt, both Primus and his army were highly incenſed againſt it; but nevertheleſs the general did not think it adviſeable to deliver it immediately up to be plundered, great part of the wealth of Italy being at this time lodged in it on occaſion of the fair. In a ſpeech therefore which he made to his ſoldiers after the ſurrender of the place, he commended their bravery, exhorted them to uſe mercy towards their fellow-ſoldiers, who had ſubmitted; but purpoſely avoided making any mention of the city, or its inhabitants. Having ended his ſpeech, and diſmiſſed the troops, he went to a bath to waſh off the blood with which he was ſtill ſtained; for he had during the ſeveral engagements and attacks, commanded as a general, and fought like a common ſoldier. In the bath he happened to drop a word, which was remarked and quickly divulged; for finding the water ſomewhat too cool, he complained of it, adding, It will ſoon prove abundantly hot. This ſaying, though pleaſantly uttered to his ſlaves, was inſtantly ſpread all over the camp, and by the ſoldiery, greedy of plunder, interpreted as the watch-word for ſetting fire to Cremona. Accordingly forty thouſand ſoldiers ruſhing into it, and a greater number of ſervants and retainers to the camp, more abandoned to acts of cruelty and licentiouſneſs than the ſoldiers themſelves, pillaged, murdered, raviſhed, &c. without reſtraining for four days together, and then ſetting fire to the empty houſes, reduced them to aſhes. Such was the end of Cremona, two hundred and eighty-ſix years after its foundation (W). Primus, aſhamed of the barbarities

Is pillaged and burnt.

[m] Tacit. c. 16—31.

(W) Cremona was founded, according to Tacitus (58), Polybius (59), and Livy (60), in the conſulſhip of Tiberius Sempronius and

(58) Tacit. c. 3. Liv. epit. l. xii. (59) Polyb. l. iii. c. 40. (60)

barbarities committed by his ſoldiers, iſſued an order, that no one ſhould preſume to hold captive any citizen of Cremona. Hereupon ſuch as had any, began to murder them; which inhumanity obliged their relations to redeem them. Soon after, ſuch of the inhabitants as had outlived the general maſſacre, returned to Cremona, and rebuilt the city, being therein countenanced by Veſpaſian. Joſephus tells us, that of Vitellius's men there fell in the battle thirty thouſand and two hundred, and four thouſand five hundred on Primus's ſide [n]; and Xiphilinus writes, that, what in the field, what in the city of Cremona, there periſhed fifty thouſand perſons. The conquerors, not able to bear the ſtench of the putrified carcaſes, having lodged one night on the ruins in which the city was buried, retired the next day three miles from thence. The ſoldiers of Vitellius, ſcattered and diſperſed over the country, were aſſembled again, placed under their former banners, and, as the war ſtill ſubſiſted, ſent into Illyricum. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched into Britain and both Spains, to acquaint the troops there with the victory, as was Julius Calenus, a tribune, into Gaul, and Alpinus Montanus, commander of a cohort, into Germany, two officers choſen for oſtentation, as the latter was of Treves, the former an Æduan, and both partizans of Vitellius. At the ſame time, guards were poſted upon the paſſes of the Alps, to cut off all communication between Germany and Italy; for it was reported, that the Germans were arming with a deſign to aſſiſt the vanquiſhed party [o]. Let us now return to Vitellius.

Vitellius reſigns himſelf up to voluptuouſneſs.

HAVING diſmiſſed Cæcina in the manner we have related, and a few days after ordered Fabius Valens to take the field, he buried himſelf in the bowers and alleys of his gardens, ſtriving to ſmother all his cares in voluptuouſneſs and all

[n] Joſeph. bell. l. iv. c. 41. [o] Tacit. c. 35, 36.

and Publius Cornelius, when Hannibal was ready to invade Italy, as a barrier againſt the Gauls on the other ſide of the Po, or any other power meditating an irruption from beyond the Alps. It grew and flouriſhed by the convenience of rivers, the richneſs of its territory, and affinities with other nations of Italy. In no foreign war it had ever been hurt, but in the civil diſſenſions, ſuffered more than any other city.

all manner of exceſſes. From Rome he retired to the grove at Aricinum, where, while he paſſed his time entirely reſigned to ſloth and gluttony, he was alarmed with tidings of the defection of the fleet at Ravenna. Soon after came another melancholy account, yet blended with joy, that Cæcina had revolted, but was by the army put in irons. Hereupon he returned to the city, and in a full aſſembly extolled the fidelity of the ſoldiery; but ordered Publius Sabinus, captain of the prætorian guards, to be caſt into bonds, on account of his intimacy with Cæcina, and named in his room Alphenus Varus. The ſenate, informed of the deſertion of Cæcina, inveighed againſt him in a ſtyle of indignation well ſtudied; for not a man dropped a bitter expreſſion againſt the leaders of the oppoſite party, and all with great circumſpection avoided mentioning Veſpaſian. Tho' one day only remained of Cæcina's conſulſhip, he was depoſed, and Roſcius Regulus named in his room, who, upon the laſt day of October, began his magiſtracy, and with the day ended it. In the mean time Valens, who was upon his march to join the troops at Hoſtilia and Cremona, being informed that the fleet at Ravenna had revolted to the enemy, inſtead of quickening his march, halted, and wrote to Vitellius for ſuccours. The emperor immediately diſpatched after him three cohorts, with the ſquadron of horſe from Britain. Theſe Valens ſent forward to Ariminum; but he himſelf turning aſide bent his courſe to Umbria, and from thence to Hetruria. Having there learnt the iſſue of the battle at Cremona, he conceived a deſign, which, had it been put in execution, would have been attended with very dreadful conſequences. He propoſed to embark for Narbonne Gaul, and landing upon any part of that coaſt, rouſe thoſe powerful provinces and all the Roman forces there, as alſo the ſeveral nations of Germany, and thence renew the war. With this deſign he embarked in the port of Piſa; but was by contrary winds, forced to land at Monaco, where he was kindly received by Marius Maturus, procurator of the maritime Alps, who, though all the country round eſpouſed the oppoſite party, had never ſwerved from his allegiance. By him Valens was informed, that Valerius Paulinus, procurator of Narbonne Gaul, an officer of known bravery and Veſpaſian's intimate friend, had declared for him, and held with a ſtrong garriſon the city of Foroju-

Valens returns to Hetruria.

Deſigns to raiſe Gaul,

Forojulium, now Frejus, which commanded all access from the sea. Upon this intelligence Valens returned directly to his vessels, with four soldiers of the prætorian guards, three friends, and as many centurions, leaving to Maturus and the rest full liberty to stay, and swear, if they pleased, fidelity to Vespasian. As he roamed about, hovering on the coasts of Gaul, he was by contrary winds, driven upon the Stæchades, islands near Marseilles, and there by some galleys belonging to Paulinus taken prisoner; which was no sooner known, than first the neighbouring, and soon after the more distant provinces, espoused, without hesitation, the cause of the conqueror. In Spain, the first legion, named Adjutrix, which had served under Otho, declared for Vespasian, and drew over with it the tenth and the sixth. In Britain the second legion, which Vespasian had commanded there in the reign of Claudius, acceded to his party, though not without some opposition from the other legions, in which many centurions and many soldiers had been promoted by Vitellius. However, they were all brought at length to acknowledge Vespasian [p].

Is taken prisoner.

Gaul, Spain, and Britain, declare for Vespasian.

In the mean time, the dismal tidings of the overthrow at Cremona reaching Rome, Vitellius, instead of deliberating with his friends about the most proper measures in so critical a juncture, with a stupid dissimulation, smothered the news of the calamity, feigning that all his proceedings prospered, and by such false representations leaving his condition quite desperate. About his person was observed a wonderful silence concerning the war; and through the city all discourses about it were prohibited, which for this very cause grew more frequent. However, he privately sent persons, in whom he could confide, to view the enemy's camp; but upon their return, when he had secretly examined them, he caused them all to be murdered, that they might not divulge what they had seen. Julius Agrestis, a centurion, having attempted in vain to awaken the emperor out of his lethargy, at last prevailed with him, that he himself might be sent to survey the forces of the enemy, and to learn the transactions at Cremona. Agrestis did not assume the behaviour of a spy, nor attempted to escape the notice of Primus; but declaring to him the instructions from the emperor and his own

Vitellius smothers all bad tidings.

[p] Tacit. c. 41.——45.

own design, he demanded to view the whole in person. Primus readily sent certain persons with him to shew him the field of battle, the desolation and remains of Cremona, and the legions taken prisoners. Agrestis having carefully examined the whole, returned to Rome; but as Vitellius gave no credit to his accounts, nay accused him of corruption and infidelity; since then, said he, some remarkable confirmation is necessary, and since neither my life nor my death can avail you, I will furnish you with an evidence which you may credit. Having thus spoken, he left his presence, and fell upon his own sword at the gates of the palace [q]. In the mean time, some of Vespasian's troops, under the conduct of Cornelius Fuscus, advancing as far as Ariminum, besieged that place, and possessed themselves of the plains of Umbria and the territories of Picenum, all along the Adriatic sea. Thus between Vespasian and Vitellius all Italy was shared, and the ridges of the Apennine become a common boundary. As winter approached and the plains were flooded by the overflowing of the Po, Primus sent the legions back to Verona with the aged and wounded; and passing the Po at the head of the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry, advanced as far as the temple of Fortune, at present a city on the Adriatic gulph, known by the name of Fano. There he halted, upon intelligence, that the prætorian cohorts had already left Rome, and that guards were posted upon the Apennine to oppose his passage. And truly Vitellius, roused at length, as it were, out of a profound sleep, had ordered Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, with fourteen prætorian cohorts, a legion of marines, and other forces, to seize the passes of the Apennine. They were all chosen men, and able to have made an offensive war, had they been under the command of a different general. They encamped at Mevania, now Bevagna, in the neighbourhood of Toligno; but Vitellius, without departing in the least from his wonted course of debauchery, continued at Rome, where he settled a succession of consuls for ten years, discharged some nations from all tribute, conferred upon others fresh immunities, and, in short, without any regard to futurity, rent and exhausted the empire with such wild bounties, as could neither be granted nor accepted by men of sense, but were highly applauded by the unthinking

A remarkable instance of the fidelity of Julius Agrestis.

Vitellius sends an army to secure the passes of the Apennine.

[q] Idem, c. 54.

He arrives at the camp.

unthinking herd. At length, moved by the repeated solicitations of the army, he left Rome, and repaired to the camp of Mevania, attended by a great number of senators, which only served to expose him to public contempt and derision (X). For as he was quite unacquainted with the military art, he was continually applying for information how to draw up the army, how to procure intelligence, by what measures he might defeat the designs of the foe, &c. Upon every flying report of the approach of the enemy, he was sure to betray great fear, and never failed to get drunk. In the end, surfeited with the camp and learning the revolt of the fleet at Misenum, he returned to Rome in the utmost consternation. The fleet was drawn to revolt by Claudius Faventius, who was only a centurion, and had been degraded by Galba with marks of ignominy. By forging letters from Vespasian, and in his name tempting the officers with great rewards, he prevailed upon them to change their allegiance. To reclaim them, Vitellius made choice of Claudius Julianus, who had lately commanded the fleet, and was highly esteemed by the marines. But he, without hesitation, went over to the party of Vespasian; and, putting himself at their head, took the city of Terracina. Hereupon Vitellius dispatched messengers to the army, with orders to retire from Mevania, and drawing nearer Rome, to encamp at Narnia, now Narni. From it he detached six cohorts and five hundred horse, whom he sent under the command of his brother Lucius, to make head against the soldiers of the fleet. He himself remained at Rome, where he assembled the people by their tribes, and to all, who desired to be listed, administered the oath of fidelity. As he moved compassion by his sad countenance, his doleful expressions, and

The fleet at Misenum revolts.

(X) Tacitus says, that while he was discoursing to an assembly of the soldiers soon after his arrival in the camp, there flew over his head a flock of ravenous birds, so numerous, that, like a black cloud, they darkened the day. He adds, that a bull escaped from the altar; and overturning the utensils for the sacrifice, was at last slain at a distance from thence, and not in the place where it was customary to kill the victims. This the superstitious pagans looked upon as the worst of omens (61).

(61) Tacit. c. 56.

and many tears, and was liberal, nay extravagant, in his promiſes, vaſt multitudes gave in their names; and to this daſtardly crowd, only daring in words, he gave the awful name of legions. To himſelf he aſſumed, at this juncture, the title of Cæſar, which he had hitherto rejected, as if the Cæſars alone were deſtined to hold the ſovereign power [r]. Vitellius takes the title of Cæſar.

THE army no ſooner left Mevania, than the Samnites, the Pelignians, and the Marſians embraced the cauſe of Veſpaſian. At the ſame time, Primus, informed of the enemy's motions, haſtened to paſs the Apennine, where, while his troops were ſorely annoyed with the cold, and ſtruggling with difficulty out of the deep ſnow, he conſidered what dangers he muſt have undergone, had not Vitellius's army abandoned their poſt. Primus, having paſt the Apennine, encamped at Carſulæ, between Mevania and Narnia, and there waited the arrival of the legions from Cremona, which were in full march to join him. As the forces of Vitellius were only ten miles diſtant, the troops which Primus had with him were for attacking them before the legions arrived, whom they conſidered rather as ſharers in the prey, than partakers in the peril. But Primus found means to calm their fury, and in the mean time the legions arrived, and ſoon after their arrival poſſeſſed themſelves of Interamna, now Terni; which ſo terrified Vitellius's army, that they began to fly over to the enemy in whole companies and troops, being encouraged thereunto by their tribunes and centurions. However, ſome of the common ſoldiers perſiſted inflexible in their adherence to Vitellius; and a report was induſtriouſly ſpread all over the camp, that Valens had eſcaped into Germany, and was there aſſembling a mighty army. To confute this rumour, and prevent their cheriſhing any farther hopes, Valens was put to death at Urbinum, where he was detained in priſon, and his head ſent to the camp, and diſplayed to the view of Vitellius's troops. At this ſight, they ſunk into utter deſpair; and ſeeing themſelves on all ſides bereft of hope, paſſed over in a body to the party of Veſpaſian. Upon this general defection, Primus and Varus neglected not, by repeated meſſages, to make offers to Vitellius of ſafety to his perſon, of revenues, of any private Primus paſſes the Apennine. Valens put to death. The whole army paſſes over to Veſpaſian.

[r] Idem, c. 55---58.

private retirement in Campania, or elſewere, if he would reſign the ſovereignty and ſubmit to Veſpaſian. Mucianus likewiſe ſent him letters with the like offers; to which he would have yielded, had he not been diſſuaded by his friends from ever leading a private life, after he had been emperor. To him now remained only the city of Rome, which Flavius Sabinus might have eaſily raiſed againſt him; but he, either out of a natural abhorrence to the ſpilling of blood, or becauſe he envied the grandeur of his brother's fortune, neglected to act with any warmth or alacrity. It is true, he often conferred with Vitellius about the means of reſtoring public peace; but could not be prevailed upon to uſe violence. In one of theſe conferences, he agreed to reſign the empire on certain conditions; which Sabinus aſſured him ſhould be ratified by his brother Veſpaſian; which was no ſooner known, than his followers exerted their utmoſt efforts to divert him from his reſolution; repreſenting to him, how ignominious, how inſecure the terms of peace were, ſince the performing them entirely depended upon the wanton humour of the conqueror. But, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to rouſe him to ſome attempt daring and brave, having learnt on the eighteenth of December the defection of his army at Narnia, he went forth from the palace in deep mourning, attended by his domeſtics, with his little ſon, an helpleſs infant; and paſſing in this forlorn condition through the ſtreets of the city, arrived at the place where the people uſed to aſſemble; and there to the multitude, which had flocked from all quarters, declared his reſolution in few words, ſuch as ſuited his preſent condition, that he voluntarily withdrew for the ſake of the public peace and the good of the commonwealth; and that he only deſired they would remember him, and to his brother, to his wife, and to his innocent and tender children, ſhew compaſſion and mercy. At the ſame time, extending his arms, with his little ſon in them, he recommended him, now to one, now to another, then to all. At laſt, burſting into tears, he ungirt his ſword from his ſide, and preſented it to the conſul Cæcilius Simplex, who ſtood juſt by him, as thus reſigning the power of life and death over the citizens. As the conſul refuſed to receive it, and the aſſembly with loud clamours oppoſed his reſignation, he departed, declaring, that he intended to deveſt himſelf of the badges of the imperial dignity in the temple

Vitellius deſigns to abdicate.

temple of Concord, and thence to ſeek a private retirement in his brother's houſe. But the people, ſenſibly affected with this doleful ſcene, declared with one voice againſt his withdrawing to a private dwelling, called him back to the palace, and even ſhut up every other way. Hereupon, not knowing what to do, nor how to proceed, he returned to the palace [s]. But as the rumour had already flown all over the city, that Vitellius had abdicated the empire; all the principal ſenators, great numbers of knights, with the city guards and thoſe of the night-watch, crowded to the houſe of Flavius Sabinus. Thither news was brought them, that Vitellius, encouraged by the people and his German guards, was retired to the palace. As Sabinus had advanced too far to retreat, all who were about him adviſed him to take arms, and force Vitellius to ſtand to the treaty he had made. Sabinus, though of himſelf heſitating and backward (Y), yielded to their advice; but ſome

But is not permitted.

Flavius Sabinus takes arms, but is defeated.

[s] Tacit. c. 60—69. Suet. c. 15. Dio, l. lxv. p. 740.

(Y) The nobility of Rome did all that lay in their power to rouſe Flavius Sabinus, and encourage him to ſhare with the other generals of the party the glory of placing his brother upon the throne. As he was governor of Rome, the cohorts there immediately depended upon him, and conſequently would not fail to join; moſt of the ſenators offered to aſſiſt him with their ſlaves. The cohorts remaining with Vitellius were few, and thoſe quite diſheartened with diſmal tidings from all quarters. The populace were wavering; and from them, if he once preſented himſelf as their head, he would find the ſame flattery and zeal, which they had ſhewn for Vitellius, inſtantly turned upon Veſpaſian. With theſe and the like reaſonings, the grandees of Rome ſtrove to rouſe Sabinus, but could not by any means prevail upon him to take arms; and hence ſome entertained private ſuſpicions againſt him, as if through malignity and emulation he ſtudied to thwart the deſigns formed in behalf of his brother. For Flavius Sabinus was both elder than Veſpaſian, and greatly ſurpaſſed him in wealth and reputation. He was even believed to have upheld his brother's credit otherwiſe ſinking, and for the money lent him to have received in pledge his houſe and poſſeſſions. Hence, though between them an appearance of unanimity ſubſiſted, private grudges were apprehended to remain. But our hiſtorian is

ſome of the boldeſt of Vitellius's men, meeting him as he advanced to the palace, attacked with great reſolution, and put him to flight. Sabinus under this diſtreſs had no other reſource but to ſhut himſelf up in the capitol; which he did accordingly, with a ſmall number of ſoldiers, ſome ſenators, and a few Roman knights. The ſoldiers of Vitellius immediately inveſted the capitol, but with ſtations ſo looſe and ill-guarded, that Sabinus, during the dead of the night, found means to acquaint Primus with his danger, and to cauſe his own children Sabinus and Clemens, and his brother's ſon Domitian, to be brought to him. The next morning, as ſoon as day began to dawn, before hoſtilities were commited on either ſide, Sabinus ſent Cornelius Martialis, a centurion of the firſt rank, to put Vitellius in mind of the treaty, and expoſtulate with him about thus violating ſuch ſolemn ſtipulations. Vitellius threw the whole fault upon the ſoldiers, whoſe ardour, he ſaid, it was not in his power to reſtrain. He even warned Martialis to retire by a private way, that he might not be aſſaſſinated by the ſoldiers, as the mediator of a peace which they abhorred. He was ſcarce returned to the capitol, when Vitellius's ſoldiers approached, and began the attack with great fury. The beſieged, with ſhowers of ſtones and tiles, ſtrove to overwhelm the aggreſſors; but the latter, advancing boldly to the very gates of the citadel, ſet fire to them, and muſt have entered, had not Sabinus pulled down the ſtatues on all hands, and, with theſe glorious monuments of antiquity, raiſed in the very entrance a new wall. Then they ſtrove to force a the oppoſite avenues of the capitol, climbing over the contiguous buildings, which, during a long peace, had been ſuffered to be raiſed to the height of the foundations of the capitol. Here the aſſault was cloſe and fierce; and the adjoining roofs being ſet on fire, whether by the aſſailant or the beſieged is uncertain, the flame ſpread from thence

He retires to the capitol.

The capitol beſieged.

is of opinion, that Sabinus, naturally merciful and gentle, a horred all ſlaughter and ſpilling of blood; and therefore fr quently conferred with Vitellius about the means of reſtori public peace, and laying down arms by mutual agreement a treaty (62).

(62) Idem, c. 64.

to the porticos of the capitol; and being there nouriſhed by the timber, which was very old, ſpread every way with terrible impetuoſity; nor did the conflagration ceaſe, till that glorious and ſtately edifice was burnt to the ground and laid in aſhes; the moſt deplorable misfortune, ſays Tacitus, that had happened ſince the founding of the city, and to the Roman people the moſt reproachful, ſince by them, and not by a foreign enemy, the ſacred ſeat of the great Jupiter, reared by their anceſtors with ſolemn benedictions and auſpices, as the pledge and centre of future empire, was thus impiouſly profaned and reduced to aſhes [t]. And burnt to the ground

WHILE the capitol was yet burning, Vitellius's bands, burſting in, put all who oppoſed them to the ſword: of theſe the moſt ſignal were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacenſis, Caſperius Niger, and Didius Scæva. Flavius Sabinus and Quinctius Atticus the conſul were taken and loaded with irons. The reſt, by divers ſtratagems, eſcaped, having learnt the word by which the ſoldiers of Vitellius were diſtinguiſhed by one another. Young Domitian was ſaved by the contrivance of one of his freed-men, under the diſguiſe of a linen robe, as if he had belonged to the tribe of the prieſts who offered ſacrifices in the capitol (Z). Sabinus and Atticus were carried to Vitellius, who did all that lay in his power to appeaſe the fury of the populace and ſoldiery, crying aloud for their execution. They were chiefly incenſed againſt Sabinus; and therefore, inſtead of hearkening to the emperor's entreaties, they ran Sabinus taken priſoner.

[t] Tacit. c. 70—72.

(Z) Domitian paſſing among the ſacrifices undiſcovered to the houſe of Cornelius Primus, a dependent of his fathers, near the place called Velabrum, lay there concealed, till Rome was taken by Primus. He afterwards, in the reign of his father, demoliſhed the houſe where he had lain concealed, and raiſed upon the place a ſmall chapel dedicated to Jupiter the protector, with an altar, and the account of his adventure engraved upon marble. When he arrived at the ſovereignty, he erected a vaſt temple ſacred to Jupiter the guardian, with himſelf held in the arms of the god (63).

(63) Idem, c. 74.

him through in his preſence; then cutting off his head, dragged his trunk through the ſtreets to the Scalæ Gemoniæ, where the bodies of malefactors were uſually expoſed. He had, for the ſpace of five-and-thirty years, carried arms for the commonwealth, and governed Mœſia ſeven years, and Rome twelve, bearing both in peace and war a ſignal reputation. The only failing, which even his enemies could object to him, was his talkativeneſs. As to the innocence of his life and juſtice of his actions, he was altogether blameleſs. All agree, that before Veſpaſian became emperor, Sabinus was looked upon as the chief ornament of the Flavian family, and the ſupport of Veſpaſian himſelf, who was his younger brother. When the people demanded the doom of the conſul Atticus, Vitellius perſiſted in oppoſing them, being entirely reconciled to him, in regard of his openly confeſſing, that he had ſet fire to the capitol; and by thus aſſuming the odium of the crime, though the whole was by ſome thought a fiction, acquitted as innocent the party of Vitellius. About the ſame time, Lucius Vitellius, the emperor's brother, defeated in Campania the marines, who had declared for Veſpaſian, and retook Terracina. Six ſmall galleys eſcaped, and in one of them Apollinaris commander of the fleet. All the other veſſels were ſeized by the ſhore, or, ſurcharged by the flying crowd, ſunk to the bottom. Julianus, who had been ſent by Vitellius to reclaim the fleet, and had gone over to Veſpaſian, was taken priſoner, and by Lucius's orders firſt inhumanly ſcourged and then executed. Had Vitellius's men, now elated with ſucceſs, proceeded directly to Rome, a dreadful ſtruggle muſt have enſued; nor could it have been decided without the deſtruction of the city. But while Lucius was deliberating, whether he ſhould return forthwith to Rome, or purſue the reduction of Campania, the troops of Primus, informed of the danger of Sabinus, haſtened to his relief. Petilius Cerealis, one nearly allied to Veſpaſian and a commander of no mean character, upon the firſt news that the capitol was beſieged, was ſent forward with a thouſand horſe, and ordered to croſs the Sabine territories, and enter Rome through the Salarian way. Primus himſelf advanced along the great Flaminian road, and when the night was far ſpent, arrived at a place called the Red Rocks. There he received diſmal tidings, that Sabinus was murdered, the capitol reduced to aſhes, the city under dreadful conſternation, the populace and ſlaves

And murdered.

Lucius Vitellius takes Terracina.

Primus marches to Rome.

ſlaves all under arms for Vitellius, &c. (A). Petilius Cerealis, meeting not far from the city a party of the enemy, attacked them briſkly, but was by them received with equal reſolution, and after a long and bloody conteſt, put to flight and purſued as far as Fidenæ. This ſucceſs heightened the zeal and partiality of the people for Vitellius; they betook themſelves to arms, moſt of them ſnatching up whatever fell firſt in their way, and, thus armed, demanded to be led out againſt the enemy. Vitellius commended their zeal, but at the ſame time ſent embaſſadors both to Cerealis and Primus to renew the former treaty. The ſoldiers of Cerealis inſulted the deputies, and even wounded the prætor Arulenus Ruſticus, a man of great merit and diſtinction, and ſlew his principal lictor, for daring to open a paſſage through the crowd. Thoſe who went to Primus were better received. They were attended by

Vitellius ſends embaſſadors to treat of an accommodation.

(A) Primus's forces might have reached Rome before the capitol was beſieged; but, inſtead of purſuing their march to the city after they had left Narnia, they diverted themſelves at Ocriculum now Otricoli, in celebrating the annual feaſt of Saturn, which laſted many days There were not wanting ſome, who on this occaſion entertained ſuſpicions of Primus, and charged him, as if, through treachery, he thus lingered in conſequence of the letters ſecretly ſent him from Vitellius, with offers of the conſulſhip and of his daughter then marriageable, and with her a mighty fortune, as the rewards of revolting from Veſpaſian. Others alledged, that this charge was no more than a fiction, and that it was a reſolution concerted amongſt all the leaders, rather to terrify the city with a terrible diſplay of war, than to carry the war thither, ſince the chief ſtrength of the prætorian bands had already deſerted Vitellius, who was likewiſe precluded from receiving any reinforcements; ſo that it was preſumed he would quietly yield up the empire. But the true cauſe of ſo prepoſterous delay was, according to our hiſtorian, their waiting the coming of Mucianus, who was advancing full march with the forces of the eaſt, and by frequent letters retarded the motion of the conquering army, being ſtung with envy at the ſucceſs of Primus, and thinking that he ſhould be deprived of all ſhare in the glory of the war, were he not preſent at the entry into Rome. But the news, that the capitol was beſieged, rouſed Primus, and put the whole army in motion (74).

(74) Idem, c. 78.

the Veſtal virgins, who brought letters from Vitellius to Primus, wherein the emperor deſired, that the battle, which was to be the laſt, might be ſuſpended for one day, ſince during that interval, all things might be eaſily accommodated. Primus diſmiſſed the virgins with all demonſtrations of honour; but to Vitellius returned anſwer, that, by the murder of Sabinus and the burning of the capitol, all means of ending the war by treaty were cut off (B). The embaſſadors were ſcarce gone, when the whole army moved, advancing in three bodies to the walls of Rome, where the forces of Vitellius expected them, divided likewiſe in three bodies. The weak and unwarlike populace was routed at the firſt onſet; but Vitellius's other troops, ſallying out againſt the enemy as they approached the walls of the city, attacked them with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. Primus's men ſtood their ground with equal reſolution and intrepidity; ſo that the moſt cruel and bloody battle enſued that the Romans had ever ſuſtained. The conflict laſted ſeveral hours with various ſucceſs; but in the end proved favourable to Primus's men, as ſuperior in the abilities of their leaders. The Vitellians were with great ſlaughter driven into the city, where they aſſembled again; and, though vanquiſhed and routed, renewed the battle with freſh vigour, and continued it to the cloſe of the day. The people gathered about the combatans as ſpectators; and as if they had been only attending the repreſentation of a fight exhibited for public amuſement, they ſometimes favoured one party, ſometimes another, with theatrical ſhouts and clappings: nay, as often as either ſide turned their backs, or particulars fled into houſes, or concealed themſelves in ſhops, they inſiſted upon their being dragged out and ſlain. The people, as Tacitus obſerves, were

Primus's anſwer.

Vitellius's men driven into the city

(B) Muſonius Rufus, by rank a Roman knight, by profeſſion a Stoic, joining himſelf to the embaſſadors, endeavoured, by philoſophical diſcourſes about the advantages of peace and the dangers attending war, to quell the fury of men in arms; but was derided by ſome, outrageouſly inſulted by others, and at laſt, partly by menaces, partly by perſuaſions of the more moderate, prevailed upon to forbear his unreaſonable leſſons of wiſdom (75).

(75) Idem, c. 81.

were so little affected with this tragical spectacle, that at the same time were seen in one place cruel conflicts and bleeding wounds; in another luxurious banqueting and voluptuous revellings; every-where streams of blood and heaps of carcases; and hard by wanton debauches and lewd harlots: in short, all the abominations of a most dissolute and riotous peace, and all the barbarities of a most dreadful and cruel captivity. Primus's men having in the end prevailed and made themselves masters of the city, marched in the next place to storm the camp of the prætorian guards, whither the most determined amongst the enemy had retired. As they considered the camp as their last hope and resource, they exerted they utmost efforts in defending it; and, though in number inferior, often repulsed the aggressors; and at length, when the gates in spite of all opposition, were burst open, uniting together, they made a last effort; but being overpowered by numbers, they all fell, facing the enemy and wounded only before [a].

Which is taken with the camp.

Vitellius abandons the palace, but returns to it.

Vitellius, seeing the city taken, caused himself to be conveyed in a chair through the back part of the palace to his wife's house upon mount Aventine, with a design to lie there concealed during the day, and fly by night to his brother, then at Terracina. But as to one who is under dread and fears all things, the present affairs seem most dangerous, he soon changed his mind and returned to the palace. Suetonius writes, that he altered his resolution upon a groundless and uncertain report, that a treaty and a peace was concluded. Be that as it will, he found the palace now quite desolate and abandoned; all his slaves and domestics having slipped away, or carefully avoiding to meet him. Terrified with the dismal solitude and silence, he tried to enter several apartments; but finding them all shut, and being at last weary with such miserable and solitary wandering to and fro, he thrust himself into the porter's lodge, and concealed himself behind the bed. In the mean time, a party of Primus's men entering the place, searched all places and corners, till at last they discovered the emperor and dragged him out. As they knew him not, they enquired who he was, and whether he could acquaint them where what was become of Vitellius. He deceived them at first

[a] Idem, c. 73—84. Dio, l. lxv. p. 742. Suet. c. [illegible] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 42.

but being ſoon known by Julius Placidus, tribune of a prætorian band, he pretended to have matters of the utmoſt importance to impart to Veſpaſian, and with great earneſtneſs begged to be kept, though it were in priſon, till his arrival. But the tribune and ſoldiers, deaf to all entreaties, tied forthwith his hands behind him, threw a halter about his neck, rent all his apparel, and dragged him half-naked into the forum through the great ſtreet called the Sacred Way, forcing him, with their ſwords pointed at his throat, to hold up his head, and preſent his face to the indignities offered him by the rabble, who now reviled him in a moſt outrageous manner. They forced him to behold his own ſtatues thrown down, and to view the place where Galba had been murdered. While he was thus haled along, a German ſoldier meeting him, drew his ſword and diſcharged a violent blow, whether at Vitellius to revenge ſome former injury, or at the tribune, or to releaſe the emperor from inſults and deriſion, is uncertain. The tribune's ear he actually cut off, and was himſelf inſtantly ſlain. Vitellius they puſhed forward, the populace the whole time upbraiding him with his gluttony, his target of Minerva, his lewdneſs, and even the imperfections of his body; for he was enormouſly tall, corpulent, and ſomewhat lame, having been hurt by a chariot, while he was attending Caligula at the races in the circus. He bore all the inſults and indignities offered him without uttering a ſingle word, except to the tribune, to whom, while he treated him in a manner altogether unbecoming, he anſwered, that nevertheleſs he had been his emperor. They dragged him at laſt to the Gemoniæ, the common charnel of malefactors, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had lain expoſed, and there with many wounds put an end to his unhappy life. His head was cut off, and carried on a pole through the chief ſtreets of the city. His body was dragged with a hook, and with all poſſible ignominy thrown into the Tiber, but afterwards buried by his widow Galeria Fundana. Thus died Aulus Vitellius, the ninth emperor of Rome, according to ſome in the fifty-fourth, according to others in the fifty-eighth, year of his age, after having reigned a year, wanting ten or twelve days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor at Cologn, and eight months, and a few days after the death of Otho. He was raiſed to the firſt dignities in the ſtate by no parts or merit;

Inſulted by the populace.

And executed.

merit of his own, but in regard to the luſtre of his family, which was one of the moſt conſpicuous in Rome. By his extravagant bounties and largeſſes, he gained the affections both of the ſoldiery and people. Of the former, many adhered to him with unſhaken fidelity to the laſt, tho', in the opinion of our hiſtorian, he had not one good quality to recommend him to ſuch as wiſhed well to the republic, having been ſtained, even from his tender years, with all manner of crimes and moſt infamous and abominable iniquities [w]. The day being already far ſpent, the ſenate could not be aſſembled, the ſenators and magiſtrates having either privately withdrawn from the city, or concealed themſelves in the houſes of their dependents. Domitian, apprehending now no further danger, preſented himſelf to the leaders of the party, and was by the ſoldiers thronging about him ſaluted Cæſar, and by them conducted in a kind of triumph to his father's houſe.

Domitian ſaluted Cæſar.

In the mean time, Lucius Vitellius was with his cohorts advancing from Terracina to the relief of his brother. The cavalry was therefore ſent forward to Aricia, and the legions ordered to advance to Bovillæ. But Lucius was no ſooner informed of the unhappy doom of the emperor, than he ſurrendered himſelf and his bands to the pleaſure of the conquerors. The ſoldiers were diſarmed and led through the city, guarded on each ſide by files of armed men, without betraying a ſuppliant look, or dropping a mean expreſſion, though outrageouſly inſulted by the mocking and petulant vulgar. They were all committed to priſon, but ſoon after releaſed. As for Vitellius, he was put to death; a puniſhment which he well deſerved, being no leſs addicted to all kinds of vices than his brother. But, for all his vices, he wanted neither courage nor activity, and ſupported the cauſe with great reſolution and vigilance [x]. By the death of the emperor and his brother, war was rather ſeen to ceaſe, than peace to commence; for the conquerors, continuing in arms, haunted all over the city after the conquered, filling with carnage and mangled bodies the ſtreets, and places of public reſort, the temples, and even the private houſes, which they burſt open and pillaged, pretending, that there ſome Vitellians

Lucius Vitellius ſurrenders himſelf and his troops, and is put to death.

[w] Tacit. c. 85, 86. Suet. c. 4, 5, 15, 18. Dio, p. 743. [x] Tacit. l. iv. c. 2.

ans were concealed. The indigent part of the populace failed not to join the ſoldiers in the general violence and ſpoil; ſo that on all hands nothing was heard but diſmal complaints and outcries, and nothing ſeen but the dreadful calamities of a city ſtormed and ſacked. Domitian who already enjoyed the name and reſidence of Cæſar, inſtead of ſtriving to check the inſolence of the ſoldiery, attended his infamous pleaſures, and only by his diſſolute life ſhewed himſelf the ſon of an emperor. Primus, in whoſe hands the whole power was lodged, made uſe of it only to plunder more freely, being wholly taken up in conveying from the palace treaſure, moveables, and domeſtic ſlaves, as if he were ſtill ſeizing the ſpoil of Cremona. When the fury of the ſoldiers began to abate, the ſenate met, and confirmed the ſovereignty of Veſpaſian, decreeing to him with great alacrity, all the titles and prerogatives ever inveſted in former princes. They declared him conſul, giving him his ſon Titus for collegue in that dignity: Domitian they honoured with the prætorſhip and conſular authority: they preſented Primus with the conſular ornaments, and Cornelius Fuſcus and Arrius Varus with thoſe of the prætorſhip. All theſe decrees were paſſed at the motion of Valerius Aſiaticus, conſul elect [y].

The miſerable condition of the city.

The ſovereignty of Veſpaſian acknowledged by the ſenate.

During theſe commotions in Italy, the Batavians revolted under the conduct of the celebrated Claudius Civilis; but of the cauſes and events of this war, which continued long, we ſhall ſpeak in the following reign. The people of Dacia too roſe up in arms; a people never well-affected to the Romans, and then by no forces reſtrained, ſince the army was withdrawn out of Mœſia. They ſtormed the winter quarters of the auxiliary cohorts, paſſed the Danube, and were proceeding to demoliſh the entrenchments of the legions, when Mucianus happened to march through Mœſia, with the forces of the eaſt. As that commander was already appriſed of the victory at Cremona, he detached the ſixth legion to oppoſe the barbarians, and appointed Fonteius Agrippa governor of Mœſia, with part of the troops which had ſurrendered at Cremona, and which it was thought adviſeable to engage in a foreign war, that they might not diſturb domeſtic peace. Agrippa obliged the enemy to repaſs the Danube; and, to prevent

The Dacians in arms are quelled by Mucianus.

[y] Idem, ibid.

prevent any farther attempts of the like nature, built a great number of forts on the banks of the Danube, and ſtrengthened them with numerous garriſons. In Pontus likewiſe great diſturbances were raiſed by one Anicetus, formerly freed-man to king Polemon, under him in great power, and commander of the royal navy. As he was highly provoked againſt the Romans, for changing the kingdom into a province, which happened in the reign of Nero, and by that means depriving him of all his authority, he led hold of the preſent opportunity, and, levying forces under colour of aſſiſting Vitellius, ſeized the city of Trebizond, burnt the fleet which guarded the coaſts, and, entering into an alliance with the neighbouring barbarians, ſcoured the ſea with ſcorn and inſult, and committed dreadful ravages on the coaſts of Aſia. Againſt him Veſpaſian ſent a choice body of legionaries, under the command of Virdius Geminus, an officer diſtinguiſhed in war; who, attacking the enemy while they were roving about in queſt of booty, drove them into their veſſels; then, with ſome galleys built with great expedition, chaced Anicetus into the mouth of the river Chobus, where he relied upon the protection of Sedochus king of the Lazians, a people of Colchis. That prince ſeemed at firſt determined to defend his ally; but, as ſoon as a reward for his treachery was propoſed and a war threatened, he betrayed Anicetus and all his followers to the conqueror. Thus ended that ſervile war; and Veſpaſian received an account of the ſucceſs which had attended his arms, a few days before the joyful tidings were brought him of the great victory gained by his forces at Cremona [z].

Diſturbances in Pontus.

Anicetus' taken.

[z] Tacit. c. l. iii. c. 46, 47, 48.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

From the death of Vitellius, to the death of Domitian, the laſt of the twelve Cæſars, in whom ended the Flavian family.

The deſcent birth, and actions of Veſpaſian, before he attained the ſovereignty.

THE Flavian family, now raiſed to the higheſt pitch of grandeur, was no-ways conſpicuous, either for its luſtre or antiquity. Titus Flavius, the emperor's grandfather, was a citizen of Reate, now Rieti, in the country of the Sabines; and in the civil wars between Cæſar and Pompey, ſerved under the latter in quality of centurion, but returned home after the battle of Pharſalia; and, having obtained his pardon, betook himſelf to the mean employment of collecting taxes, under the farmers of the public revenue. His ſon, Titus Flavius Sabinus, followed the ſame profeſſion, and acquitted himſelf in it with ſuch integrity, that by ſeveral cities in Aſia, where he was collector of the tax called quadrageſima, ſtatues were erected to him, with this inſcription, To the honeſt publican. Afterwards he withdrew into the country of the Helvetii, where he acquired a conſiderable fortune by lending money upon intereſt. He married Veſpaſia Polla, whoſe father had been military tribune and prefect of the camp; and had by her two children, Sabinus, of whom we have ſpoken above, and Veſpaſian, who was born on the ſeventeenth of November of the ninth year of the common chriſtian æra; that is, five years before the death of Auguſtus; ſo that he was raiſed to the empire in the ſixtieth year of his age. He was, amongſt many other new men choſen from the municipal towns, from the colonies, and even from the provinces, admitted into the ſenate by the emperor Caligula. He indeed, at firſt declined that dignity, but was at laſt, in a manner conſtrained by his mother to accept it. He afterwards ſerved in quality of military tribune in Thrace, was quæſtor of the provinces of Cyrene and Crete, ædile, and prætor. He attended the emperor Claudius into Britain, where he diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed himſelf, though only tribune of a legion, in a very eminent manner, as we have related in the reign of that prince. He was conſul during the two laſt months of the eleventh year of Claudius's reign, and by Nero appointed governor of Africa in quality of pro-conſul. He married Flavia Domitilla, a native of Africa, at firſt ſlave to Statilius Capella, but afterwards manumiſed and made free of the city. By her he had two ſons, Titus and Domitian, who reigned after him, and one daughter, named Domitilla, who died, as did alſo her mother, before his acceſſion to the empire. Veſpaſian was, as Tacitus obſerves, of all the emperors the only one by power changed for the better. While he was in a private ſtation, he uſed to court the favour of the princes by the meaneſt flattery. During his prætorſhip he begged leave to exhibit extraordinary ſports in honour of Caligula, on account of the pretended victory in Germany. He was one of the few ſycophants who were of opinion, that thoſe who were ſaid to have conſpired againſt that prince ſhould be publicly executed, and that their bodies ſhould be left unburied. In the preſence of the whole ſenate he returned Caligula thanks for having done him the honour of inviting him to his table. He was chiefly indebted to Narciſſus, the freed-man of Claudius, for the conſulſhip, and the two ſacerdotal dignities which he enjoyed; what dignities theſe were, we are no where told. After the death of Narciſſus, his great patron, he withdrew and led a private life, dreading the violent ſpirit of Agrippina, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to that miniſter and all his friends. It was therefore probably after her death, that he was by Nero appointed proconſul of Africa, in which government he acquitted himſelf, according to Suetonius [a], with honour and integrity; according to Tacitus [b], with ignominy and public hatred. The former acknowledges, that during a ſedition at Adrumetum, he was outrageouſly inſulted by the populace; and on the other hand, it was well known that no province eſpouſed the cauſe of Vitellius, and oppoſed the preferment of Veſpaſian, with more ardour than that of Africa; a manifeſt proof that his government had not been popular. Soon after his return from Africa, his affairs being in a bad condition and his credit at ſtake, he was obliged to mortgage his houſe and poſſeſſions to his brother Sabinus, and in the mean

[a] Suet in Veſp. c. 4. [b] Tacit. l. ii. c. 97.

mean time to ſupport himſelf and his family with the mean gain he earned by ſelling and changing horſes, nay, and by other means ſtill more unworthy; for he was convicted of having extorted from a young knight the ſum of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, for employing his intereſt in procuring him a place in the ſenate againſt the inclination and expreſs will of his father. He attended Nero into Achaia, where he incurred that prince's diſpleaſure, and was forbid the court, for his inattention while the emperor was ſinging; a crime which had nigh coſt him his life at Rome, as we have related elſewhere. Hereupon he withdrew into the country, and there led a life altogether private and retired, expecting every moment his laſt doom, when he was, contrary to his expectation, named by Nero to command in the war againſt the Jews, as a perſon of great military abilities, and one who, on account of his mean extraction, gave him no umbrage. He was therefore ſent into Judæa, with three legions, eight ſquadrons of horſe, and ten auxiliary cohorts, his ſon Titus ſerving under him in quality of his lieutenant. In the courſe of that war, which proved ſo fatal to the Jewiſh nation, Veſpaſian, acquired ſignal reputation. In every duty incumbent upon a leader, or even a ſoldier, he was indefatigable: it was he who always led the march; he who always choſe the ground for encamping. Upon conſultations and diſpatches he ſpent nights and days, and was ever ready upon any exigency to encounter the enemy hand to hand. His diet was ſuch as chance preſented. In his garb and dreſs he varied little from a common ſoldier. In ſhort had he been exempt from avarice, he would have equalled the moſt famous commanders of antient times. With that vice he is charged by moſt writers; among the reſt by Tacitus, who owed to him his firſt promotion in the ſtate, but nevertheleſs declares, as becomes an impartial hiſtorian, againſt admitting perſonal hatred or affection in the characters of men. After the death of Nero and Galba, while Otho and Vitellius were contending for the ſovereignty, he began to cheriſh hopes of obtaining it himſelf, relying on ſeveral prodigies, prophecies, and propitious reſponſes or oracles (C). Of the many predictions,

His character as a general.

(C) The antients take notice of many prodigies preſaging his future grandeur. In his grounds ſays Tacitus (10), while he was in

(10) Tacit. l. ii. c. 78.

dictions, that of Josephus the historian is the most famous, who saluted Vespasian with the title of emperor, even in Nero's reign, and assured him, he should be soon invested with the sovereign power. His prediction is mentioned not only by himself [c], but likewise by Suetonius [d], who tells us, that Josephus, being by Vespasian's orders put in irons, boldly affirmed, that in a short time he should by him be set at liberty; but that he should be emperor first. However, that the empire was by the dark laws of fate, by predictions, and prophecies, foretold and ordained to Vespasian and his sons, was, says Tacitus, what we believed, after we had seen them emperors [e]. Vespasian, being encouraged

[c] Joseph. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 12. [d] Suet. c. 5. [e] Tacit. l. i. c. 86. & l. ii. c. 78.

in the bloom of his age, a cypress-tree, signally tall, fell suddenly; but the day following rose again, and resumed fresh growth and verdure; which was, according to the concurring testimonies of the soothsayers, an omen of extraordinary grandeur in the state; yet at first the whole presage seemed to have been literally fulfilled by his being honoured with the triumphal ornaments, which he acquired by his conduct in Britain; by his bearing the dignity of consul, and by his renown in vanquishing the Jews. But when he had passed through these honours, he began to believe, that the empire was the thing presaged. He was confirmed in this belief by the answer returned him by Basilides, priest of the god Carmel, so called from mount Carmel, on which stood the altar of that deity; a deity, as Tacitus observes, not distinguished by any statue or temple, but only by an altar. As Vespasian offered sacrifice there, and was entertaining great hopes and views, Basilides the priest, having diligently surveyed the entrails, addressed him thus: Whatever design it is which you meditate, O Vespasian, whether to build a house, or extend your domains, or to enlarge your train of slaves, to you is granted a mighty and large settlement, infinite bounds, and multitudes of of men. These mysterious words were immediately spread abroad by fame, and all explained as presaging the empire to Vespasian. Many responses of oracles and prodigies of the like nature, are related by Suetonius (11) and Dion Cassius (12); but we shall not trespass upon the patience of our readers with a detail of them.

(11) Suet. in Vesp. c. 5, (12) Dio, l. lxvi p. 744.

couraged by Mucianus, governor of Syria, by Tiberius Alexander, governor of Egypt, and by all his officers, not to neglect the present opportunity, while two competitors, of all men the most unworthy, were contending for the empire, he at length yielded, as we have already related, and was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria on the first of July of the sixty-ninth year of the christian æra; on the third of the same month in Judæa, where he then was; on the fifteenth in Syria; and a few days after in all the provinces of the east. He was not in himself any ways changed by so sudden and so mighty a turn of fortune: no loftiness appeared in his aspect, no arrogance, nor any new behaviour under his new character. He immediately rewarded his friends, raising some to military commands, others to be governors of provinces, several to the rank of senators, most of them men of signal merit and renown, and who afterwards acquired the highest honours in the state. As he thought it below him to court the soldiers by largesses, he promised them no greater donative in the heat of the civil war, than had been given them by others during full peace. In the council which he established at Berytus for the direction of all momentous affairs, it was resolved that Titus should pursue the war against the Jews, and Mucianus march with part of the forces against Vitellius. But Titus undertook nothing till the next year; and Antonius Primus, with the Illyrian army, defeated the troops of Vitellius before the arrival of Mucianus, made himself master of Rome and all Italy, and caused the unhappy emperor to be publicly executed as a common criminal: all which transactions we have already related at length. In the mean time, Vespasian, having passed some time at Antioch, the capitol of Syria, proceeded from thence to Egypt, where he received the joyful tidings of the victory gained by Primus at Cremona. Hereupon he hastened to Alexandria, with a design to distress Rome by famine, since from Egypt chiefly the city was supplied with corn. He was at the same time preparing to invade Africa by sea and land, in order to bring upon the enemy, by intercepting their provisions, the calamity of hunger, with that of dissension. But, in the mean time, many persons of all ranks and degrees arrived from Italy, to acquaint him with the fate and fall of Vitellius; which were no sooner known, than multitudes flocked from all quarters, notwithstanding it was then winter, to court

Is acknowledged emperor in the eastern provinces.

Receives news of the fate of Vitellius.

court the favour of the new emperor; insomuch, that Alexandria, the greatest city of the empire after Rome, proved too small for the vast numbers of embassadors, deputies, noblemen, officers, &c. who flocked thither. Among the rest, embassadors arrived from Vologeses king of Parthia, who offered to assist him with forty thousand Parthian horse. Vespasian returned him thanks, and desiring he would send embassadors to the senate, acquainted him, that the commonwealth was re-established in peace[f]. The news of the death of Vitellius made Vespasian alter his measures; for instead of distressing the city, which had already proclaimed him emperor, with famine, he dispatched thither a great number of vessels laden with corn; which arrived very seasonably, there not being at that time remaining in all the public stores above ten days provisions of grain[g]. As the winter-season was far advanced, Vespasian continued some months at Alexandria, waiting a safe passage from the gentle weather returning with the summer.

Mucianus arrives at Rome. His character.

In the mean time, Mucianus arrived at Rome, according to Josephus[h], the day after the death of Vitellius, and in a moment drew to himself, as he had been invested by Vespasian with an uncontrouled power, the whole sway. Licinius Mucianus was, according to the character which Tacitus has drawn of him, a man remarkable for a strange combination of good and bad qualities; luxury and vigilance, haughtiness and complaisance; when unemployed, excessively voluptuous; of infinite abilities and activity, when business required them. Hence his equal share of praise and reproach; as a public minister admired, as a private voluptuary condemned. He was a great minister in the several arts of engaging, an able orator, well versed in civil affairs, prompt in foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, mighty in credit with those who were above him, under him, or in equal authority with him; in short, such a man as could easier create an emperor than be one. Vespasian, as he was chiefly indebted to him for

[f] Idem, l. iv. c. 51. Joseph. ibid. l. iv. c. 42. [g] Dio, Val. p. 702. Tacit. ibid. [h] Joseph. bell. l. iv. c. 42.

for the empire, upon his departure for Italy, inveſted him with an unlimited power, and is even ſaid to have truſted him with his ſignet, as if he had been his partner in the ſovereignty. Hence, upon his arrival at Rome, he was by all looked upon and revered, rather as the emperor's colleague, than as a ſubordinate miniſter. Quite ſunk was the power of Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus, whom Veſpaſian had already appointed captain of the prætorian guards.

He bears univerſal ſway.

As Mucianus could not well diſſemble his animoſity towards them, the city immediately turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herſelf to the new minion. To him alone court was paid, to him all addreſſes were made: neither was he wanting to his own grandeur; for he never appeared in public but encompaſſed with guards, and attended with an equipage becoming a ſovereign. He forbore indeed the name, but performed all the functions of ſovereignty. Soon after his arrival, he cauſed Aſiaticus, the late emperor's freed-man, to attone for his late wicked ſway, by ſuffering the death of a ſlave. His doom was by every one expected and even wiſhed for; but the death of Calpurnius Galerianus occaſioned a mighty and general dread in the city. He was the ſon of Caius Piſo, who, in the reign of Nero, had aſpired at the ſovereignty; but had himſelf no ſhare in that conſpiracy, nor had ever offered to diſturb the ſtate. However, as he was of an illuſtrious family, of a graceful perſon, and greatly beloved by the people, he was, by order of Mucianus, committed to the cuſtody of a band of ſoldiers, ſent forty miles from Rome, and there put to death by having his veins opened [1].

He cauſes Calpurnius Galerianus to be murdered.

WHILE Mucianus was thus ruling with abſolute ſway in Rome, the Batavians were carrying on the war againſt the Romans with ſtupendous ſucceſs in Lower Germany. Of that war we ſhall here, as in its proper place, (for it was happily concluded this year, the firſt of Veſpaſian's reign) briefly recount the cauſes and events. The Batavians, originally the ſame people with the Cattans, who dwelt beyond the Rhine, being driven thence by a domeſtic inſurrection, ſettled at the extreme borders of Gaul, in an iſland formed by the mouths of the Rhine and the Ocean. According to this deſcription, the Batavians poſſeſſed South Holland, part of the country of Utrecht, and the

The Batavians revolt from the Romans, under the conduct of Claudius Civilis.

[1] Tacit. l. iv. c. 11. Joſeph. l. v. c. 4.

the iſland of Betaw, in the dukedom of Guelderland. They were not ſubjects, but allies, of the Romans, being obliged to aſſiſt them only with troops commanded by men of the firſt rank amongſt them. They had at this time eight cohorts, men thoroughly exerciſed in the wars of Germany and Britain. Theſe Vitellius had gained over to his party, and a great ſhare they had in the victory at Bedriacum; but proving afterwards refractory and ungovernable, the emperor thought it adviſeable to remand them back to their own country. Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis, both men of royal deſcent, greatly ſurpaſſed the reſt in credit and quality. The former was ſlain by Fonteius Capito, who falſly charged him with rebellion. The latter was put in irons and ſent to Nero; but by Galba declared innocent, and ſet at liberty. Under Vitellius he was again in danger of his life, being charged with treaſon: and hence his hatred to the Romans, which prompted him to arm his countrymen againſt them. However, as he was a man of great addreſs, leſt the Romans ſhould look upon him as a public enemy, if he once appeared to have revolted from them, in the beginning of the war between Vitellius and Veſpaſian, he pretended an attachment to the latter, and was, by letters from Antonius Primus, ordered to ſtop and drive back the forces ſummoned to ſuccour Vitellius. Civilis therefore, determined to revolt, but, concealing for the preſent his main drift, contented himſelf with diverting the Batavian youth from liſting themſelves, purſuant to the orders of Vitellius. Soon after, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, he aſſembled the chiefs of the nation and the moſt daring amongſt the populace, in a ſacred grave, where, when they had carouſed till far in the night, and were warmed and bold, he acquainted them with his real deſign, diſplayed the praiſes and renown of their nation, enumerated the inſults they had ſuffered, the oppreſſion they groaned under, and all the miſeries attending upon a ſtate of ſervitude. As he was heard with great applauſe, he bound them all with many barbarous ceremonies in a combination. He then diſpatched meſſengers to the Caninefates, who inhabited part of the iſland, to engage them in the ſame cauſe and aſſociation. The Caninefates fell readily into his meaſures; and chuſing for their leader one Brinno, famous for brutal bravery, took the field; and being joined by the Friſians, marched to attack the Romans, who, under the conduct of Aquilius, had retired to the upper part of the iſland. The conflict was ſcarce begun, when a

Civilis is joined by the Caninefates and Friſians.

band of Tungrians, who ſerved under the Romans, went over to the enemy. At the ſame time, the Roman fleet, conſiſting of twenty-four veſſels, the rowers being for the moſt part natives of Batavia, rowed away directly to the enemy's ſhore. By this means the Roman forces were eaſily defeated, put to flight, and inhumanly butchered, both by the enemy and their own companions. Upon the news of this victory, the Germans immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to Civilis, with offers of ſuccours. On the other hand, Hordeonius Flaccus, who commanded in Upper Germany, ordered Memmius Lupercus to march out forthwith againſt the enemy with two legions, and the cavalry of the Ubians and Treverians, and a ſquadron of Batavian horſe, men long ſince debauched in their fidelity to the Romans, but feigning great zeal for their cauſe, purpoſely to betray them in the very heat of the fight. Accordingly the two armies having joined battle, the Batavian cavalry, deſerting the legions while they were fighting with great bravery, fled over to Civilis; then inſtantly, like enemies, turned upon the Romans. Yet the legionaries, though preſſed on all ſides, ſtill kept their ranks and ſtood their ground, till the auxiliary Ubians and Treverians betook themſelves to a ſcandalous flight, diſperſing all over the fields. Againſt them the Batavians bent their fury and purſuit; which gave the legions an opportunity of retiring with ſafety to the old camp, which, as we have obſerved in the reign of Tiberius, is placed by moſt geographers near the preſent city of Stanten in the duchy of Cleves. About the ſame time, the eight Batavian cohorts, which, in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, were upon their march to Rome, being informed of the revolt of their countrymen and the advantages by them already gained, returned, and took their rout towards Lower Germany, there to join Civilis. Herennius Gallus, who then governed Bonna, now Bonn, attempted to oppoſe the paſſage of the Batavians at the head of three thouſand legionaries and ſome cohorts haſtily raiſed; but was by them defeated with great ſlaughter. The conquerors, avoiding Cologn, purſued their march, without committing any hoſtilities, and joined Civilis, who ſeeing himſelf now at the head of a regular army, but ſtill dreading the formidable power of the Romans, obliged all who were with him to ſwear allegiance to Veſpaſian, and diſpatched embaſſadors to the two legions in the old camp, requiring them

Puts the Romans to flight.

Eight Batavian cohorts go over to Civilis.

to

to take the ſame oath. The anſwer they returned was, That they would not follow the counſels of a known traitor, nor thoſe of a public enemy: and that a Batavian fugitive muſt not interfere in the affairs of the Roman ſtate, but prepare to meet the doom due to his enormous crimes. Civilis, highly provoked at this anſwer, rouſed to arms the whole Batavian nation, and, being joined by the Bructerans and Tenƈterans, attacked the camp with a numberleſs multitude and a fury hardly to be expreſſed. But the Romans, though ſcarce five thouſand men, made ſo vigorous a defence, that Civilis, deſpairing of ſucceſs by the method of force and ſtorming, changed his meaſures, and blocked them up on all ſides, not doubting, but they would be ſoon conſtrained by famine to capitulate. In the mean time, Hordeonius Flaccus, underſtanding that the camp was beſieged, immediately diſpatched Dillius Vocula, commander of the eighteenth legion, and Herennius Gallus, with powerful ſuccours to the relief of the two legions. But while theſe two commanders were ſtill encamped at Gelduba, upon the Rhine, now Gelnub, a ſmall village near Ordingen, in the territory of Cologn, news was brought him of the defeat of Vitellius at Cremona; whereupon the officers immediately declared for Veſpaſian, forced the ſoldiers to ſwear allegiance to him, and ſent Alpinus Montanus to acquaint Civilis with the victory, and deſire him to lay down his arms and diſband his troops, if with them he meant to aſſiſt Veſpaſian, ſince they all had already acknowledged him emperor. But Civilis had ſomething elſe in view, and therefore openly declared, that he would never ſheath his ſword, till he had redeemed both his own country and Gaul from the tyrannical yoke of the Romans; and that inſtant diſpatched againſt Vocula the veteran cohorts and the flower of his German forces, under the command of Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor, huſband to his ſiſter. Theſe coming upon the Romans quite unprepared, put them to flight and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in the mean time, ſome Gaſcon bands, lately raiſed by Galba, arriving at Gelduba, fell upon the enemy in the rear, whilſt earneſtly purſuing the defeat, filled them with diſmay, and inſpired the Romans with freſh courage; ſo that they returned to the charge, and, with the aſſiſtance of their allies, put the enemy in their turn to flight, and gave them a total overthrow. All the braveſt men of the Batavian

Civilis beſieges the old camp.

Defeats Vocula the Roman commander, and is defeated by the Vaſcones.

infantry were cut off; but their horſe eſcaped with the Roman ſtandards and priſoners taken in the beginning of the encounter. Vocula, encouraged with this ſucceſs, marched againſt the enemy beſieging the old camp, and, after a moſt bloody conflict, forced them to abandon the enterprize. In the heat of the engagement, Civilis, being thrown by the fall of his horſe, was throughout both armies believed to have been dageroufly wounded, or ſlain: and to this report chiefly was owing the victory gained by the Romans. Vocula, inſtead of purſuing the enemy, when broken and in diſorder, applied himſelf to fortify the old camp; and, having ſtrengthened it with ſome new works, returned to Gelduba, and thence proceeded to Noveſium, now Nuys, where Hordeonius Flaccus lay encamped with part of the army. But Vocula was ſcarce gone, when Civilis again laid ſiege to the old camp, and advancing with a ſtrong detachment to Gelduba, made himſelf maſter of that place; but was put to flight by the Roman cavalry near Noveſium. But, in the mean time, the ſoldiers began to mutiny, and claim preſent payment of their donative; for they had learnt, that the money was already ſent thither by Vitellius. Hordeonius immediately complied with their demand; but diſtributed the money in the name of Veſpaſian. The ſoldiers no ſooner received it, than they abandoned themſelves without controul to debauchery and good chear, to nocturnal revellings and cabals; and, when intoxicated with wine, renewed their antient fury and rage againſt Hordeonius, who was by them ſuſpected of favouring Civilis, becauſe, from a mind well-diſpoſed towards Veſpaſian, he had not oppoſed his attempts. As none of the general officers dared to check or reprimand them, in the height of their rage they violently burſt into the bed-chamber of their general, dragged him out, and then butchered him. Vocula would have undergone the ſame fate, had he not made his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a ſlave. They then reſtored the images of Vitellius, tore thoſe of Veſpaſian, and committed, during that night, innumerable diſorders. But their rage being appeaſed upon the return of the day, dread and conſciouſneſs took place; the firſt, the fourteenth, and the eighteenth legions were eaſily reclaimed by Vocula, and led by him, after they had again taken the oath to Veſpaſian, againſt Civilis, who had laid ſiege to Magontiacum, now Mentz. Before their arrival the beſiegers were withdrawn; but the Romans

The Roman ſoldiers mutiny.

Murder Hordeonius Flaccus their general.

Romans coming up with them, as they marched careleſly and appriſed of no danger, fell upon them ſword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the diſperſed and diſorderly multitude [k].

In the mean time, the death of Vitellius, the murder of Hordeonius, and the burning of the capitol, being divulged through Germany and Gaul, both theſe nations ruſhed into open hoſtilities againſt the Roman people. A motly multitude of Cattans, Uſipians, Mattiacians, and other German nations, joined Civilis. The Gauls too, laying hold of the preſent opportunity, while the Romans were weakened and broken by ſuch ſucceſſive civil wars, combined to attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, being ſtrongly moved by the burning of the capitol to believe, that the diſſolution of the empire was at hand. The city, they ſaid, had of old been taken by the Gauls; but the manſion of Jupiter having eſcaped, the empire had thence continued to ſubſiſt. The Druids too animated them with vain oracles, that to nations beyond the Alps the empire of the world was portended. The chief ſway among the Gauls was borne at this time by Claſſicus, Julius Tutor, and Julius Sabinus; the two former Treverians, and the latter a native of Langres. Theſe three, having in private conferences ſounded the minds of the reſt, and engaged in their deſigns ſuch as they judged proper, came at length to a reſolution of throwing off all diſguiſes, and openly declaring againſt Rome. The only heſitation which occurred was, how to diſpoſe of the Roman forces then in Gaul. Some were for maſſacring them all, others for putting to the ſword only their commanders, ſince the common herd, bereft of their leaders, would be eaſily led into a confederacy. The latter opinion prevailed; and this was the ſubſtance of their firſt conſultation. The conſpirators then diſpatched incendiaries into all the regions of Gaul, to rouſe them to war; but in the mean time, feigned great obſequiouſneſs and reſpect to Vocula, who was well appriſed of their deſigns; but thought proper, as he wanted force to thwart them, to diſſemble in his turn, and to purſue the ſame artifices which were purſued againſt him. With this view he repaired to Cologn; but Claſſicus and Tutor, who

The Gauls revolt.

[k] Tacit. l. iv. c. 12—36.

were both commanders of the Treverian horſe, encamping by themſelves and ſeparating the firſt time from the legions, he returned back, and with the legions alone proceeded to Noveſium, a numerous body of Gauls having pitched in the open fields about two miles from that place. To the camp of the Gauls, as hoſtilities were not yet begun on either ſide, daily reſorted great numbers of Roman ſoldiers; and there, as they found themſelves ſurrounded with terrors on all ſides, they agreed to purchaſe their own ſafety, by committing an iniquity till then unknown among the Romans, which was to ſwear allegiance to the Gauls, and promiſe either to murder or deliver up in chains their officers. Vocula was not unapprifed of what paſſed in the camp of the Gauls; but, judging it beneath him to fly, aſſembled the ſoldiery, and having in vain attempted to divert them from ſo monſtrous an iniquity, he retired with a deſign to put an end to his life; but being reſtrained by his freed-men and ſlaves, he was ſoon after murdered by Æmilius Longinus, a deſerter from the firſt legion, ſent by Claſſicus for that purpoſe. His lieutetenants, Herennius and Numiſius, were only put in irons. After this, Claſſicus, aſſuming the badges of a Roman magiſtrate, entered the camp, and adminiſtered the new oath to the legions there, every one ſwearing allegiance to the ſovereignty and empire of the Gauls. Between Tutor and Claſſicus was ſhared the charge of managing the war. The former laid ſiege to Cologn, and forced the inhabitants to take the ſame oath, as he did all the ſoldiers who lay farther up the Rhine. Claſſicus ſtrove to gain over by fair promiſes the two legions that were ſhut up in the antient camp, and were obliged, for want of proviſions, after having conſumed in food their horſes and other beaſts of burden, to ſupport themſelves by plucking ſhrubs and plants, and picking the herbs which ſprouted amongſt the ſtones of the walls. But at length, upon ſo much glory and patience, they brought a foul ſtain, by ſending deputies to Civilis to beg their lives. Neither were their ſupplications received, till they had ſworn homage and fidelity to the Gauls. Then he granted them their lives; but reſerved the plunder of the camp to himſelf, appointing guards to ſecure the money, ſlaves, and baggage, and others to convoy the ſoldiers thus departing deveſted of all. When they had marched about five miles, the Germans

The Roman legions murder Vocula, and ſwear allegiance to the Gauls.

Cologn and other cities take the ſame oath.

ruſhed

ruſhed upon them out of an ambuſh, and cut the greater part of them in pieces. The remainder fled back to the camp; which the Germans, by throwing in fire-brands, ſet on fire, ſo that ſuch of the unhappy Romans, as had ſurvived the late ſlaughter, were now all to a man conſumed by the flames. Civilis, elated with the ſucceſs of his arms, ſoon reduced all the neighbouring cities, ſome of them being willing to follow his fortune, and others awed by his power [1].

In the mean time, Julius Sabinus, having pulled down and broken the public tables containing the confederacy with Rome, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Cæſar; and, leading an huge hoſt of his countrymen the Lingones, ſuddenly invaded the adjacent ſtate of the Sequanians, who continued faithful to the Romans; but being by them put to flight, in order to raiſe a report that he had periſhed, he ſet on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled, and by that means ſaved his life yet for nine years. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him in the ſequel of this hiſtory. By this victory of the Sequanians the fury of the war was ſtayed in Gaul. The ſeveral ſtates began by degrees to recover coolneſs and judgment, the reſt following the example of the people of Rheims, who publiſhed all over the provinces of Gaul an invitation for aſſembling their ſeveral deputies, to conſult which conduced moſt to the good of the whole, war or peace. The aſſembly was held at Rheims, where Tullius Valentinus, one of the embaſſadors of the Treverians, with great vehemence promoted the war; but was oppoſed by Julius Auſpex, one of the chiefs in the ſtate of Rheims, who diſplayed at length the power of the Romans and the bleſſings of peace. They extolled the courage and reſolution of Valentinus, but followed the counſel of Auſpex, moſt of them being deterred from purſuing a general confederacy, by the mutual jealouſy and competition of the ſeveral provinces. It was aſked, Where muſt be the head of the war? whither muſt they recur for ſupreme authority? and, ſhould all their purſuits proſper, what place would they chuſe for the ſeat of empire? Some boaſted their alliances, ſome their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and from all theſe, each claimed ſuperior prerogative and rule. At length, after long and warm debates, they agreed to acquieſce in their preſent condition.

Julius Sabinus defeated.

The Gauls reſolve upon peace.

[1] Tacit. c. 67. Joſeph. l. vii. c. 11.

condition. To the Treverians letters were immediately diſpatched in the name of the ſtates of Gaul, adviſing them to lay down their arms, while their pardon was yet to be procured, and their friends were ready to intercede for them, if they ſhewed remorſe. But Valentinus, a better ſpeaker than commander, oppoſed this counſel, and ſhut the ears of the nation againſt it. What chiefly diſpoſed the Gauls to peace was, the news they received, that an army was advancing full march againſt them, conſiſting of four legions from Italy, two from Spain, and one from Britain, under the conduct of two ſignal commanders, Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis, whom Mucianus had diſpatched from Rome to put a ſtop to the further conqueſts of Civilis and Claſſicus. Sextilius Felix arrived before them, having at the head of ſome auxiliary cohorts forced a paſſage through Rhœtia. To him joined themſelves the twenty-firſt legion, and the ſquadron of horſe ſurnamed the Singular, commanded by Julius Briganticus, nephew to Civilis; but hated by his uncle, and hating him. With theſe forces Felix attacked and routed the Treverians commanded by Tutor near Bingium, now Bingen, and in a few days obliged the Tribocians, the Vangiones, the Cercatians, and the Nemetians, to deſert their countrymen, and return to the Romans. After he had thus made himſelf maſter of the countries bordering on the Rhine, from Mentz to the preſent city of Baſle, the legions, who had revolted to the Gauls, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to Veſpaſian; and leaving Treves, where they were then quartered, retired to Mets, a city confederate with the Romans. In the mean time, Petilius Cerealis arriving at Magontiacum, and being informed there, that Valentinus was poſted at Rigodulum, now Rigol, with a numerous band of Treverians, he drew into one body whatever ſoldiers he found at Magontiacum with the forces he had brought over the Alps; and, having reached Rigodulum in three marches, attacked the enemy's entrenchments, tho' incloſed by the mountains and the river Moſelle, and ſtrengthened with deep trenches and barricades of huge ſtone. The Treverians fought for ſome time with great reſolution; but were in the end forced to abandon their camp, and ſave themſelves by flight over the mountains. The Romans purſued them, and in the purſuit took many perſons of great diſtinction, and amongſt them Valentinus their general. The next day Cerealis entered

The Treverians routed by Sextilius Felix;

And by Cerealis, who takes Valentinus their general.

tered Treves; which city the ſoldiers were paſſionate for razing, as the birth-place of Claſſicus and Tutor; but Cerealis, dreading to inure his ſoldiers to licentiouſneſs and cruelty, checked their rage; for ſince the civil wars had ceaſed, the ſoldiery was more tractable in ſuch as were foreign. Their attention was likewiſe diverted by another object, the arrival of the legions which had ſworn allegiance to the empire of the Gauls. They appeared ſad and dejected, keeping their eyes immoveably fixed upon the ground, and imploring their pardon by ſilence and weeping, till Cerealis comforted them, aſcribing their deſertion to the inevitable operations of fate, and aſſuring them, that neither he nor the emperor would remember their paſt offences. At the ſame time, he cauſed an order to be publiſhed throughout the camp, that no one ſhould, upon any diſpute, reproach his fellow ſoldier with mutiny or deſertion [m].

The return of the legions which had ſworn allegiance to the empire of the Gauls.

In the mean time, Civilis, Tutor, and Claſſicus, having from different quarters aſſembled all their forces, attacked unexpectedly the entrenchments of the legions now at the very gates of Treves, forced them, put the cavalry to flight, and ſeized the bridge of communication over the Moſelle in the midſt of the city. News of this general rout and havock being brought to Cerealis, while yet in his chamber, nay, in his bed, (for he paſſed not the night in the camp) he ſtarted up, and, undaunted by all this confuſion and diſtreſs, ſtrove with his own hand to ſtop the fugitives; animated them, tho' void of armour, with his own example; and heading ſuch as were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge, and ſecured it by a guard of armed men. Then haſtening to the camp, and there rallying the diſperſed legions, he not only drove out the enemy, but the ſame day forced their entrenchments, and recovered the city of Cologn, where he found the wife and ſiſter of Civilis with the ſon of Claſſicus [o]. Civilis, having after this unhappy fight recruited his forces with incredible expedition, poſted himſelf in the old camp, where he was attacked by Cerealis, reinforced by the acceſſion of three legions. But as the fields round about were naturally marſhy, and Civilis had by a great dam diverted the courſe of the Rhine, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds, the Romans were eaſily repulſed, and their cavalry put to flight by ſome German ſquadrons ſallying

The Roman entrenchments ſurpriſed and taken.

The gallant conduct of Cerealis.

[m] Tacit. c. 71——77. [o] Tacit. c. 78.

ſallying out againſt them. By the iſſue of this encounter, both the leaders were prompted, tho' from different motives, to put the whole to the iſſue of a general battle; Civilis eager to purſue his good fortune, Cerealis to cancel his diſhonour. Accordingly, the next day both armies appeared early in the field, and engaged with equal fury and reſolution. After the conflict had laſted many hours, the Germans were in the end put to flight, and the war had been finiſhed that day, had not the conquerors been prevented, by night approaching and a ſudden ſtorm, from purſuing the flying foe. After this overthrow, Civilis withdrew to the iſland of the Batavians: Claſſicus, Tutor, and an hundred and thirteen ſenators of Treves croſſed the Rhine to raiſe new forces; wherein they were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſoon after they returned with a vaſt multitude, and at the ſame time, made a fourfold aſſault upon the Roman forces, poſted at Avenacum, Vada, Grinnes, and Batavodurum, now Arnhem, Wageningen, Rhenen, and Duerſtede. They were every-where repulſed with great ſlaughter, and forced to caſt themſelves precipitately into the river. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment and defeat, Civilis, a few days after, entered in the dead of the night, the camp of Cerealis, upon the bank of the Rhine, made a dreadful havock of the Roman ſoldiers, while, appriſed of no danger, they were repoſing in their tents, and carried off a great number of captives. The general, half awake and almoſt naked, eſcaped through a miſtake of the enemy; for they had carried off the admiral's ſhip, diſtinguiſhed by its flag, from a belief that Cerealis was in it. But he had paſſed that night elſewhere, as many believed, in the embraces of Claudia Sacrata, a native of Cologn. The centinels borrowed an excuſe for their negligence from the diſhonour of their general, alledging, that they were enjoined to keep ſilence for fear of interrupting his repoſe; ſo that, as ſpeaking was reſtrained, they had dropped aſleep. But, notwithſtanding this advantage, Civilis was in the end obliged even to abandon his own iſland, and retire beyond the Rhine. Cerealis committed dreadful ravages all over the iſland of the Batavians; but, through policy uſual to generals, left all the lands and dwellings of Civilis untouched, tempting at the ſame time the Batavians with an offer of peace, and Civilis with a promiſe of pardon, which he reſolved to accept, finding his countrymen tired of the war, and inclined

Civilis receives a total overthrow.

He ſurpriſes the Romans in their camp;

He is obliged in the end to abandon his own iſland, and ſubmit to the Romans.

clined to prevent the deſolation and ruin of the whole nation, by devoting him to puniſhment. Having therefore deſired a conference, the bridge upon the river Wahal was broke down in the middle; and the two generals ſtepping forwards on each ſide, ſtood upon the oppoſite extremities. The iſſue of this conference was, as we learn from Joſephus, the reſt of Tacitus's hiſtory being loſt, an entire ſubmiſſion on one ſide, and an unreſerved pardon on the other. The Batavians remained in the ſame condition they were in before the war broke out, that is, exempt from all manner of tributes, and only obliged to ſupply the Romans with troops when required; a condition this, bordering upon liberty [p].

DURING theſe tranſactions in Germany, Veſpaſian and Titus commenced conſuls, the former the ſecond time, and both abſent. The ſenate was therefore aſſembled on the firſt of January by Julius Frontinus, city-prætor, when they decreed, that public thanks ſhould be returned to the general officers, to the armies, and to the confederate kings, for having eſpouſed with ſo much zeal the cauſe of Veſpaſian. From Tertius Julianus they took away the prætorſhip, for having forſaken his legion, when it was about to declare for Veſpaſian, and transferred that dignity to Plotius Griphus. Upon Hormus, Veſpaſian's freed-man, they conferred the equeſtrian dignity. Soon after, Frontinus reſigned, for what motive we are nowhere told, his office, which was aſſumed by Domitian, whoſe name was prefixed to all letters and edicts, but the whole ſway remained in Mucianus. The young prince, however, boldly exerted many acts of power, at the inſtigation of his intimates, or his own wanton will [q]. Nay, Suetonius tells us, that in one day he diſpoſed of above twenty offices in the city and provinces; and adds, that he was on that account gently rebuked by the emperor, who, in a letter to his ſon, returned him thanks for not having diſplaced him too, and ſent one to ſucceed him. But Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus gave Mucianus far greater umbrage: they were both renowned for their late famous exploits in war, in great credit with the ſoldiery, and beloved by the populace. Antonius was beſides reported to have ſolicited Scribonianus Craſſus, the brother of Piſo whom

[p] Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 11.

[q] Tacit. l. iv. c. 39.

whom Galba had adopted, to aſſume the ſovereignty. Mucianus therefore, ſeeing he could not openly cruſh Primus, pretending a great friendſhip and value for him, heaped publicly mighty praiſes upon him in the ſenate, made him great promiſes in private, put him in hopes of the government of Hither Spain, void by the departure of Cluvius Rufus, &c. Having thus entirely gained him, he diſmiſſed the ſeventh legion, which was inviolably attached to him, to their winter quarters, at a great diſtance from Rome; and at the ſame time ſent the third legion back into Syria, and the reſt of the forces into Germany, to ſerve there under Cerealis. Having by this means quite broken the power of Primus, and diſburdened the city of thoſe who were apt to raiſe tumults and diſorder, Rome returned to her former tranquillity, the laws reſumed their force, and the magiſtrates their wonted functions [r].

Domitian goes the firſt time to the ſenate.

DOMITIAN, appearing now for the firſt time in the ſenate, ſpoke, in few words and with great modeſty, of the abſence of his father and that of his brother, and alſo concerning his own youth and inſufficiency. Then he propoſed, that all the honours which had been beſtowed on Galba, but afterwards abrogated by Otho, ſhould be reſtored. Curtius Montanus moved, that ſome public honour ſhould be likewiſe paid to the memory of Piſo. The fathers ordained both, but of what regarded Piſo nothing was executed. In the next place were drawn by lot commiſſioners, who were to cauſe reſtitution to be made of whatever had been uſurped by violence during the war, and to reſtrain the public expences. To Tertius Julianus, as ſoon as it was known that he had fled to Veſpaſian, the office of prætor was reſtored; but Gripus ſtill retained the enſigns of that dignity. Before the aſſembly broke up, one of the ſenators by name Junius Mauricus, made ſuit to Domitian, that he would impart to the ſenate the regiſters of the late emperors, that they might thence diſcover who had been ſollicited to be admitted accuſers, and againſt whom. But the young prince judiciouſly replied, that in an affair of this ſort the ſentiments of the emperor muſt be firſt learnt. Mucianus ſpeaks in behalf of the accuſers.

However, P. Egnatius Celer, the accuſer of the celebrated Soranus Borea, was condemned; but Mucianus haranguing in behalf of the informers, and exhorting the fathers to obliterate all the impreſſions of reſentment, and forget the grievances

[r] Idem, c. 11.

grievances arising from the necessity of the late times, all further prosecutions were dropt [s]. This year Mucianus ordered the son of Vitellius to be put to death, pretending that civil discord would never cease, unless the seeds of war were utterly extinguished. He treated Antonius Primus with such haughtiness, that he forced him to retire from Rome and recur to Vespasian, by whom he was received without any great marks of friendship or disfavour, the emperor's mind being under a conflict, on one side swayed by the great services of that commander, by whose conduct the war was accomplished, on the other by letters from Mucianus. The other courtiers at the same time combined to disgrace him, charging him with arrogance, over-bearing and heightening the charge with the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to raise to himself new enemies by his haughty carriage; for with excessive ostentation he used to recount his own exploits and deserts, treating the other commanders with the utmost contempt, especially Cæcina, whom he used to revile as a captive, and a man of no spirit, who had tamely submitted. Hence by degrees he sunk in his character; but from the emperor retained to the last some appearance of favour. Of him we find no further mention made by the antient writers. Mucianus likewise displaced Arrius Varus, commander of the prætorian guards; and to make him some amends for the loss of this employment, bestowed upon him another, that of supplying the city with grain, which had been formerly discharged by persons of the first quality. To soften Domitian, who had a great kindness for Varus, he bestowed the command of the guards upon Arretinus Clemens, who was nearly allied to the house of Vespasian, and very dear to Domitian. The father of Arretinus had discharged the same trust with great credit under Caligula, whence his name was well-pleasing to the soldiery. The guards had been hitherto commanded by a Roman knight; but Arretinus was, as Tacitus informs us, by rank a senator [t].

Antonius Primus repairs to Vespasian.

VESPASIAN, in the mean time, continued at Alexandria, where he is said to have worked some miracles. A blind man, commonly known at Alexandria, prostrating himself at his feet, implored a cure for his want of sight, telling the emperor, that he had been warned by the god Serapis to recur

Vespasian works some miracles.

[s] Idem, c. 40—44. [t] Idem, c. 68.

recur to him, and beſeech him, that with his ſpittle he would condeſcend to waſh his cheeks and the balls of his eyes. Another lame in his hand, by the direction of the ſame god, prayed him to tread upon it. Veſpaſian at firſt derided them; but, as they continued to importune him, he began to waver, fearing on one ſide the imputation of vanity, and on the other drawn into hopes, through the entreaties of the ſuppliants and the arguments of flatterers. At length, conſidering himſelf as an inſtrument choſen by the gods to accompliſh the cure, he undertook the taſk with a chearful countenance, before a vaſt multitude intent upon the iſſue. Inſtantly the lame hand recovered full ſtrength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. Tacitus aſſures us, that even in his time both theſe events continued to be recounted and averred by thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes of them, and could reap no advantage from their flattery. Veſpaſian was hence ſeized with an eager deſire of viſiting the reſidence of the deity, in order to conſult him about the ſtate and fortune of the empire. He therefore commanded all to retire from the temple, and then entered himſelf. While he was there, he ſuddenly perceived one of the grandees of Egypt, named Baſilides, ſtanding by him, tho' he knew him to be then at a great diſtance from Alexandria and confined by ſickneſs. However he examined the prieſts, whether Baſilides had that day entered the temple; aſked ſuch as he met, whether he had been ſeen in the city; then by horſemen purpoſely diſpatched, he fully learnt, that Baſilides was at that inſtant eighty miles from thence [u]. St. Auſtin, without queſtioning the truth of theſe facts, atteſted by ſeveral writers of great authority, obſerves, that Veſpaſian, according to Tacitus's account, ordered the phyſicians to examine firſt, whether ſuch lameneſs and blindneſs were curable by human aid; who reported, that in the one the power of ſight was not wholly extinct, but would return, were the obſtacles removed; and in the other the joints were only diſtorted, and might be reſtored with regular preſſure. Hence St. Auſtin concludes, that ſuch cures were not above the power of men, and much leſs above that of the evil ſpirits, endowed with a ſuperior knowledge, and on this occaſion exerting

[u] Tacit. l. iv. c. 81. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 748. Suet. in Veſp. c. 7.

exerting it, to eclipse, if possible, the miracles wrought by the apostles and their disciples [w]. As for the vision in the temple, it might well have been the effect of a warm and strong imagination.

VESPASIAN, embarking at last in the port of Alexandria, sailed for Italy; and, having visited in his passage the island of Rhodes and several cities of Asia Minor, landed, according to Josephus, on the south-side of the promontory of Iapygia or Otranto. At Brundusium he was met by Mucianus and a great number of senators and Roman knights; and at Beneventum by his son Domitian. On his rout to Rome, he was received every-where with loud shouts of joy, with applauses, and acclamations; for every one entertained a mighty opinion of his virtues, and looked upon him as one sent by the gods to restore the empire to its former lustre and tranquillity. As he drew near the city, the far greater part of the inhabitants flocked out to welcome him, and conduct him in a kind of triumph to the capitol, the streets through which he passed being strewed with flowers, and the whole city, like a temple, filled with precious odours and perfumes. Altars were every where raised and victims slain, with supplications to the gods, that Vespasian might rule the empire many years, and his son Titus after him; that the sovereignty might for ever remain in his family, and Rome flourish under them [x]. Arrives in Italy. How received at Rome.

GREAT things were expected of Vespasian by all ranks of men, and no one was disappointed in his expectation: for he made it his whole business to re-establish the commonwealth, and restore the empire to its former grandeur; to conform to the laws, and to see that all others conformed to them; to consult the good of the whole and of particulars; to prevent oppression, and to punish it; to promote virtue, and reward it; to enforce the observance of the laws by his example, as well as by his judgments; and to merit the affections and fidelity of the people by his faithful care of them. His first care was, to revive the antient discipline in the army; for the soldiery had abandoned themselves to all manner of licentiousness, and committed innumerable disorders, not only Revives the antient discipline.

[w] S. Aug. civit. Dei, l. x. c. 16. l. vii. c. 20.

[x] Joseph. ibid.

only in the colonies and municipal towns, but in Rome itſelf. He therefore diſcharged great numbers of them, eſpecially of ſuch as had ſerved under Vitellius, and had been long inured to rapine and licentiouſneſs; in the others he puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity, not ſparing even thoſe to whoſe valour he owed the empire, nor omitting any opportunity of reforming the antient diſcipline; of which Suetonius gives us the following inſtance: a young nobleman, to whom he had given a conſiderable command, waiting upon him to return him thanks, and ſmelling fragrantly of rich oils and perfumes, the emperor, with a voice expreſſing his indignation, told him, that "he had rather he had ſmelt of garlick," and took away the commiſſion, which he had given him a few days before. He was no leſs ſevere with the marines, who were appointed to carry letters and diſpatches from Puteoli and Oſtia to Rome; for upon their petitioning him to have ſome allowance, beſides their uſual pay, for ſhoes, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, he ordered, that for the future they ſhould diſcharge their duty bare-foot, and cauſed this ordinance to be immediately put in execution [y]. He ſcarce ever failed to aſſiſt at the debates and deliberations of the ſenate, without aſſuming to himſelf any authority above the other ſenators, whom he frequently exhorted to ſpeak their ſentiments with freedom, telling them, that he had called them not blindly to approve what was his will and pleaſure, but to receive their counſel, to truſt to, and follow, it. Having taken upon him, ſoon after his arrival at Rome, the office of cenſor, he degraded ſuch of the ſenators and knights as he found unworthy of their dignities; and ſupplied their places with ſuch perſons, either from the colonies or provinces, as were recommended to him by men of known integrity. By this means he encreaſed the number of ſenators to a thouſand, which by infinite maſſacres had been exhauſted and reduced to two hundred [z]. He likewiſe ſtrictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and there reformed innumerable abuſes and grievances, appointed new judges, and cauſed the laws to be reduced and digeſted into a far leſs compaſs. He frequently adminiſtered juſtice himſelf in the forum, with great impartiality and univerſal applauſe. As Rome had loſt

His conduct towards the ſenate.

[y] Suet. c. 8.

[z] Idem, c. 9. Dio, l. vi. p. 666.

loſt much of its ſplendor by the late conflagration, and many houſes lay ſtill in ruins, he ordered the proprietors of the ground to rebuild them in a limited time, allowing any one to take poſſeſſion of the ground, if the edifices were not raiſed within that term to a certain height. The capitol he had ordered to be re-built before he left Alexandria, and appointed Lucius Veſtinus, a Roman knight, to direct and overſee the work. By him were aſſembled the ſoothſayers, who declared, that the remains of the former temple, ſhould be removed into the marſhes; that upon the ſame foundations the new one ſhould be raiſed; and that to the temple nothing new, except height, ſhould be added. With this variation alone, the new temple was raiſed in a ſhort time; and this alone was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former. As the late fire had deſtroyed many public records, he reſtored three thouſand tables of braſs, which had been burnt, having with indefatigable pains found out their true copies. In theſe were recorded all the decrees of the ſenate, all the ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges granted to any perſon or city, and all remarkable occurrences from the foundation of the city. In theſe and the like works, he expended vaſt ſums. He was ſo far from ſeeking the deſtruction of any man, that he could not behold, without many ſighs and tears, even the greateſt criminals led to execution. To all he was courteous and affable, allowing perſons of every rank to accoſt him with freedom, the gates of the palace being kept conſtantly open. He was ſo far from concealing the meanneſs of his former condition, that he frequently diſcourſed of it himſelf, and uſed to deride thoſe who, to flatter him, undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of Reate and the companions of Hercules. He deſpiſed titles, and with much ado was prevailed upon to accept that of "the father of his country;" a title to which no one had ever a better claim. The king of Parthia having wrote to him thus; Arſaces, king of kings, to Flavius Veſpaſianus; he, without finding fault with the title, or reſenting it as an affront, directed his anſwer thus; Flavius Veſpaſianus to Arſaces, king of kings; ſhewing thereby in what contempt he had ſuch titles. He was ſo far from taking delight in public honours, that when he triumphed with his ſon Titus over the Jews, being quite

Imbelliſhes the city.

His clemency, good nature, and other commendable qualities.

tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to say, that he deservedly suffered for having at his age desired a triumph, as if such an honour had ever been due to his ancestors, or hoped for by himself. He bore with incredible patience the many lampoons, that were dispersed all over the town, reflecting upon his avarice; and the invectives of the philosophers, whom he had banished the city. One of these, by profession a Cynic, by name Demetrius, meeting him one day out of town, reviled him in a most outrageous manner; but the good emperor, instead of chastising him for his insolent behaviour, contented himself with telling him, that he was a Cynic indeed! He gave no ear to whisperers, nor ever put any one to death, whose crimes were not notorious and plainly proved. His friends having one day admonished him to beware of Metius Pomposianus, who was born, they said, under a constellation that promised him the empire, he immediately named him consul, adding pleasantly, "When he is invested of the sovereignty, he will, I hope, remember this good turn and requite it." Tho' several conspiracies were formed against him, yet he could never be prevailed upon to punish the conspirators with death, saying, that they deserved rather pity than punishment, since they knew not what a weight and burden the empire was. He took the daughter of Vitellius, his inveterate enemy, under his protection, married her into a noble family, and allowed her a rich dower. He never sought to revenge the affronts which he had suffered in the reign of Nero, but generously forgave all who had injured or reviled him. Being in that prince's reign forbid the court, and not knowing what to do, he had recourse to Phæbus, the emperor's freed-man, asking him, whither he should go. Phæbus returned him no other answer, but that he might go hang himself, and thrust him out of the room. The freed-man coming to beg his pardon after he was made emperor, Vespasian was provoked no farther than to bid him be gone in the same terms. Tho' Mucianus assumed far greater authority than was suitable to the rank of a private man, and behaved with great haughtiness towards the emperor himself, bragging, that in his own hands he had had the empire, but freely bestowed it upon Vespasian; yet the emperor never rebuked him but in private; and having once complained of him to a common friend, he ended his complaints with these

He forgets injuries.

theſe remarkable words; "Yet I myſelf am but a man, and conſequently not free from blame [a]."

Is generally charged with avarice.

THE only fault with which he is charged by the antients is, his immoderate love of money, which he was not aſhamed to procure by means altogether unworthy of an emperor. He not only revived the old impoſitions and taxes, which had been ſuppreſſed by Galba; but loaded the provinces with new tributes, bought commodities, that he might ſell them to advantage, and deſcended to ſome very low and unuſual impoſts, laying one even upon urine, which gave occaſion to his ſon Titus to remonſtrate to him the meanneſs of ſuch an impoſition; but he preſenting to his ſon the firſt money that thence accrued to him, aſked him, whether the ſmell offended him? Neither did he ſcruple the ſelling of any office, nor pardoning any criminal, however enormous his crimes were, provided he could with a ſum of money redeem himſelf from the deſerved puniſhment. He is ſaid to have preferred to the moſt profitable employments ſuch of his officers as were noted for their avarice and rapaciouſneſs, and to have made uſe of them as ſponges, "by wetting them when they were dry, and ſqueezing them when they were wet [b]." He often ſtrove to diſguiſe his ſhameful avarice by ſome humourous joke. Thus certain embaſſadors having acquainted him, that by the council of their nation a conſiderable ſum of money was decreed for erecting him a ſtatue in the form of a coloſſus, Here is the baſis, ſaid he, ſtretching out his hand; lay the money down here, and the ſtatue is reared. One of his chief favourites having one day begged of him the ſuperintendence of his houſhold for one, whom he pretended to be his brother, the emperor put him off for the preſent; and ſending afterwards for the perſon whom he had recommended, he received of him the ſum which was to have beeen paid to the other for his intereſt, and beſtowed on him the employment. When the favourite returned to ſolicit in behalf of his pretended brother, You muſt find out another brother, anſwered the emperor; for the perſon, whom you recommended, proves in the end to be my brother, and not yours. One day while he was travelling in a litter, the muleteer ſtopped, under pretence of having his mules ſhoed, but in reality to give an opportunity to one of accoſting the emperor and craving

Several inſtances of it.

[a] Suet. c. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14. [b] Suet. c. 16.

ing ſome favour. Of this Veſpaſian was appriſed, and therefore having pleaſantly aſked the muleteer what he had received for ſhoeing his mules, he obliged him to pay to him half the ſum [c]. Some writers think, that he was covetous by nature, and tell us, that he was upbraided with avarice by an old herdſman, who earneſtly entreating the emperor, upon his acceſſion to the empire, to grant him his liberty without ranſom, and being denied it, cried out ſo as to be heard by the whole multitude, "The wolf may change his hair, but not his qualities." But other authors excuſe him on account of the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate, and the emptineſs of the exchequer when he firſt came to the government; for he then publicly declared in the ſenate, that the republic could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without a ſupply of an hundred and forty millions of ſeſterces. This is by the generality of writers thought the moſt probable opinion, becauſe he always employed his revenue to great and noble purpoſes, and laid it out with uncommon generoſity. His public works and edifices were very expenſive; his preſents and penſions numerous; his feaſts and entertainments frequent and magnificent, &c. He ſupported a great number of poor ſenators; allowed five hundred ſeſterces a year to every decayed conſular; reſtored to their former luſtre a great many towns, that had been ruined by fire or earthquakes; repaired the public roads and aqueducts, &c. He was likewiſe a great encourager of learning, and the firſt who ſettled ſalaries upon the profeſſors of rhetoric both Greek and Latin, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer. He invited to Rome, with great allowances, not only the moſt celebrated poets, but ſuch artificers and workmen as were famous in any part of the world. Of the latter, one, well ſkilled in mechanics, having offered to convey certain columns of vaſt weight into the capitol, at a very ſmall charge, the emperor rewarded him for his invention; but would not employ him, ſaying, We muſt not debar the common people from earning their livelihood [d]. Such was in general the conduct of Veſpaſian. We ſhall now proceed to the moſt remarkable actions of his reign, digeſted according to the order of time.

Is by many cleared from that blame.

Inſtances of his generoſity.

THO'

[c] Idem, ibid. [d] Idem, c. 17, 18.

THO' Veſpaſian had, during his firſt conſulſhip, reſtored Rome to her former tranquillity, yet he did not reſign the faſces on the firſt of January; but, chuſing for his collegue M. Cocceius Nerva afterwards emperor, continued to diſcharge that office till the calends of March, when he was ſucceeded by his ſon Domitian, as was Nerva by Q. Pedius Caſtus. This year Titus, having, by the taking of Jeruſalem, quite reduced the Jewiſh nation, returned to Rome, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and ſoon after honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the ſenate both to him and his father; for Veſpaſian had begun that war with great ſucceſs. They both triumphed about the latter end of April, diſplaying on that occaſion all the wealth of the Jewiſh nation. To Titus was likewiſe decreed a triumphal arch, deſcribing his noble exploits; which continues to this day almoſt entire, as a laſting monument of his victories over the Jews. The triumph was no ſooner over, than Veſpaſian commanded the temple of Janus to be ſhut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the empire. Soon after the temple of Peace was begun, but not finiſhed, or at leaſt not conſecrated, till four years after; that is, till the year 75 of the chriſtian æra, when the rich ſpoils of the temple of Jeruſalem were depoſited there. Titus, before his arrival at Rome, had been by his father honoured with the title of emperor, and taken for his collegue in the tribunitial power; ſo that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he diſcharged all the functions of ſovereignty. He even took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became, as Aurelius Victor obſerves, the moſt honourable employment in the whole empire. It appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that Veſpaſian this year built ſome aqueducts, repaired the ſtreets of Rome, and at a vaſt charge made high-ways in Spain [c].

Triumphs over the Jews with his ſon Titus.

To whom he imparts the tribunitial power.

THE following year, Ceſennius Pætus, whom Veſpaſian had appointed governor of Syria, in the room of Mucianus, having wrote to the emperor, that Antiochus king of Comagene, and his ſon Epiphanes, had held private conferences with Vologeſes king of the Parthians, and were

[c] Vorburg. hiſt. Rom. Germ. p. 350. Onuph. in faſt. p. 297.

diſpoſed to revolt from the Romans, the emperor, without examining the charge, which Joſephus ſuſpects to have been quite groundleſs, allowed Pætus to take what meaſures he thought moſt proper. Hereupon Pætus, who bore ſome private grudge to Antiochus, entered his dominions in an hoſtile manner; and, being joined by Ariſtobulus king of Chalcis, and Sohemus king of Emeſus, ſeized Samoſata, the metropolis of Comagene, defeated Epiphanes and Callinicus, the two ſons of Antiochus, and obliged the king himſelf to take ſhelter in Cilicia, where he poſſeſſed ſome domains. The young princes found a ſafe aſylum at the court of Vologeſes, who entertained them in a manner ſuitable to their rank; but Antiochus was by Pætus's orders ſeized in Cilicia, and loaded with chains; which Veſpaſian no ſooner knew, than he commanded him to be ſet at liberty. His kingdom, however, was reduced to a Roman province, known by the name of Auguſteuphrateſiana, or Euphrateſiana, becauſe it extended along the Euphrates. Antiochus was allowed to retire to Lacedæmon, whence he removed ſoon after to Rome, where both he and his two ſons, whom Veſpaſian took under his protection, at the recommendation of the Parthian king, were ſupported ſuitable to their rank at the public charge[f].

Comagene reduced to a Roman province.

The Alani invade Media and Armenia.

The ſame year, the Alani, a people dwelling between the river Tanais and the Palus Mæotis, made a ſudden irruption into the territories of the Medes and Armenians. Tiridates king of Armenia narrowly eſcaped being taken, while he attempted to oppoſe them; and Pacorus king of the Medes was obliged to abandon his kingdom to the mercy of the barbarians, who carried off an immenſe booty and a great number of captives; among the reſt the wife of Pacorus. Vologeſes king of the Parthians, alarmed at this ſudden irruption, wrote to Veſpaſian, begging ſuccours againſt ſo formidable an enemy, and deſiring one of the emperor's ſons to command them. Domitian earneſtly ſolicited his father for that command; but the emperor did not think it adviſeable to ſuccour the Parthians, who rivalled the Romans themſelves in power; and the barbarians retired of their own accord, without offering to invade the Parthian dominions. However, the refuſal of the emperor occaſioned ſome miſunderſtanding between the two powers;

[f] Joſeph. l. vii. c. 9. & l. vi. c. 29. Suet. c. 8. Chron. Alex. p. 587.

powers; and on this occaſion it was, without all doubt, that Vologeſes wrote to Veſpaſian, ſtyling himſelf king of kings, as we have hinted above; without deigning to give Veſpaſian even the title of emperor [g].

THE following year, Domitian being conſul, the ſecond time, with Valerius Meſſalinus, Veſpaſian reduced Greece, which Nero had declared free, and likewiſe Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, Samos, Thrace, and Cilicia, to Roman provinces, alledging, that they were no longer capable of liberty, ſince they only made uſe of it to undo themſelves by their inteſtine diſſenſions. Pauſanias ſeems to acknowledge the truth of this charge [h]. Rhodes, Samos, and the other iſlands were made one province, called, The province of the iſlands, or, of the Cyclades, of which the city of Rhodes was the metropolis. Euſebius ſpeaks of a ſedition, which, according to him, was raiſed at Alexandria, in the beginning of this year, by ſome Jews, who had fled from Jeruſalem. Veſpaſian treated the authors of it with great mildneſs; but ordered Lupus, governor of Egypt, to demoliſh the temple, which the Jews had built in the territory of Heliopolis [i]. This ſame year, Veſpaſian condemned to baniſhment the celebrated Helvidius Priſcus. He was a native of Terracina, and the ſon of a centurion; but, by his bright and ſignal parts, ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Rome. When he was yet very young, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, not, as many did in thoſe days, to diſguiſe indolence under a pompous name, but in order to engage in the public adminiſtration with a mind thoroughly fortified againſt all diſaſters. Ere he had riſen higher than the quæſtorſhip, he was choſen by the famous Thraſea Pætus for a huſband to his daughter. From the character of his wife's father he copied nothing ſo ſtudiouſly, as his undaunted liberty in ſpeaking his ſentiments, never to be ſhaken by fear, and ever unmoveable in what he judged conducing to the public welfare. When Thraſea was condemned, he was driven into exile, but recalled by Galba, and honoured by Veſpaſian in the firſt year of his reign with the prætorſhip. As he was a zealous ſtickler for liberty, he ſpoke with great freedom in the ſenate againſt the

Veſpaſian reduces Greece, Lycia, &c. to Roman provinces.

Helvidius Priſcus baniſhed.

[g] Joſeph. l. vii. c. 29. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 757. [h] Pauſ. in Achaic. p. 222. [i] Euſeb. in chron.

the arbitrary proceedings of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; neither did he spare Vespasian, but inveighed against him with as much bitterness as his father-in-law had ever done against Nero. The emperor, however, patiently bore with him, till he began openly to solemnize the birth-day of Brutus and that of Cassius, and to encourage the people to follow their example, and attempt the recovery of their antient liverty; then Vespasian caused him to be seized, but soon after dismissed him untouched, contrary to the opinion of all his friends. Helvidius, forgetful of the kindness the emperor had shewn him, pursued his former course; and was thereupon again accused and condemned to banishment. As he could not refrain, even in the place of his exile, from inveighing with great bitterness against the emperor, he was at length by the senate sentenced to death. Vespasian strove to save him, and sent to countermand the executioners; but his orders came too late, Mucianus, having detained the messengers, under various pretences, till the sentence was put in execution [i]. Helvidius, notwithstanding this unaccountable behaviour, is greatly cried up by Tacitus [k], Pliny the younger [l], and Juvenal [m]. As many other philosophers, following the example of Helvidius, strove to stir up the populace to sedition, they were all driven out of Rome [n].

His strange behaviour.

The last census.

THE following year, Vespasian was consul the fifth time, and Titus the third. Nothing memorable happened during their administration, except the census, which was performed by them in quality of censors, the emperor having assumed his son for his collegue in that dignity. This is the last census we find mentioned in history [o]. They both retained the fasces till the calends of April of the following year, when Vespasian resigned them to Domitian, and Titus to Mucianus. This year the emperor consecrated the temple of Peace, and raised a colossus of brass one hundred and ten feet high, which had been designed for Nero; but instead of his head, that of Titus was placed upon it, or,

as

[i] Dio in excerpt. Val, p. 705. col. 66. p. 750. Suet. c. 15. Juvenal. satir. 5. Plin. l. vii. ep. 19.
[k] Tacit. l. iv. c. 4.
[l] Plin. l. iv. ep. 21.
[m] Juvenal. sat. 5.
[n] Suet. c. 8. Dio, l. lxvi. 751.
[o] Censorinus de die natali. Plin. l. vii. c. 43. Onuph. in fast. p. 208.

as others will have it, the figure of the ſun [p]. The two following years, Veſpaſian being conſul the ſeventh and eighth time, and Titus the fifth and ſixth, nothing happened at Rome, or in any part of the empire, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. We read indeed in the chronicle of Alexandria, that in the eighth conſulſhip of Veſpaſian, a woman, by name Alcippe, was delivered at Rome of an elephant; and in the chronicle of Euſebius, that a plague raged in the city with ſuch violence for ſome time, as to ſweep away twenty thouſand perſons a day. But neither of that extraordinary birth, nor ſo dreadful a plague, any notice is taken by the antients, nor even by Pliny the elder, who flouriſhed under Veſpaſian and was in great favour with him.

Julius Agricola ſent into Britain.

THE next year, L. Ceionius Commodus and D. Novius Priſcus being conſuls, the celebrated Cneius Julius Agricola was ſent into Britain to govern that province in the room of Julius Frontinus. As we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this renowned commander, we ſhall here briefly recount his courſe of life and purſuits, before he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his mighty exploits in this iſland. He was born in the colony of Forojulium, now Frejus, in Narbonne Gaul; and both his grandfathers were procurators to the emperors; a dignity peculiar to the equeſtrian order. His father, Julius Græcinus, was a ſenator, famous for his eloquence and philoſophy, but put to death by Caligula, for refuſing to accuſe Marcus Silanus. His mother, Julia Procilla, a woman noted for her modeſty, brought him up in his tender years, under her eye and with great care. In his early youth he ſtudied philoſophy and law in the city of Marſeilles, with more avidity, as he himſelf uſed to declare, than became a Roman and a ſenator, till the diſcretion of his mother, checked his ardour. Reaſon and age afterwards qualified his heat; ſo that he contented himſelf with a limited meaſure of philoſophy. He learnt the firſt rudiments of war in Britain, under Suetonius Paullinus, one of the greateſt commanders of his age, by whom he was diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of friendſhip and eſteem. He was not one of thoſe young men who turn warfare into riot, but ſtudied to acquaint himſelf with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of ſuch as had experience, to follow ſuch as were worthy and brave, to ſeek for no exploits out of oſtentation, to refuſe none through fear. He would not aſſume the title and office of tribune, till he thought

His birth, education, &c.

[p] Suet. c. 19. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 7. Dio, ibid.

thought himſelf well qualified for that command: neither did he make uſe of it, as many did in thoſe days, to indulge his pleaſures with more liberty, or to abſent himſelf from duty; but to encourage others, by his example, to bear with patience the toils attending the profeſſion of arms. As Paullinus was engaged in a mighty war with the Britons, of which we have ſpoken in the reign of Nero, Agricola had an opportunity of improving himſelf in the knowledge of military affairs under ſo great a maſter. De-

His preferments.

parting from Britain to Rome, to enter there upon the public offices, he was firſt ſent into Aſia as quæſtor, where he had Salvius Titianus for proconſul. But neither the province, in itſelf very rich, nor Titianus, though bent upon all acts of rapine, and ready upon the ſmalleſt encouragement, to have purchaſed a mutual connivance in iniquity, corrupted his probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people, but paſſed the year of his tribuneſhip in repoſe and inactivity, being well appriſed, that under Nero ſloth and heavineſs ſerved for wiſdom. With the like indolence he held the prætorſhip, exhibiting, however, as was incumbent upon the prætors, public ſports, according to the meaſure of his wealth, and in a manner no-ways favouring of prodigality, but ſtill deſerving popular applauſe. Being afterwards appointed by Galba to ſurvey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent ſearch he procured full reſtitution of all, ſave what had been ſacrilegiouſly taken away by Nero. The year following, his mother was killed by the ſoldiers of Otho, upon her eſtate at Intemelium, now Vintimiglia; and the eſtate itſelf plundered, with great part of her treaſure, which had proved the cauſe of the murder. As Agricola haſtened from Rome, to pay her the laſt duty and ſolemnize her funeral, he had tidings upon the road, that Veſpaſian had aſſumed the title of emperor, and inſtantly eſpouſed his party. Upon his return from Intemelium, he was employed by Mucianus to levy forces; and ſoon after, as he diſcharged that truſt with great uprightneſs and fidelity, preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in Britain, their own commander being found void of authority to controul them and keep them to their duty. Vettius Bolanus was at that time governor of Britain; but as he ruled with great gentleneſs, Agricola had no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by any military exploits. Bolanus

was

was ſucceeded by Petilius Cerealis, who at his firſt entrance attacked the Brigantes, reckoned the moſt powerful people of the whole iſland; and, after many encounters, ſome of which proved very bloody, held moſt part of their country as his conqueſt, or continued to ravage it by war. Under him Agricola had room to diſplay his valour and abilities. For trial of his ſkill and courage, Cerealis often committed to his conduct part of the army; and ſometimes according to the meaſure of his ſucceſs, ſet him at the head of forces ſtill larger, ſharing with him both the dangers and the glory. But Agricola was ſo far from vaunting his own exploits, that, on the contrary, he aſcribed to his general, as to the author of all, his ſucceſs and good fortune [q].

Upon his return from Britain, where he had commanded a legion, he was by Veſpaſian raiſed to the rank of a patrician, and afterwards appointed governor of Aquitain; which truſt he diſcharged with great uprightneſs and general ſatisfaction. He was after three years recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip; which office he diſcharged during the two laſt months of the preceding year. While he was conſul, it was generally ſaid, that for his province Britain would be aſſigned him, from no words that had dropped from him about it, but becauſe he was deemed equal to that office: and common fame, as Tacitus well obſerves, does not always err, but often directs the public choice. Before he ended his conſulſhip, he contracted his daughter to Tacitus the hiſtorian, who was yet very young, and gave her to him in marriage as ſoon as he had reſigned the faſces. He was then forthwith promoted to the government of Britain, and at the ſame time honoured with the pontifical dignity [r]. He ſucceeded Julius Frontinus, who had not only maintained the conqueſts made by Petilius Cerealis, his predeceſſor, but had himſelf fought with great ſucceſs, having entirely reduced the warlike nation of the Silures, though, beſides the bravery of the enemy, he had been likewiſe obliged to ſtruggle with the difficulties of places and ſituation. Agricola arrived in Britain about the middle of ſummer, when the Roman ſoldiers, ſuppoſing the ſervice of the ſeaſon to be concluded, were bent upon inaction and repoſe, as were the enemy upon an opportunity to

[q] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 4—9.

[r] Idem ibid. c. 9.

to haraſs the Romans. The Ordovices, that is, the inhabitants of North-Wales, had, not long before his arrival, cut in pieces a band of horſe ſtationed upon their confines, and by ſo notable an eſſay rouſed to arms the whole province. The ſummer was already near over; the Roman rtoops were ſevered, and lay diſperſed over the province; and the ſoldiers had aſſured themſelves of reſt for the remaining part of the year. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, and the remonſtrances of ſome, who judged it better only to guard the places that were threatened, Agricola reſolved to march againſt the enemy without delay. Having therefore drawn together the flower of the legions and a ſmall body of auxiliaries, he led them againſt the Ordovices. But, as the enemy kept themſelves upon the ridges of the mountains, and dared not deſcend into equal ground, Agricola, in order to inſpire his men with equal courage, by ſharing with them equal danger, marched in perſon at the head of his army, and led them to the encounter upon the aſcent. The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their general, attacked the enemy with great reſolution, put them to flight, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, that almoſt the whole nation was cut off. Animated with this ſucceſs, in order to maintain the fame he acquired by this action, and to ſtrike the enemy at once with general terror, he reſolved to reduce the iſland of Angleſey, which had been formerly conquered by Paullinus, but loſt again by the general revolt of Britain. As this counſel was ſuddenly concerted, and conſequently ſhips were wanting, he detached a choſen body of auxiliaries, ſuch as knew the fords, and, according to the uſage of their country, were dextrous at ſwimming and able to manage in the water themſelves, their horſes and arms. Theſe, unincumbered with baggage, made deſcent and onſet ſo ſudden, that the enemy were quite ſtruck with conſternation, as they apprehended nothing but a fleet and tranſports, and believed no enterpriſe difficult or unſurmountable to men, who began the war with ſuch reſolution. Thus they ſued for peace, and immediately ſurrendered the iſland to Agricola, whom they already conſidered as a renowned commander, ſince at his firſt entrance into the province, a time which other governors were wont to ſpend in ſhew and parade, he had atchieved ſuch feats, and under ſo much toil and danger, with amaz-

His exploits in Britain during his firſt campaign.

Recovers the iſland of Angleſey.

mazing ſucceſs. Agricola was ſo far from being elated with this conqueſt, that he would not ſo much as beſtow upon it the title of victory, nor by letters acquaint the emperor with the good fortune that had attended his arms, in the recovery of an iſland which had been formerly ſubject to Rome. But, by thus ſuppreſſing the fame of his actions, he acquired a far greater reputation, than if he had ſtudied to divulge them, every one conſidering how vaſt muſt his views be, ſince he thus ſmothered in ſilence ſuch great exploits already performed. As he was well acquainted with the temper of the people in his province, and had alſo learnt from the conduct of others, how little arms avail to ſettle a province, if victory is followed by grievances and oppreſſions, he reſolved to cut off all the cauſes of war. Beginning therefore with himſelf and thoſe about him, he regulated his own houſhold; a taſk which to many proves no leſs difficult than that of governing a province. By none of his domeſtics was tranſacted any thing concerning the public. In preferring the ſoldiers to an higher rank, he was ſwayed by no perſonal intereſt or partiality, nor by the recommendations of centurions, but by his own opinion and knowledge. He would know all that paſſed; but would not puniſh all that was amiſs. He readily pardoned ſmall faults; but ſuch as were great, he puniſhed with proportionable ſeverity. In conferring offices and employments, he rather choſe men who would not tranſgreſs, than ſuch as he muſt afterwards condemn for tranſgreſſing. Tho' the tribute had been augmented, yet he ſoftened it by a juſt and equal diſtribution of all public burdens, and utterly aboliſhed whatever exactions had been deviſed for the gain of particulars, and were therefore borne with more regret than the tribute itſelf. For the publicans uſed, under colour of ſecuring the tribute, to ſeize all the corn of the inhabitants, lock up their barns, and oblige them to purchaſe their own grain at a high price, and afterwards ſell it back again to them at a low rate: beſides, the unhappy people were enjoined to take long journies, and carry grain croſs the ſeveral countries to places extremely diſtant; inſomuch, that ſeveral communities, inſtead of ſupplying the winter-quarters, which lay adjoining, were obliged to furniſh ſuch as were remote, unleſs they redeemed themſelves from that trouble with conſiderable ſums. All theſe grievances were utterly ſuppreſſed by Agricola in his firſt year; by which means the Britons began to be reconciled

Redreſſes the grievances complained of by the Britons.

Reconciles them to the Roman government.

ciled to the Roman government, and to live in a ſtate of peace; a ſtate which, through the neglect and connivance of former governors, had been till then no leſs dreaded than that of war [i]. The other exploits of Agricola in this iſland, we ſhall relate in their proper places.

THE following year, Veſpaſian being conſul the ninth time, and Titus the ſeventh, Julius Sabinus, who, as we have related above, had ſtirred up the Gauls, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Cæſar, was at length diſcovered, ſeized, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country-dwelling, and ſet it on fire, in order to raiſe a report, that he had periſhed: and truly he was there believed to have ſuffered a voluntary death; but, in the mean time, lay concealed with his treaſures (for he was immenſely rich) in a cave which he had cauſed to be dug in a ſolitary place, and which was known only to two of his freed-men, upon whoſe fidelity he could depend. He might have eaſily withdrawn into Germany; but could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon his wife, whom he tenderly loved. She is called by Dion Caſſius, Peponilla; by Tacitus, Epponina; and by Plutarch, Empona; which name, according to that writer, in the antient language of the Gauls, ſignified a heroine. Sabinus, that no one might doubt of his death, did not for ſome time even undeceive his wife, who ſolemnized his exequies with great pomp, bewailed him with many tears, and at laſt, no longer able to bear the loſs of an huſband whom ſhe ſo tenderly loved, reſolved not to outlive him, and began to abſtain from all food. Hereupon Sabinus, by means of Martialis, one of his freed-men, informed her, that he was was ſtill alive, and acquainted her with the place where he lay concealed, warning her at the ſame time to ſuppreſs her joy, leſt the ſecret might be thence betrayed. Empona, tho' in the utmoſt tranſports of joy, continued to bewail him as dead; but, in the mean time, paſſed great part of the night with him, and ſometimes whole weeks, pretending buſineſs in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave, Empona concealing the whole with exemplary fidelity and wonderful addreſs; nay, ſhe found means even to convey him to Rome, upon what motive we know not, and from thence

The adventures of Julius Sabinus.

[i] Idem, c. 10——20.

thence back to his cave, ſo well diſguiſed, that he was by no one known. But, after he had paſſed nine years in this condition, he was at length diſcovered by ſome perſons, who narrowly watched his wife, upon her frequently abſenting herſelf from her own houſe, and followed her to the cave, without being diſcovered. Sabinus was immediately ſeized and ſent to Rome, loaded with chains, together with his wife, who throwing herſelf at the emperor's feet, and preſenting to him her two tender children, ſtrove with her tears and entreaties to move him to compaſſion. Veſpaſian could not forbear weeping at ſo moving an object; but nevertheleſs, condemned both her and her huſband, and cauſed them to be ſoon after executed. The two childern were ſaved, and with great care brought up at the public expence. One of them died ſome time after in Egypt; and Plutarch tells us, that he ſaw the other, named Sabinus, at Delphos, while he was writing his book of love, in which he has inſerted this adventure [k]. That writer tells us, that nothing more tragical, nothing more diſpleaſing to the public, happened during the whole reign of Veſpaſian, than the death of Sabinus and his wife; nay, to this his unſeaſonable ſeverity, he aſcribes all the misfortunes which afterwards befel him and his family. What diverted the emperor from exerting his uſual clemency and good-nature, when he might have done it with general applauſe and univerſal ſatisfaction, we are no-where told.

He is diſcovered.

And put to death, with his wife.

Not long after the execution of Sabinus, Alienus Cæcina, of whom we often ſpoke in the reign of Vitellius, and Eprius Marcellus, an abandoned accuſer in the reign of Nero, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the emperor, and drew into it great numbers of the prætorian guards. But, before the conſpiracy was ripe for execution, one of the conſpirators betrayed the whole to Titus, and even delivered to him a copy of the ſpeech, which Cæcina was to pronounce to the ſoldiers after the aſſaſſination, written with his own hand. This was ſufficient evidence; and therefore Titus, the night after this diſcovery, having invited Cæcina to ſup with him, cauſed him, without any farther enquiry or trial, to be murdered in the banqueting-

Cæcina and Marcellus conſpire again Veſpaſian, but are put to death.

[k] Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 67. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 752. Plut. amat.

banquetting-room. As for Marcellus, he was tried and condemned by the ſenate; but prevented the execution of the ſentence, by cutting his throat with a razor [1]. Before Veſpaſian reſigned the conſulſhip, he was ſeized with a pain in his bowels, which obliged him to repair from Campania, where he then was, to Rome; and from thence to Cutyliæ, his paternal eſtate, in the neighbourhood of Reate, which he uſually viſited every ſummer, in order to drink certain waters, in great requeſt on account of their extreme coolneſs. Here he was ſeized firſt with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of the cold waters, which brought him to ſuch weakneſs, that all about him began to deſpair of his recovery. However, he ſtill attended the diſpatch of buſineſs, received embaſſadors, and gave audience to his miniſters. Once, as he found himſelf ready to faint away. If I am not miſtaken, he cried out, I am going to be a god, ridiculing the cuſtom of the Romans, who placed their emperors, after their death, in the number of their gods, and honoured them with divine worſhip. Upon the approach of death, he cried out again with his uſual bravery and reſolution, An emperor ought to die ſtanding: but, while he endeavoured to riſe, he expired in the hands of thoſe who ſuſtained him. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of June, in the ſeventy-eighth year of the Chriſtian æra, after he had lived ſixty-nine years, ſeven months and ſeven days, and reigned ten years wanting ſix days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor in the city of Alexandria. His death was univerſally lamented; and his memory gratefully preſerved, by ſuch as were true friends to their country. In war he was next to Julius Cæſar, and to Auguſtus in peace; and ſeemed to have been by providence raiſed on purpoſe to preſerve ſo vaſt an empire from utter deſtruction. Greatneſs and majeſty, ſays Pliny, worked no alteration in him, ſave that of making his power of doing good anſwerable to his will. He was the ſecond Roman emperor, if not the firſt, who died a natural death; and the firſt who was ſucceeded by his ſon. And here we cannot help obſerving the raſhneſs of ſome blind zealots, in aſcribing to divine vengeance the fate of ſuch as ſlew Cæſar the dictator. Not one of the aſſaſſins, they cry, died a natural death. But neither did Cæſar who deſtroyed the ſtate, nor any

The death of Veſpaſian.

His character.

[1] Suet. in Tit. c. 6. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 752. Tacit. iv. c. 6.

of his ſucceſſors, except Auguſtus, of whom it is alſo doubted, to the preſent emperor. Tiberius was ſmothered by Macro his favourite, Caligula was ſlain by the officers of his guards, Claudius was poiſoned by his wife Agrippina, Nero ſtabbed himſelf, Galba was murdered by the ſoldiers, Otho fell by his own hand, and Vitellius was executed like a common malefactor. Auguſtus was thought to have been poiſoned by his wife Livia [w]. Such was the end of theſe uſurpers; and may the like doom overtake all who tread in their footſteps! Veſpaſian is ſaid to have been ſo confident, that the empire was by the laws of fate deſtined to him and his poſterity, that he affirmed in the ſenate, he ſhould in ſpite of all plots and conſpiracies, retain the ſovereignty to his death, and be ſucceeded in it by his two ſons. His obſequies were performed with extraordinary pomp by Titus. The Romans were at this time ſo prepoſterouſly fond of mimics and farces, that they were exhibited even at the funerals of perſons of quality, when the pantomimes uſed to perſonate the deceaſed, counterfeit their ſpeech, and imitate their actions. At the obſequies of Veſpaſian, a celebrated pantomime, by name Favor, perſonating the deceaſed emperor, demanded aloud, what the whole expence of the ceremony amounted to; and being told, to one hundred thouſand ſeſterces, Give me the money, ſaid he, ſtretching out his hand and counterfeiting the emperor's ſpeech, and throw my carcaſe, if you pleaſe, into the Tyber [x]. Veſpaſian founded various colonies in different parts of the empire, viz. one at Emmaus, about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, to which place he gave the name of Nicopolis, or the city of victory; one at Cæſarea, which was from him called Flaviana, with the addition of Prima, as being the firſt in dignity of all the cities in Paleſtine. Develte, or as ſome call it Deülte, in Thrace, Sinope in Pontus, and Flaviobriga in Spain, now Bilboa, are by ſome writers reckoned among the colonies founded by Veſpaſian [y]. Neapolis in Samaria, called formerly Sychem; Samoſata, the capital of Comagene, Tripolis in Phœnicia, Chalcis and Philadelphia in Syria, Cyrene in Libya, Critia in Bithynia, and Eumenea in Phrygia, bore each the name of Flaviana; whence ſome writers conclude Roman colonies to have been ſettled in all theſe cities, either by Veſpaſian himſelf, or one of his children [z]. Several

His colonies.

[w] Vide Tacit. annal. i. ſub. init. & Dio, l. lvii. c. 19. [x] Suet. [y] Vide Spanh. l. vii. & Baud. p. 291. [z] Vide Baud. p. 769. & Noris de epoch. Syro-Macedon.

ral writers flouriſhed in Veſpaſian's time, but of them we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (D).

VESPASIAN

(D) Theſe were, Suetonius Paulinus, of whoſe warlike exploits we have ſpoken in the reign of Nero when he governed Britain. He likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war between Otho and Vitellius, and was without all doubt one of the beſt commanders of his age. He left behind him an account of an expedition, which he undertook beyond mount Atlas, in the year 41, of the Chriſtian æra, and the laſt of Caligula's reign, againſt the Moors, who took up arms to revenge the death of Ptolemy their prince, murdered by Caligula, as we have related in the reign of that prince. This account has not reached our times, but is quoted by Pliny (9). He outlived Otho, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed; but from Pliny it appears, he was dead in the year 77, that is, in the eighth year of Veſpaſian's reign (10). Some writers, through a ſtrange miſtake, have confounded Suetonius Paulinus with Suetonius Lenis, the father of Suetonius the hiſtorian, who ſerved only as military tribune in the army of Otho, which Suetonius Paulinus commanded in quality of general (11). Licinius Mucianus who is often quoted by Pliny in what relates to the hiſtory and geography of the eaſtern countries (12). In the year 75, the ſeventh of Veſpaſian's reign, he was buſy in collecting the diſcourſes and letters of the antient Romans, and had already publiſhed eleven volumes of ſpeeches, and three of letters (13). He is ſuppoſed to have died in the eighth year of Veſpaſian's reign. Pliny tells us, that he always carried about him a living fly, which he ſuperſtitiouſly looked upon as a preſervative of the ſight (14). Julius Secundus, who is one of the perſons introduced in the dialogue of orators, commonly aſcribed to Tacitus, wrote the life of one Julius Aſiaticus, and promiſed the lives of other illuſtrious perſons. He likewiſe publiſhed ſome ſpeeches or orations highly commended by Quintilian (15). In the ſame dialogue, Vipſanius Meſſala acts the chief part. He was tribune of the ſeventh legion, ſprung from an illuſtrious family, and the only one, as Tacitus informs us, who engaged in the civil war between Veſpaſian and Vitellius upon worthy deſigns. He pleaded with great eloquence in the ſenate, tho' not yet arrived at the age of a ſenator, in behalf of his

(9) Plin l v. c. 1. (10) Idem ibid. (11) Vide Voſſ hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 26. (12) Plin. l. v. c. 27. (13) Tacit. orat. c. 37. (14) Plin. l. 28. c. 2. (15) Quinct. l. x. c. 1.

VESPASIAN was ſucceeded in the empire by his eldeſt ſon Titus, who was born the thirtieth of December, about the time of the death of Caligula, that is, in the year 40 of the Chriſtian æra; ſo that he was now thirty-nine years of age. He was brought up with Britannicus in the court of Nero, and is ſaid to have taſted the poiſon which Titus declared emperor.

was

his brother Aquilius Regulus, charged as the accuſer and deſtroyer of many illuſtrious citizens in the reign of Nero (16). He wrote, as appears from Tacitus (17), an account of the war between Vitellius and Veſpaſian; and is ſuppoſed to have publiſhed ſome other hiſtories (18). Modycratus, the Pythagoric, a native of Cadiz, lived about this time, and publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical tracts (19). St. Jerom commends him on account of his eloquence (20); and Origen, if Porphyrius is to be credited (21), peruſed with attention his writings, and improved by them. Curiatius Maternus, a famous civilian and poet, flouriſhed under Veſpaſian, and wrote ſeveral tragedies; one of which, intitled Cato, made a great noiſe, and would have given great offence to any of the emperors who preceded Veſpaſian: He is introduced in the dialogue of orators, ſpeaking in defence of poetry (22). Saleius Beſſus wrote ſeveral poems in the reign of Veſpaſian, which were highly eſteemed by Quintilian, and Veſpaſian himſelf, who countenanced, and with great generoſity rewarded, the poet (23). Cluvius wrote the hiſtory of Nero's reign, and of the civil wars preceding that of Veſpaſian (24), and is frequently quoted by Tacitus. Moſt writers take him to be the ſame perſon with Marcus Cluvius Rufus, who governed Spain in the reign of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Of him Tacitus obſerves, that he was in great favour with Nero, and acquired mighty wealth, without injuring any man either in his life or fortune (25). He was, as the ſame writer obſerves, an eloquent man, and well qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war (26). None of the writings of theſe authors have reached our times, except ſome ſentences quoted by the antient grammarians.

(16) Tacit. l. iv. c. 42. (17) Tacit. orat. c. 14. (18) Voſſ. hiſt Lat. l. i. c. 28. (19) Jonſius de ſcript. hiſt. philoſoph. c. 5. (20) Euſeb. chron. (21) Idem hiſt. eccleſ. l. vi. c. 19. (22) Tacit. orat. c. 2. 3. 11. (23) Tacit. ibid. c. 5. Quintil. l. x. c. 1. (24) Tacit. annal. xiii. c. 20. (25) Tacit. l. iv. c. 49. (26) Idem, l. i. c. 8.

was given to the young prince at the emperor's table. We are told, that an aſtrologer being conſulted by Narciſſus, the celebrated freed-man of Claudius, about the lot of Britannicus, returned anſwer, that by the laws of fate the empire was not deſtined to him, but to Titus, who happened to ſtand by him. He lived in great friendſhip with Britannicus; whence, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire, he erected two ſtatues to his memory, one of gold in the palace, and another of ivory, which was by his orders publicly carried among other ſtatues at the Circenſian games. Titus, from his tender years, attended with great application the ſtudy of rhetoric and poetry, and made great progreſs in both, being commended by the antients as an excellent poet, and an eloquent ſpeaker upon any ſubject whatever, and without premeditation. He ſerved firſt in quality of tribune in Germany, and afterwards in Britain; and in both provinces gained no leſs reputation by his modeſt and engaging behaviour, than by his courage. Upon his return from Britain, he betook himſelf to the bar, and pleaded ſome cauſes of great importance with uncommon applauſe. While he was yet very young, he married Arricidia Tertulla, whoſe father was only a Roman knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon her death, he married Martia Furnilla, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but divorced her after he had one daughter by her, named Julia Sabina. After his quæſtorſhip, which he diſcharged with great applauſe, he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into Judæa in quality of his lieutenant. In that war, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as appears from Joſephus, in a very eminent manner; reduced, while he ſerved under his father, ſome ſtrong holds; and gained the reputation both of a brave and prudent leader. Being ſent by Veſpaſian to congratulate Galba upon his acceſſion to the empire, and to receive his directions concerning the proſecution of the war againſt the Jews, it was rumoured abroad by the populace at Rome, that Galba had ſent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was adminiſtered, as Tacitus obſerves, by the condition of the emperor, antient and childleſs, and the great character of Titus, who was judged equal to any degree of fortune, however elevated. But having received at Corinth certain advice of the murder of Galba, he returned to his father, and reconciled to him Mucianus governor of Syria; for between Veſpaſian and

His education ſtudies, &c. before his acceſſion to the empire.

and him, as the one ruled over Judæa and the other over Syria, great animosities reigned, occasioned by their governing two neighbouring provinces [a]. He was left by his father in Judæa to prosecute the war against the Jews. Upon their parting, Titus gave a signal instance of his good-nature and affection towards his brother Domitian. For the emperor, being informed that Domitian had already abandoned himself to all manner of debauchery, and assumed more authority than was suitable to a son only, was highly incensed against him. Titus therefore, upon the departure of his father for Italy, pleaded with great affection and earnestness in favour of his brother, warning the emperor to beware of being rashly incensed by intelligence from such as brought criminal representations. "To your own son, said he, it is but just you should bear a spirit of gentleness, free from all prejudice. Not from fleets, not from legions, are such powerful bulwarks found for the support of the imperial dignity, as from a numerous issue in the imperial house. The number of our friends is diminished with time; they often desert us to follow fortune; or because we cannot gratify their desires. But from our own blood we may always promise ourselves ready assistance, and unshaken fidelity. In our good fortune many will partake with us, but our nearest in kindred alone will bear us company in our adversities. Even between brothers, added he, concord and unanimity will not prove lasting, if their common parent sets them not first an example." Vespasian, who by this reasoning was not so much reconciled to Domitian, as charmed with the tender affection of Titus, desired him to be of good chear, and to study how to aggrandise the commonwealth by war and the exercise of arms; adding, that it should be his task to insure the public peace, and that of his family [b]. Of the conduct and warlike atchievements of Titus, during the war which he carried on with stupendous success against the Jews, we have spoken at length in our history of that nation. After the reduction of Jerusalem, instead of returning to Rome, he went to Alexandria, where he assisted at the consecration of the ox Apis, wearing a diadem; which together with his putting off from time to time his journey for Italy, and his giving

Is left by his father to carry on the war against the Jews.

His kindness to his brother Domitian.

[a] Tacit. hist. l. ii. c. 77. Suet. in Tit. c. 1, 2, 3, 5. Philostr. in vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. Joseph. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29. [b] Tacit. l. iv. c. 52.

a private audience at Zeugma to the embaſſadors of the Parthian king, occaſioned a report, as if he deſigned to revolt from his father, and make himſelf emperor of the eaſt. This rumour obliged him to haſten his departure for Rome, where he was received with loud ſhouts of joy, and a few days after honoured with one of the moſt magnificent triumphs the city had ever beheld. He was dignified by the ſenate with the title of Cæſar, and by his father taken, in a manner, for his collegue in the empire; for with him he exerciſed the cenſorſhip, the tribunitial power, ſeven conſulſhips, and managed all the affairs of the empire, writing even letters, and drawing up all edicts in his father's name. Tacitus tells us, that he was more ſtrict and reſerved in his own reign, than in that of his father; and Suetonius charges him with pride, cruelty, and even avarice. When any one, ſays the latter writer, gave him by his unguarded conduct, the leaſt umbrage, he hired people to demand his doom in the theatre, and in the camp of the prætorian guards, and then condemned him without further proof or trial. In adminiſtering juſtice, he was eaſily biaſſed by preſents, ſold ſeveral employments of great truſt unknown to his father, and indulged himſelf in feſtivity and pleaſures, ſpending great part of the night in riotous banquets, with the moſt diſſolute of the Roman youth, with young eunuchs, and a numerous herd of catamites and proſtitutes. His paſſion for Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa the great and ſiſter of Agrippa II. king of Ituræa, was highly cenſured by the Roman people, who looked upon him as a ſecond Nero; ſo that ſcarce ever any man arrived at the empire with a more ſullied reputation, or more abhorred by the populace[a]. But, upon his acceſſion to the empire, all theſe accuſations turned to his praiſe and advantage, no prince having ever governed with greater moderation, humanity, and good-nature. Soon after his father's death, he diſmiſſed the beautiful queen Berenice, who had followed him to Rome with her father Agrippa, the laſt king of Judæa; and obliged her not only to withdraw from the city, but from Italy, tho' he was paſſionately fond of her; and this merely out of complaiſance to the ſenate and people, who were diſpleaſed to ſee their emperor thus captivated with the charms of

Returns to Rome, and triumphs.

Is charged while yet a private man, with pride, cruelty and avarice.

Governs with great moderation.

[a] Suet. c. 6, 7. Tacit. ibid.

of a foreign woman [d]. Tho' his brother Domitian pretended to an equal ſhare in the government, and raiſed great diſturbances in the city, by giving out and arrogantly maintaining, that his father had left him partner in the empire, but that his will had been falſified; yet he could not prevail upon himſelf either to puniſh or baniſh him, but on the contrary treated him as his collegue in the empire, conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother, who bore him a ſincere and tender affection, and was willing to allow him a due ſhare in the adminiſtration [e]. Pliny obſerves, that Julius Baſſus dreaded Titus on account of his intimacy with Domitian; but that he received no injury at the hands of the former, whereas he was baniſhed by the latter. The emperors, ever ſince the reign of Tiberius, had paid no regard to the ordinances of their predeceſſors granting to cities, or particular perſons, privileges, immunities or exemptions, till ſuch grants were confirmed by themſelves; which they did with great reſerve, cauſing the charters to be firſt carefully examined, as if they had been firſt granted by themſelves. But Titus, without ſuffering any one to apply to him, confirmed them all by one general edict; and his example was followed by moſt of his ſucceſſors. He could not prevail upon himſelf to diſmiſs any who applied to him diſſatisfied, or without ſome hopes of ſucceſs; whereupon, being admoniſhed by ſome of his friends, that he promiſed more than he could well perform, he replied, that no man ſhould depart diſſatisfied from the preſence of a prince. It is well known, that being told one night that he beſtowed no favour that day, he expreſſed his diſſatisfaction and regret, with that memorable ſaying, "My friends, I have loſt a day." He treated the people with extraordinary kindneſs and complaiſance: having deſigned to exhibit a ſhew of gladiators, he ſignified by a proclamation, that it ſhould be exhibited, not according to his own taſte and pleaſure, but that of the people; and was ſo far from refuſing what they deſired, that he earneſtly ſolicited them to declare what they liked beſt, complying with their taſte, tho' diſagreeing with his own. He allowed free acceſs to him, even while he was bathing, and received all with great affability and condeſcenſion, yet ſo as to maintain the dignity of his rank and the majeſty of an emperor.

His conduct towards his brother.

Confirms all the grants of his predeceſſors.

His complaiſance to the people.

No

[d] Suet. c. 7. [e] Idem in Dom. c. 2. & 3.

No man's property he ever coveted; nay, he often refuſed the uſual preſents and ſuch contributions as were due to him: and nevertheleſs, of all his predeceſſors, none was more generous than he, nor expended larger ſums in private bounties, in ſhews, in buildings, &c. After he dedicated the famous amphitheatre, and finiſhed with incredible expedition certain baths cloſe to it, he exhibited, at an immenſe charge, a ſhew of gladiators, a naval battle in the old naumachia, and brought into the arena five thouſand wild beaſts of all kinds. When he entered upon the office of chief pontiff, he ſolemnly declared, that he took upon him that dignity in order to preſerve his hands undefiled, and pure from the ſhedding of blood; and truly from that time he never was acceſſory to any man's death, though he might have exerted his revenge with great juſtice: but, however provoked, he ſpared the criminals, declaring, that he had rather die himſelf, than put another to death. Of this his great clemency he gave the following inſtance: two patricians having conſpired againſt him, were diſcovered, convicted, and ſentenced to death by the ſenate. But the good-natured emperor freely forgave them, admoniſhing them only in private, that in vain they aſpired to the empire, which was given by deſtiny, exhorting them to be ſatisfied with the rank in which by providence they had been placed, and offering them any thing elſe which it was in his power to grant. At the ſame time he diſpatched a meſſenger to the mother of one of them, who was then at a great diſtance, and under great concern about the fate of her ſon, to aſſure her, that her ſon was not only alive, but out of danger. He invited them the ſame night to his table, and having the next day placed them by him at a ſhew of gladiators, when the weapons of the combatans were, according to cuſtom, preſented to him, he deſired them to ſurvey them [e]. The law of majeſty he utterly abrogated, and would not ſuffer any perſon to be proſecuted for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of himſelf, or the other emperors his predeceſſors, ſaying, If they blacken my character undeſervedly, they ought rather to be pitied than puniſhed; if deſervedly, it would be a crying piece of injuſtice to puniſh them for ſpeaking truth. As for my predeceſſors, if they are truly gods, they are in a condition to revenge when they think fit, the injuries

His clemency

Aboliſhes the law of majeſty.

[e] Suet. c. 9.

juries done them, and ſtand in no need of my aſſiſtance and power [f]. The accuſers were the only perſons againſt whom he proceeded with unrelenting ſeverity, cauſing them to be publicly whipt, to be expoſed to public view, and to the inſults of the populace in the forum, the amphitheatre, and the circus, and then to be either ſold for ſlaves, or baniſhed to deſert iſlands [g]. In ſhort he was a prince, according to Suetonius, in whom all virtues centred, without the allay of one ſingle vice.

His ſeverity towards the informers.

TOWARDS the end of the year 79 of the chriſtian æra, and firſt of Titus's reign, Campania was alarmed with a moſt dreadful and almoſt incredible eruption of mount Veſuvius, which laid waſte the country to a great diſtance, and utterly conſumed a great many cities with their inhabitants, and among the reſt Pompeii and Herculanum. The former had ſuffered much by an earthquake in the year 63 of the chriſtian æra; but had been rebuilt and embelliſhed with ſeveral ſtately edifices, eſpecially a theatre, in which the people were aſſembled, and intent upon the public ſhews, when the city was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, which attended the eruption of the flames from the mountain. The cities of Puteoli and Cumæ were greatly damaged, what by the earthquake, what by the burning aſhes; which, if the antients are to be credited, reached Africa, Egypt, and Syria, and at Rome turned ſuddenly, to the great terror of the inhabitants, day into night. Pliny the elder, who was then at Miſenum, where he commanded the fleet riding there, having diſcovered this cloud on the firſt of November, and not yet knowing whence it iſſued, went immediately on board one of the galleys, and ſailed towards mount Veſuvius. He was ſoon met by great numbers of perſons, who, in ſmall boats, were flying from the dreadful conflagration; but nevertheleſs, prompted by his curioſity, he purſued his courſe, tho' ſtones, aſhes, and earth began already to ſhower down upon his veſſel; nay, we are told, that, to his great ſurprize, he found a new cape formed by the earth and huge ſtones, thrown out by the mountain. However, he proceeded with great intrepidity, and reaching Stabiæ between Pompeii and Surrentum, tho' the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, paſſed the night there, the better to obſerve, during the darkneſs, the mountain, which ſeemed all on a blaze. The ſame night a dread-

A dreadful eruption of mount Veſuvius.

[f] Dio, l. lviii. p. 354. [g] Suet. c. 10.

a dreadful earthquake happened at Stabiæ, and such an huge quantity of stones fell, that Pliny resolved to put to sea, but was prevented by contrary winds. At length the fire approaching, he attempted to save himself by flight; but, tho' supported by two of his domestics, he soon fell, suffocated, as is supposed, by the thickness of the air and the insupportable stench of sulphur. His body was found three days after, and interred by his nephew Pliny the younger, who was then at Misenum, and narrowly escaped the same fate, as he himself relates at length in his epistles [h]. On this occasion the poet Cesius Bassus was consumed, with his house, by the flames; and likewise Agrippa, the son of Claudius Felix, formerly governor of Judæa, and of Drusilla, daughter of Agrippa, the last king of the Jews [i]. This is the first eruption of mount Vesuvius we find mentioned in history.

The death of Pliny the elder.

Agricola's second campaign in Britain.

THE same year, Titus assumed the title of emperor with the usual solemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave Agricola had gained in Britain, during his second campaign in that island; for having applied himself in the winter with great care to the redressing of the grievances, of which the Britons but too justly complained, in the beginning of the summer he assembled his army, and marched farther into the country, commending such of his men as in marching observed duty and rank, and checking such as were loose and straggling. He himself always chose the ground for encamping; the friths and woods he himself always first examined; and to the enemy, in the mean time, allowed not a moment's quiet, but was ever harassing them with sudden incursions. Then having sufficiently alarmed and terrified them, he used to spare them, in order to tempt and allure them with the sweets of peace. By this conduct several communities, which till that day held out upon equal terms, and maintained themselves in a state of independency, came to lay down their arms, gave hostages, and suffered fortresses to be erected in their territories; which was done with so much care and skill, that no part of Britain conquered by the Romans till that time escaped being annoyed by them [k]. This is the account which Tacitus gives us of what Agricola performed in the second summer's expedition; but as he speaks

Several communities submit and give hostages.

[h] Plin. l. vi. epist. 16, 20.
[i] Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 5.
[k] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 20, 21.

ſpeaks in general, without naming any particular place, it is no eaſy matter to determine through what part of Britain Agricola marched his army, and how far into the country; what friths he paſſed over, what communities ſubmitted and gave hoſtages, and in what places the fortreſſes were erected which Tacitus mentions. However, a modern writer [l], whom our readers may conſult, endeavours by many learned conjectures to prove, that Agricola in his ſecond campaign marched directly from Angleſey into Scotland, and penetrated as far as the frith of Edinburgh; that he bent his rout through the county of Annandale and the adjacent counties, where remains of antient Roman camps are ſtill to be ſeen, ſome of which the learned antiquarian concludes, from Tacitus's account of them, to have been made by Agricola; that the friths he paſſed were thoſe of Dee, Ribble, Liverpool, and Solloway; and finally, that the communities or cities, which ſuffered themſelves to be begirt, as Tacitus expreſſes it, with garriſons and fortreſſes, were thoſe on the Iſthmus between Clyde and Forth. We refer our readers to the above-mentioned writer for a more diſtinct explanation of theſe particulars.

Through what part of Britain he marched.

THE following year, Titus, now conſul the eighth time, with his brother Domitian the ſeventh, gave many remarkable inſtances of his humanity and good-nature, in repairing, at his own expence, the loſſes which the unhappy inhabitants of Campania had ſuffered by the late eruption of mount Veſuvius. He ſent into Campania two conſulars with large ſums, to be employed in rebuilding the cities which had been overturned, and applied to the relief of the poor ſufferers the goods and eſtates of ſuch, as had periſhed on this occaſion and left no heirs; nay, went in perſon into Campania, and with his own hand diſtributed immenſe ſums among thoſe who ſeemed moſt worthy of his compaſſion [m]. While he was in Campania, a dreadful fire broke out in Rome, which laſted three days and as many nights, and reduced to aſhes a great many private and public buildings, the library of Auguſtus, with all the books lodged in it, great part of the capitol, the theatre of Pompey, &c. Titus was no ſooner informed of this calamity, than he haſtened back to the city, and publicly declared, that the whole loſs ſhould fall upon him,

Titus repairs the damages done by the eruption of mount Veſuvius.

And by a fire at Rome.

[l] Gordon. itiner. ſeptentrion. [m] Suet. c. 8.

him, and that at his own charge, he would repair the damage ſuffered by particulars. He was as good as his word; for tho' many cities and foreign princes, by whom he was no leſs beloved than by Romans, offered to bear their ſhare in the expence, he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offers, as Nero had done on the like occaſion; but choſe rather to ſell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palace and country-houſes, in order to raiſe money wherewithal to defray the immenſe charges he was at in rebuilding the temples, the public edifices, and the dwellings of particulars. This conflagration was followed by the moſt dreadful plague that had ever raged in Rome. Dion Caſſius aſcribes its riſe to the aſhes of mount Veſuvius, which had covered the country all round to a great diſtance [n]. Tacitus left no remedy, human or divine, unattempted, to abate the malignity of the diſtemper, exerting at the ſame time all the care and regard of a prince, all the tenderneſs and compaſſion of a father, comforting the diſtreſſed multitude with his edicts, and relieving them with large and daily bounties [o].

Exerts his good nature during a plague at Rome.

Towards the end of this year he finiſhed the famous amphitheatre, which is elegantly deſcribed by Martial [p], who likewiſe mentions the baths that were ended about the ſame time. The amphitheatre, whereof the ſtately remains are ſtill to be ſeen, had been begun by Veſpaſian, and ſtood, as we learn from Dion Caſſius, in the midſt of the city, tho' its ruins lie in the outſkirts of modern Rome. Titus, when he dedicated, according to cuſtom, that noble and ſtately edifice, exhibited moſt magnificent ſhews, which laſted an hundred days, and raiſed the ſpirits of the people, ready to ſink under the calamities they had ſuffered [q].

Finiſhes the amphitheatre.

In the mean time, Agricola employed his ſecond winter in meaſures extremely advantageous and ſalutary; for to the end that the people, wild and diſperſed over the country, and thence eaſily ſtirred up to war, might, by a taſte of pleaſures, be reconciled to inactivity and repoſe, he firſt privately exhorted, and then publicly aſſiſted, them, to build temples, houſes, and places of public reſort, reprimanding ſuch as were ſlow, and commending thoſe who were aſſiduous

Agricola brings the Britons to love the Roman cuſtoms.

[n] Dio, l. lvi. p. 756. [o] Idem ibid, Suet. c. 8. [p] Mart. lib. de ſpect. epigr. 1. [q] Dio, p. 757. & Marc. Velſer. monument. Auguſt. lapid. 35.

duous and forward in ſuch purſuits. He took care to have the ſons of the chiefs inſtructed in the liberal ſciences, finding their genius ſuperior to that of their neighbours the Gauls; and ſuch was his ſucceſs, that thoſe, who had lately ſcorned to learn the Roman language, were now become fond of its elegancies: thence they began to aſſume the Roman apparel, and the uſe of the gown grew frequent amongſt them. Thus by degrees they proceeded to the charms and allurements of vice and effeminacy, to magnificent galleries, ſumptuous bagnios, elegant entertainments, &c. all which things were, as Tacitus judiciouſly obſerves, by the unexperienced, ſtyled politeneſs, but at the bottom were nothing but baits of ſlavery. In the beginning of the ſummer, Agricola took the field again, and in purſuit of his conqueſts diſcovered new people, and continued his devaſtations through the ſeveral nations quite to the mouth of the Taus or Tay. Whence ſuch terror ſeized the enemy, that they durſt not attack him, though his troops were ſorely haraſſed by terrible tempeſts; ſo that he had time to ſecure the places he had conquered by erecting forts. It was obſerved of Agricola by men of experience, that no commander ever choſe his poſts with more ſkill, in regard of their ſituation and convenience, and that no place of ſtrength founded by him, was ever taken by ſtorm, or abandoned as not defenſible. From theſe ſtrong-holds frequent excurſions were made; and, as they were ſupplied with proviſions for a year, the Romans paſſed the winter in them without the leaſt apprehenſion, every ſingle fort defending itſelf; ſo that the enemy, in all their attempts upon them, were baffled, and thence reduced to deſpair, not being able, as formerly, to repair by their ſucceſs in the winter, the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the ſummer. In theſe expeditions Agricola never aſſumed to himſelf the glory of exploits performed by others; but to each commander, to each centurion, yielded the praiſe which was due to his atchievements. By ſome he is ſaid to have been too ſevere and ſharp in rebuking; and truly, as he abounded in courteſy towards thoſe who readily complied with their duty, ſo to the ſlothful and negligent he appeared ſtern and ſevere. But his anger was eaſily appeaſed: he harboured no rancour in his heart, thinking it more honourable to give open offence, than to foſter ſecret hatred[r]. The emperor Titus, in his eighth

He extends his conqueſts to the Taus or Tay.

[r] Tacit. vit. Agri. c. 22.

eighth conſulſhip, and conſequently this year, repaired ſome antient aqueducts, and at a vaſt expence paved with large ſtones the road from Rome to Ariminum croſs the Apennines, where is ſtill to be ſeen, not far from the preſent city of Foſſombrone, an huge rock cut throqugh on this occaſion [s].

THE next conſuls were Sex. Annius Silvanus and T. Annius Verus Pollio. The latter is by ſome writers ſuppoſed to be the grandfather of the emperor M. Aurelius, who was, according to Capitolinus, raiſed by Veſpaſian to the rank of a patrician, diſcharged twice the office of conſulſhip, and governed Rome with general ſatisfaction.

He employs the fourth ſummer in ſecuring the places already conquered.

This ſummer, the fourth ſince Agricola's arrival in Britain, was by him employed in ſettling and ſecuring the places which he had already conquered, viz. all the countries on this ſide of the Glota and Bodotria, now the Clyde and Forth, into which rivers the tide from the oppoſite ſeas flows ſo far up the country, that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, not above twenty miles over. This iſthmus the Romans ſecured with forts and garriſons, and penned up the inhabitants, as it were, in another iſland; ſo that they might have made the two rivers Glota and Bodotria the boundaries of their conqueſts, and ſuffered the nations beyond them to live undiſturbed [t]. But the ambition of the Romans, which they diſguiſed under the ſpecious name of glory, knew no bounds; hence Agricola purſued his conqueſts the next and the following ſummers, as we ſhall relate according to the order of time. In the eaſt, one Terentius Maximus, paſſing himſelf upon the people for Nero, raiſed great diſturbances in that province, and likewiſe in the countries bordering upon the Euphrates; but, being purſued by the Roman troops, he took refuge in the territories of the Parthians, where he was entertained by king Artabanes, who was then at variance with the Romans; but nevertheleſs, upon the approach of their army, thought it adviſeable to abandon the cauſe of the impoſtor [u].

New honours conferred upon Titus.

THIS year, the ſenate, not out of flattery, but a ſenſe of gratitude, conferred new honours upon Titus. What honours theſe were, we are no-where told; but the good emperor lived not to enjoy them, being ſuddenly ſnatched away

[s] Onuph. in faſt. p. 210. Goltz. p. 56. [t] Tacit. ibid. c. 23. [u] Zonar. p. 195.

away, to the inexpreſſible grief of the Roman people. Suetonius tells us, that he exhibited certain ſhews, during which he ſhed many tears in the preſence of the multitude, and retired, as ſoon as they were over, into the country of the Sabines, greatly grieved, becauſe the victim, while he was ſacrificing, had broke looſe, and a dreadful clap of thunder had been heard, though the day was quite bright, and not a cloud to be ſeen. The firſt night he lay out of Rome, he was ſeized with a burning fever; but nevertheleſs purſued his journey in a litter, being deſirous to end his days in the ſame houſe where his father died. We are told, that finding himſelf on the road greatly indiſpoſed, and not doubting but his end approached, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, complaining, that he was thus to be cut off in the vigour of his age, when, during the whole courſe of his life, he had been guilty of one action only, which ſeemed to require repentance. What action that was, he did not declare; but Dion Caſſius is of opinion, that it was his freely forgiving his brother Domitian, who had conſpired againſt him, when, by inflicting upon him the deſerved puniſhment, he might have prevented the many evils and calamities, which the excellent emperor was well appriſed his brother, when inveſted with the ſovereignty, would bring upon the ſtate [w]. Others think, that the criminal converſation he was ſaid to have had with his brother's wife, occurred then to his memory. But Suetonius clears him from this aſperſion, upon the ſolemn proteſtation of Domitia herſelf, who, had the charge been true, would have rather glorified in it, as ſhe did in all other crimes, than denied it [x]. Titus having with much-ado reached Cutyliæ, his paternal eſtate, expired there ſoon after his arrival, on the thirteenth of September, in the forty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days. Philoſtratus tells us, that he was poiſoned by his brother Domitian [y]. Plutarch aſcribes his death to the immoderate uſe of baths [z], and adds, that one Regulus, who, out of complaiſance, uſed to bathe with him, died of an apoplexy. Suetonius writes, that Domitian,

Is taken ill, and leaves Rome.

His death.

[w] Dio, l. lxvi. p. 758. [x] Suet. c. 10. [y] Philoſtrat. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vi. c. 14. [z] Plut. de ſanit. p. 2. 4.

Domitian, who had ever fought the deſtruction of his brother, cauſed the room to be cleared before he was dead, ordering all thoſe who could afford him any aſſiſtance to withdraw; but that writer does not charge Domitian with any other kind of violence [a]. He far excelled, in the opinion of the antients, all his predeceſſors, even Veſpaſian himſelf, in every virtue becoming a prince, and was equalled by few of his ſucceſſors. He knew no purpoſe of being higher than others but to do good to all. He was a ſtranger to all parade and oſtentation, chuſing to live with his people rather as a father with his children, than a prince with ſubjects; whence he was deſervedly ſtyled, the love and delight of mankind. What pity that ſuch princes, ſuch friends to the world, and protectors of men, ſhould ever die! His death was no ſooner known than a general ſadneſs, an univerſal conſternation, appeared in Rome, which in a ſhort time ſpread all over the provinces to the moſt diſtant bounds of the empire. The ſenators, without being ſummoned according to cuſtom, haſtened to the palace, and having cauſed the doors of the chapel, where they met, to be ſhut for a while, in order to indulge their grief, they opened them again, and in the preſence of the multitude heaped more praiſes upon him after his death, than they had ever done while he lived amongſt them; a plain proof of the ſincerity of their eſteem and affection. Domitian cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and was the firſt who paid him divine honours; but at the ſame time, ſtudied both in private and in public to revile his memory, and leſſen the eſteem and veneration, which all orders of men had for ſo worthy and deſerving a prince [b]. Titus left only one daughter, named Julia Sabina, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following reign.

His character.

Is univerſally lamented.

Titus was ſucceeded by his brother Domitian, who, without the leaſt oppoſition or contradiction, was immediately acknowledged emperor, notwithſtanding the bad opinion which many entertained of him. He was born on the twenty-fourth of October of the year 51 of the chriſtian æra, his father being then conſul elect, and appointed to diſcharge that office the month following. He is ſtyled on ſeveral medals, which have reached our times

Domitian acknowledged emperor.

Tit

[a] Suet. in Domit. [b] Idem, ibid.

Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitianus [c]. He paſſed his youth in great poverty, and is ſaid to have been a pathic to Nerva, who ſucceeded him, for hire, and likewiſe to one Clodius Pollio, formerly prætor, who kept a note under Domitian's own hand, by which he bound himſelf, for a ſum of money, to comply, when required, with his lewd and unnatural deſires. He did not apply himſelf from his tender years to the ſtudy of hiſtory, poetry, eloquence, or any other liberal art or ſcience; hence in all his ſpeeches and harangues he made uſe of the eloquence of others. He took great delight in archery, in which he was ſo wonderfully expert, that he was frequently ſeen to ſhoot a great number of arrows between the fingers of one of his domeſtics, whom he placed at a great diſtance with his hand expanded, telling before between which fingers the arrow would paſs, and never miſſing his aim [d]. He was naturally cruel, ſuſpicious, and addicted to revenge; greedy of honours, but impatient of the leaſt toil or labour; affected the reputation of a brave commander, but carefully avoided expoſing himſelf to any danger. Suetonius thinks, that his cruelty was chiefly occaſioned by his timoroſneſs, and no-ways natural to him. Being at Rome when his father aſſumed the title of emperor, Vitellius placed guards about him; but he might nevertheleſs have eaſily eſcaped, ſeveral meſſengers having, by various diſguiſes and ſhifts, reached him from Antonius Primus, and ſhewed him from what place he might fly, and upon what guard and ſecurity depend; nay, even thoſe who guarded him, offered themſelves for companions of his flight; but he, apprehending from thence that they deſigned to betray him, could not by any means be prevailed upon to make his eſcape [e]. Upon the burning of the capitol, whither he had retired with his uncle Sabinus, he concealed himſelf in the room of one of the miniſters of the temple, and the next morning was conveyed by his freed-man beyond the Tiber, in the diſguiſe of one of the prieſts of Iſis. When Primus had made himſelf maſter of the city, and all apprehenſions of hoſtility had ceaſed, he diſcovered himſelf to his father's generals, and was by the ſoldiers thronging about him ſaluted Cæſar [f]; which title was confirmed to him the

[c] Goltz. p. 58. Suet. c. 1. [d] Suet. c. 19. [e] Tacit. hiſt. l. iii. c. 59. [f] Idem, c. 74.

day following by the ſenate. From that time to the arrival of his father, he bore the chief ſway in Rome; but gave no attention to the cares of government, abandoning himſelf to all manner of voluptuouſneſs, and making uſe of his power only to indulge his vicious inclinations with more liberty. He took Domitia Longina, the daughter of the famous Domitius Corbulo, from her huſband L. Ælius Lamia, married her ſome time after, and had a ſon by her, who was honoured with the title of Cæſar, but died an infant, and was by Domitian ranked among the gods [g]. That he had other children, though not mentioned by any hiſtorian, appears from the epitaph of one Pierius, ſtill to be ſeen at Rome, who is ſtiled the emperor's freed-man, and preceptor to his children. The monument was raiſed by Flavia Nicea, wife to Pierius, with the permiſſion, as is expreſſed in the inſcription, of Hermas, the chief freed-man of Domitia Auguſta; for with this title Domitius honoured his wife Domitia Longina in the ſecond year of his reign [h]. In the beginning of his father's reign, being jealous of the glory which his brother had acquired in the Jewiſh war, he reſolved to go into Gaul, and take upon him the command of the army which was employed againſt Civilis. Mucianus did all that lay in his power to divert him, as he was quite unexperienced in military affairs, from ſuch a reſolution; but Domitian continuing obſtinately bent upon that expedition, Mucianus reſolved to attend him, in order to check his ardour, leſt, following the impetuoſity of his age and inſtigated by evil counſellors, were he once maſter of an army, he might diſconcert all meaſures, whether for peace or war. After many procraſtinations and delays, they both ſet out at length; but received, ere they reached the Alps, tidings of the defeat of the Treverians. Hereupon Mucianus communicated, as no more than his own ſentiments upon the preſent occaſion, what he had long propoſed and concealed, viz. that ſince, by the favour of the gods, the forces of the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would Domitian proceed, now the war was nigh concluded, and rob another of the whole glory. He added, that were the empire threatened with danger, it behoved the emperor's ſon to venture his perſon in battle; but

He reſolves to head the army againſt Civilis.

to

[g] Suet. c. iii. Spanh. p. 650. & Suet. c. 3.

[h] Vide Spanh. p. 1

to contend with the Caninefates and Batavians, was beneath him. Let Domitian, continued he, retire to Lions, and from thence diſplay the power and fortune of the empire at hand, neither engaging in ſmall hazards, nor failing to meet ſuch as are greater. Thus Mucianus prevailed upon him to retire to Lions. From thence Domitian was believed by inter-agents to corrupt the fidelity of Cerealis, and to have propoſed, whether he would commit to him the army and the empire, if he came in perſon. It remained uncertain what deſigns he foſtered, whether he meditated a war againſt his father, or intended to arm himſelf with power and forces againſt his brother; for Cerealis, by ſeveral evaſions, eluded his ſuit, as that of one, who, with a childiſh fondneſs, longed for things to which he was not equal. Domitian perceiving, that Cerealis deſpiſed his youth, relinquiſhed all functions of government, even the ſmalleſt; and burying himſelf in ſolitude, feigned a zeal for learning, eſpecially for poetry, thence to conceal his ambition and other paſſions, and to eſcape the jealouſy of his brother [i]. Some writers tell us, that on this occaſion he applied himſelf in earneſt to the ſtudy of poetry, and with wonderful ſucceſs. Pliny the elder ſeems to have admired his poetical compoſitions [k], and likewiſe Quintilian [l]; for both cry them up, not through flattery, ſays Voſſius, as is manifeſt from the tranſlation of Aratus, which has reached us, and was, without all doubt, done by Domitian [m]. Lactantius aſcribes to him the learned comment on that tranſlation [n]; but Voſſius is of a different opinion [o]. Valerius Flaccus the poet, who flouriſhed under Veſpaſian, ſpeaks of a poem written by Domitian on the taking of Jeruſalem by Titus [p]. He likewiſe wrote a book in proſe about the means of preſerving the hair, which is quoted by Suetonius [q]. But while he pretended to place his whole delight in theſe ſtudies, and affected a fondneſs for ſolitude, the king of the Parthians having demanded ſuccours againſt the Alani, as we have hinted above, he earneſtly ſolicited his father for the command of thoſe troops; and when he found the emperor no-ways inclined to aſſiſt the Parthians, he applied to the eaſtern princes, ſoliciting them with promiſes and preſents to deſire ſupplies, and himſelf to lead them. But Veſpaſian was

He attempt to corrupt Cerealis.

Retires, and feigns a love for learning and poetry.

[i] Tacit. l. iv. c. 86. [k] Plin. in præfat. [l] Quintil. l. x. c. 1. [m] Voſſ. poet. Lat. c. 3. [n] Lact. l. i. c. 22. [o] Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p. 115. [p] Val. Flac. l. ii, ver. 12. [q] Suet. c. 18.

too well acquainted with his views and temper, to truſt him with the command of an army. Upon the death of his father, he deliberated a long time with himſelf, whether he ſhould openly revolt, and tempt the fidelity of the prætorian guards, by offering them a larger donative than his brother had promiſed them; but his courage failing him, he bore no other title, during the reign of Titus, but that of Cæſar, "prince of the Roman youth;" a title now peculiar to the preſumptive heir to the empire[r]. His brother no ſooner expired, than he haſtened to Rome; and repairing to the camp of the prætorian guards, was there by the ſoldiery, after having promiſed them the uſual donative, ſaluted emperor. At the ſame time he aſſumed, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, all the other titles annexed to the ſovereignty, which other emperors had taken ſucceſſively[s]. Some medals, which have reached our times, give us room to ſuppoſe, that, in the firſt year of his reign, he took upon him the title of Germanicus, probably on account of his journey to Lions during the revolt of the Gauls and Batavians; for we know of no other expedition which could give him, however vain and ambitious, the leaſt colour for aſſuming that ſurname or title[t].

His ſome thoughts of revolting.

DOMITIAN, now inveſted with the ſovereign power, which he had long and impatiently coveted, performed in the firſt place the obſequies of the deceaſed emperor, and pronounced himſelf his funeral oration, with an affected concern, bewailing the loſs of a brother ſo dear to him, and by whom he was ſo tenderly beloved; but that his grief was only aſſumed, he made ſoon appear, by publicly reviling the memory of that excellent prince, by blaming his conduct, and perſecuting all thoſe whom he had diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of his favour; nay, he openly declared in the ſenate, that to him both his father and brother were indebted for the empire, and that they had only reſtored to him what was his own gift. However, in the beginning of his reign, he ſtudied to gain the affections of his people, by a conduct worthy of a great prince, diſguiſing his vices, and affecting the oppoſite virtues. He ſhewed ſuch an abhorrence to all manner of cruelty, that he once reſolved, by an expreſs edict, to

He reviles the memory of his brother.

His conduct in the beginning of his reign.

[r] Idem, c. 2. Onuph. in faſt. p. 210. [s] Idem. ibid.
[t] Vide Birägi numiſ. p. 131, 132.

to forbid the ſacrificing of oxen, or any living creature. He was ſo far from betraying any bias to avarice, that on the contrary, he gave daily inſtances of a temper truly princely and munificent, preſenting his officers and miniſters with large ſums, in order to raiſe them above the temptation of accumulating wealth by methods ſordid and mean. He could not be prevailed upon to accept ſuch inheritances as were left him by perſons who had children; and becauſe one Ruſcius Cæpio, by his will, obliged his heir to pay a certain ſum to every new ſenator, he declared the will void, and would not ſuffer it to be executed to the prejudice of his own children. All debts above five years ſtanding, which were owing to the exchequer, he freely forgave; and after the diviſion of lands amongſt the veterans, reſtored the remainder to the antient proprietors, tho' he might, after the example of other emperors, have appropriated it to himſelf. He forbad, on pain of baniſhment, all the officers of the treaſury to ſue any one for debts, that were not clear and undoubted [u]. He confirmed at once, as Titus had done, all the grants made by his predeceſſors, encreaſed the pay of the ſoldiers, and finiſhed, at an immenſe charge, all the public buildings, which had been begun by Titus. Plutarch tells us, that he expended above twelve twouſand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that nevertheleſs each hall and gallery of his own palace far excelled that ſtately temple in magnificence [w]. To the antient edifices, which he either repaired or rebuilt, he added an incredible number of new ones, having a great paſſion for building, and ſeeming deſirous as Plutarch expreſſes it [x], to change every thing into ſtones and gold. He was aſſiduous and quite unbiaſſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch judges as were convicted of having received bribes, and kept the magiſtrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in ſuch awe, that they were never known to have behaved with ſo much modeſty as in his time, tho' after his death, many of them abandoned themſelves, as Suetonius informs us, to all manner of rapine and extortion [y]. Tho', after his acceſſion to the empire, he utterly neglected all kind of literature, and was never known to

His magnificence in public buildings.

[u] Suet. c. 9.
[w] Plut. vit. Public.
[x] Idem, ibid.
[y] Suet. c. 8.

Repairs the public libraries.

have perused any book, except the memoirs of Tiberius, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in his brother's reign, procuring copies of such as had been consumed in the flames, and sending persons to Alexandria to transcribe those that were lodged in that famous library [z]. Authors observe, as a thing very remarkable in Domitian, that, in the beginning of his reign, he used to retire every day for some time into his room, where his whole employment was to catch flies, and pierce them with a sharp bodkin; which custom gave occasion to Vibius Priscus, when he was asked, whether any body was with the emperor, to answer pleasantly, Not so much as a fly [a].

Domitian, in the first year of his reign, took upon him, as other emperors had done, the consular dignity, and chose for his collegue Titus Flavius Sabinus, his cousin-german, the son of Flavius Sabinus governor of Rome, who was put to death in the reign of Vitellius, as we have related above. The emperor resigned the fasces on the thirteenth of January; but to whom, we are no-where told, and assumed the title of censor; which office he discharged with great applause, restraining, with several edicts, the licentiousness, which generally prevailed amongst all ranks of men. He enacted severe laws against the authors of such writings as any ways reflected on persons of distinction; degraded a senator, by name Cæcilius Rufinus, for no other reason, but because he took great delight in dancing. From such women as led scandalous lives, he took away the privilege of being carried in litters, and declared them incapable of enjoying legacies or inheritances. He struck a Roman knight out of the list of judges, for taking his wife again after he had divorced her for adultery. One of his freed-men having erected a monument for his son, with the stones which were designed for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he caused it to be demolished, and the bones and ashes of the deceased to be thrown into the sea. He would not suffer the comedians and Pantomimes to act on the public stage; but confined them to private houses and gardens. Many persons of both sexes convicted of adultery, he punished with death, &c [b].

Enacts several wholsome laws.

These

[z] Idem, c. 20. [a] Idem, c. 3. Aur. Vict. Dio, l. lxvii p. 766. [b] Suet. c. 7, 8. Dio, p. 765. Plin. panegyr Zonar. p. 197.

Theſe regulations and acts of juſtice were received with great applauſe; but the death of Flavius Sabinus, which happened in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, cauſed an univerſal dread in the city; for the emperor, without any regard for his own blood, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, for no crime of his own, but only becauſe the public crier had, by miſtake, inſtead of conſul, proclaimed him emperor in the aſſembly of the people [c]. Sabinus had married Julia, the daughter of the emperor Titus; which marriage proved the ſource of Domitian's jealouſy, if Philoſtratus is to be credited [d], and the chief cauſe of Sabinus's death. In the mean time, the brave Agricola vigorouſly purſued his enterprizes in Britain. In the firſt year of Domitian's reign and the fifth of the Britiſh war, he paſſed the frith himſelf in the firſt ſhip that landed, ſubdued in many ſucceſsful encounters nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of Britain which fronts Ireland, not that he apprehended any danger from the inhabitants of that iſland, but becauſe he already entertained thoughts of reducing it; for as it lies between Britain and Spain, and is capable of an eaſy communication with the coaſt of Gaul, Agricola conſidered, that it would prove of infinite uſe in linking together thoſe powerful members of the empire. A petty king of the country, expelled by domeſtic diſſention, was already received into protection by Agricola, and, under the appearance of friendſhip, reſerved for a proper occaſion *. For theſe conqueſts Domitian aſſumed the title of imperator the fourth time, having taken it three times before [e], for what victories we find no-where recorded.

Puts Flavius Sabinus to death.

Agricola purſues his conqueſts in Britain.

The following year, Domitian entered upon his ninth conſulſhip, having Q. Petilius Rufus for his collegue, whom Onuphrius calls Verginius Rufus, and takes for the celebrated Verginius Rufus, who ſo often refuſed the empire offered him by the ſoldiery [f]. But Phlegon, ſpeaking of a woman, who was, according to him, delivered of ſeveral ſerpents at Trent, tells us, that this happened during the ninth conſulſhip of Domitian, and the ſecond of Petilius Rufus [g]. He is likewiſe ſtiled Petilius Rufus in an antient inſcription in Greek diſcovered at Smyrna in the year 1679, and from thence

[c] Suet. c. 10. [d] Philoſtrat. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3.
* Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 24. [e] Goltz. p. 58. [f] Onuph. in faſt. p. 211, [g] Phleg. mir. c. 24.

Domitian enacts otheir excellent laws.

thence conveyed to Rome [h]. This year Domitian enacted a law, forbidding under ſevere penalties, the caſtrating of children, and regulating the price of ſuch as were eunuchs already; for they were all ſlaves and brought from foreign countries [i]. Philoſtratus tells us, that Domitian was chiefly prompted to enact this law by a ſecret envy to the memory of Titus, who was greatly addicted to eunuchs, and had conſtantly many of them about him. Be that as it will, the law was generally applauded, and continued in force in the time of Juſtin the martyr [k].

Puniſhes ſome veſtals convicted of inceſt.

The ſame year, according to Euſebius [l], he puniſhed four veſtals convicted of inceſt, viz. two ſiſters of the family of the Ocellates, Varonilla, and Cornelia. The three former he allowed to chuſe the manner of their death; but Cornelia, who had been pardoned before, he cauſed to be buried alive, and her accomplices to be whipt to death in the midſt of the comitium. Thoſe who had debauched the other three were only condemned to baniſhment [m].

Agricola's further conqueſts in Britain.

In the mean time, Agricola continued his conqueſts in Britain, or rather Caledonia. On the ſummer which began the ſixth year of his adminiſtration, as it was apprehended, that the nations beyond Bodotria, or the frith of Edinburgh, would all take arms, and that all the ways and paſſages were beſet with the enemy's forces, his firſt ſtep was to coaſt, and examine by means of his fleet, the large communities beyond the frith, probably thoſe of the counties of Fife, Angus, Merns, and Aberdeen, which lie beyond Edinburgh frith. As the fleet conſtantly attended the army, the ſame camp often contained the foot and horſe and the marines, all intermixed, and ſeverally magnifying their own feats, hazards, and adventures. The ſoldiers boaſted their laborious marches over ſteep mountains and thick foreſts; the ſailors their dangers amidſt the tempeſts and waves, all vying together according to the uſual vaunts and oſtentation of ſoldiers. As for the Britons, upon the ſight of the fleet, they were ſeized, as from the captives was learnt, with conſternation and diſmay, finding the receſſes of the ſea now diſcovered, and the laſt refuge of the vanquiſhed cut off. The ſeveral people therefore inhabiting Caledonia had immediate recourſe to arms, and advancing with great parade,

[h] Norris. epiſt. conſul. p. 55, 56.
[i] Suet. c. 7
[k] Juſtin. apol. ii. p. 71.
[l] Euſeb. in chron.
[m] Suet c. 8.

rade, ſtill made greater by common report, boldly attacked the Roman forts, and cauſed no ſmall terror and alarm amongſt the ſoldiers; inſomuch, that there were ſome, who, covering real cowardice under the appearance of prudence, adviſed Agricola to return to this ſide of Bodotria, ſeeing it was leſs ſhameful to retire back of their own accord, than to be repulſed and driven by force. As Agricola was informed, that the enemy deſigned to attack him in different bodies, he divided his army into three parts, and thus marched to prevent their furrounding him; for they ſurpaſſed him in numbers and in the knowledge of the country. Hereupon the Caledonians changed their meaſures, and in one body fell upon the ninth legion, as the weakeſt of all. As the attack was in the night, they ſlew the guards, entered the trenches, and were already purſuing the ſlaughter in the camp itſelf, when Agricola, having learnt from his ſcouts what rout the enemy had taken, and following their track, commanded the lighteſt of his foot and cavalry to charge them, while yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army to give a mighty ſhout. Thus the Caledonians were diſmayed with double diſtreſs, and to the Romans their courage returned; ſo that they fell upon the enemy with great reſolution, and drove them to the gates of the camp, where a bloody encounter enſued, the Romans who were come to the relief of their companions preſſing them in the rear, and thoſe who were in the camp in the front, and both exerting their whole might, the former to ſhew that they brought relief, the latter to appear not to have wanted it. At laſt the Caledonians were routed; and had not the bogs and woods covered their flight, by this victory the war had been ended. This battle, in the opinion of the writer whom we have quoted above [n], was fought in the county of Fife; for Agricola's army was at that time, as is evident from Tacitus, on the north ſide of Bodotria, or the frith of Edinburgh; and the remains of a Roman camp are ſtill to be ſeen in that country, at a place called Lochore. To the ſouth of the camp is a large moraſs, in which are daily dug up roots of different trees; whence the above-mentioned writer concludes it to have been formerly a great wood, and thence ſtrengthens his conjecture, that the ninth

The Caledonians attack the ninth legion, but are repulſed.

[n] Gordon. itin. ſeptent. p. 36.

ninth legion was attacked there; for Tacitus tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not ſerved for ſhelter to the fugitives, that victory would have put an end to the war.

The Roman ſoldiers demand to be led into the heart of Caledonia.

The Roman ſoldiers, elated with theis ſucceſs, and thinking nothing could now prove unſurmountable to their bravery, demanded to be led into the heart of Caledonia, and to the utmoſt limits of Britain, which they hoped to find out by a conſtant courſe of victories. Thus thoſe, who a little before had been ſo wary and ſo wiſe, were now, after victory, full of boaſts and intrepidity. Inſtead of returning to this ſide of Bodotria, they were for penetrating to the utmoſt bounds of Britain. On the other hand, the Caledonians, aſcribing the victory gained by the Romans, not to their ſuperior courage, but to the ſkill and addreſs of their general, loſt nothing of their ſpirit and reſolution, but armed their youth, removed their wives and children into places of ſecurity, and, in general aſſemblies of their ſeveral communities, engaged them in a league, which they ratified by ſolemn ſacrifices. And thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both ſides equally irritated and bent upon war and revenge [o]. The ſame ſummer a cohort of Uſipians, levied by the Romans in Germany, and thence tranſported to Britain, having ſlain the centurion and ſome Roman ſoldiers, placed among them to teach them the diſcipline, embarqued in three veſſels, with a deſign to return to their own country, forcing the pilots to conduct them. But one of theſe forſaking them and making his eſcape, or bringing them back, as we read in Dion Caſſius, to Britain, they ſuſpected, and therefore killed the other two, and abandoned themſelves to the mercy of the winds and waves; which, after having long toſſed them hither and thither, carried them quite round about Britain; inſomuch, that, departing,

Britain diſcovered to be an iſland.

according to Dion, from the eaſtern, they returned to the weſtern, coaſt, where the Roman army was then encamped [p]. Tacitus tells us, that having ſailed quite round the iſland, they were driven on the coaſts of Germany, where, their veſſels being loſt, they were ſeized as pirates by the Suevians and Friſians; and being ſold for ſlaves ſome of them by change of maſters were brought over to the Roman ſide of the Rhine, where they became famous by relating ſuch an extraordinary adventure, an

[o] Tacit. ibid. c. 24. [p] Dio, l. lxvi. p. 754.

by diſcovering, that Britain was an iſland. Their proviſions had ſoon failed them; ſo that they were obliged to make frequent deſcents, and engage with ſeveral of the Britiſh nations, in which conflicts they often proved victorious, and were ſometimes defeated. They were at length reduced to ſuch ſtreights, as to feed upon one another, firſt upon the weakeſt, then upon whomſoever the lot fell. This happened in the eighty-third year of the chriſtian æra, and the ſecond of Domitian's reign. The ſame year, the emperor undertook an expedition againſt the Cattans, whom Tacitus deſcribes as the moſt polite and moſt warlike nation in Germany. Domitian attacked them, without the leaſt provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war; laid waſte part of their country, took a ſmall number of peaſants priſoners; and then, upon advice that the enemy were drawing their forces together, haſtened back, and returned to Rome with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror [q]. The ſenate, for this pretended victory, decreed him a triumph, in which were led before his chariot great numbers of ſlaves by him bought, and attired like Germans. On occaſion of this mock victory, he promiſed to encreaſe the pay of the ſoldiers; but, not having wherewithal to diſcharge his promiſe, and at the ſame time ſupply his other extravagancies, he ſoon after betook himſelf to all manner of rapine and violence. From this time forward, Domitian conſtantly wore in the ſenate, and at all public aſſemblies, the triumphal robe [r],

Domitian attacks the Cattans, and for his mock victory is honoured with a triumph.

The following year, Domitian being conſul the tenth time, with Appius, or, as others call him, Oppius Sabinus, the brave Agricola purſued his conqueſts in Caledonia with wonderful ſucceſs. In the beginning of the ſummer, he loſt, to his great grief, his ſon, about a year old; a misfortune which he neither bore with an oſtentation of firmneſs and conſtancy, like many other great men, nor with lamentations and tears, worthy only of women. Againſt this affiction war proved his chief remedy. Having therefore ſent forward his navy, in order to ſpread a mighty terror, by committing devaſtations in ſeveral places, he put himſelf at the head of his army lightly equipped; and to it added ſome of the braveſt Britons, whoſe fidelity had been well approved by long experience

[q] Idem, l. lxvii. p. 760, Zonar. p. 196.

[r] Idem ibid. Suet. c. 12.

The Caledonians draw together thirty thousand men.

experience in peace. Thus he arrived at the Grampian hills, upon which the enemy were already encamped. For the Caledonians, nothing daunted by the iſſue of the late battle, and boldly waiting, either to take revenge or to ſuffer bondage, had, by embaſſies and confederacies, drawn together the forces of all their communities, to the number of thirty thouſand; and their youth from every quarter were ſtill continuing to flock in, as were alſo ſuch of their elderly men as were yet vigorous, and had ſignalized themſelves in war, carrying with them their ſeveral enſigns of honour formerly gained in the field. Upon the approach of the Roman army, the Caledonians with great eagerneſs prepared for battle; and Galgacus, who ſurpaſſed all their other leaders both in valour and deſcent, is ſaid to have encouraged them with the following ſpeech, which the learned Lipſius looks upon as one of the fineſt pieces of eloquence ever committed to the Roman language[s].

Galgacus's ſpeech to them.

" When I conſider the cauſes of the war and the ne-
" ceſſity to which we are reduced, great is my confi-
" dence, that this day and this your union will give a
" happy beginning to the liberty of the whole iſland:
" Bondage we have never borne; and we are ſo beſet;
" that beyond us there is no further land, or any ſecu-
" rity left us from the ſea, while the Roman fleet is ho-
" vering upon our coaſts. Thus what brave men covet
" for glory, is to cowards become the ſafeſt expedient of
" all others, I mean preſent recourſe to battle and arms.
" The other Britons, in their former conflicts with the
" Romans, had ſtill a remaining ſource of hope and ſuccour
" in this our nation: for of all the people of Britain, we
" are the moſt noble, placed in its remoteſt regions, and
" at a great diſtance from thoſe nations that are held in bon-
" dage by the enemy; ſo that our eyes are yet unpolluted
" with the ſight of lawleſs and uſurped power. To us,
" who are the utmoſt inhabitants of the earth and the
" laſt who enjoy liberty, this extremity of the globe, this
" remoteſt receſs, unknown even to common fame, has
" proved the only protection and defence. At preſent,
" the utmoſt boundary of Britain is laid open; beyond
" us no more people are found, nor aught but ſeas and
" rocks; and already the Romans have advanced into the
" heart of our country. Againſt their pride and ambition
" you

[s] Lipſ. in vit. Agr. c. 31. not. 46.

" you will in vain ſeek a remedy or refuge from any
" obſequiouſneſs or humble behaviour. Theſe plunderers of
" the earth, theſe ravagers of the univerſe, finding coun-
" tries to fail them, endeavour to rifle the wide ſeas and
" the ocean. If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their
" avarice; if poor, their ambition. Neither the eaſtern
" world, nor the weſtern, vaſt as they are, can ſatiate
" theſe general robbers. Of all men, they alone thirſt
" after acquiſitions, both poor and rich, with equal a-
" vidity and paſſion. Devaſtations, murders, and univer-
" ſal deſtruction, they by a lying name ſtyle empire and
" government; and when they have ſpread a general de-
" vaſtation, they call it peace. Deareſt to every man,
" by the inſtinct of nature, are his children and kindred.
" Theſe are ſnatched from us to ſupply their armies, and
" doomed to bondage in other parts of the earth. Our
" wives, daughters, and ſiſters, however they eſcape vio-
" lence from them as from open enemies, are debauched
" under the appearance of friendſhip. Our goods are
" their tribute, our corn their proviſion, our bodies and
" limbs their tools for the drudgery of making cuts through
" woods and drains in bogs, under continual blows and
" outrages. Our ſlaves, whom nature and fortune have
" deſtined to ſervitude, are but once ſold, and thence-
" forward nouriſhed by their lords. The Britons are daily
" paying for their ſervitude, are daily maintaining and
" feeding their imperious lords and oppreſſors. Moreover,
" as in a tribe of domeſtic ſlaves, he who comes laſt
" is ſcoffed by his fellows, and ſerves for ſport to them;
" ſo in this antient ſtate of ſlavery, to which the world is
" reduced, we, as the lateſt ſlaves, and thence held the moſt
" contemptible, are now deſtined to deſtruction. For we
" have no fields to manure, no mines to dig, no ports
" to make; works for which they might be tempted to
" reſerve us. Beſides, magnanimity and a daring ſpirit,
" in ſubdued nations, is always diſtaſteful to jealous and
" arbitrary rulers. And truly our ſituation, ſo ſolitary
" and remote, the more ſecurity it affords to us, the
" greater jealouſy it raiſes in them. Since therefore you
" are thus bereft of all hopes of mercy, rouſe your
" courage in defence both of your lives and glory. The
" Brigantes, even under the conduct of a woman, burnt
" their colony, ſtormed their entrenchments, and, had
" not ſuch auſpicious beginnings degenerated into ſloth,

" might

" might have with eaſe caſt off the yoke and recovered
" their former liberty. Let us, who are yet unſubdued,
" who ſtill preſerve our forces entire, and want not to
" acquire, but only to ſecure, liberty, ſhew at once,
" in the very firſt encounter, what kind of men Ca-
" ledonia has reſerved for her own vindication and de-
" fence. Do you believe the Romans to be equally brave
" in war, as they are vicious and diſſolute in peace!
" No; not from their valour they have derived their re-
" nown, but from our quarrels and diviſions, which they
" have dextrouſly converted to the glory of their own
" army; an army compounded of a motly multitude of
" different nations, which by ſucceſs alone are held toge-
" ther, and conſequently cannot fail to diſſolve upon any
" misfortune or diſaſter: unleſs you ſuppoſe the Gauls
" and Germans, and many of the Britons, whom with
" ſhame I mention, to be attached to them with any real
" affection: they have been all longer their enemies than
" their friends; and what reſtrains them at preſent is,
" nothing but awe and terror; which being once re-
" moved, thoſe who ceaſe to fear will immediately begin
" to give proofs of their hatred. Whatever can incite men to
" victory, is found on our ſide. The Romans have no
" wives to encourage and urge them: they have here no
" fathers or mothers to upbraid them for flying. In
" number they are but few, ignorant of the country,
" and thence ſtruck with dread, whilſt whatever they
" behold around them is wild and ſtrange, even the air
" and the ſky, with the woods and the ſea; ſo that the
" gods ſeem to have delivered them up incloſed and
" fettered into our hands. Let not the vain ſhew and
" glare of gold and ſilver terrify us; this is what can
" neither wound nor ſave. In the very army of the ene-
" my we ſhall find many of our own ſide: the Britons
" will own and eſpouſe their own cauſe, and abandon
" one foreign and unnatural to them: the Gauls will
" remember their former liberty: what the Uſipians have
" lately done, the other Germans will do, and abandon
" the Romans. And what elſe have we to fear? their
" forts are ungariſoned; their colonies peopled with the
" aged and infirm; the municipal cities are weakened
" and rent into parties and factions, while the people are
" averſe to obedience, and the magiſtrates rule with in-
" juſtice. Here you ſee a general, here an army; there
" tribut

" tributes and mines, with a long train of calamities " and curſes, ever attending a ſtate of ſlavery. Whether " all theſe are to be for ever impoſed and borne, or we " forthwith avenge ourſelves for the attempt, this very " day muſt determine. As therefore you advance to battle, " look back upon your anceſtors, who lived in the happy " ſtate of liberty; look forward to your poſterity, who, " unleſs you exert your valour in this very field, muſt " live for ever in a miſerable ſtate of ſervitude [t]." This ſpeech was received with ſongs, according to the cuſtom which then prevailed among the Caledonians, with joyful ſhouts, and a terrible din. Already their bands moved, and the glare of their arms appeared, while the moſt reſolute were running to the front. As the army was forming in battle array, Agricola, tho' he ſaw his men full of alacrity and hardly to be reſtrained, yet choſe to diſcourſe them in the following ſtrain. " It is now the eighth " year, my fellow ſoldiers, ſince, through the auſpicious " fortune of the Roman empire and by your own valour, " you have been purſuing the conqueſt of Britain. In " ſo many marches, in ſo many battles, you have had " conſtant occaſion to exert your bravery againſt the " enemy, or your patience againſt the obſtacles of nature. " During all theſe ſtruggles, we have found no cauſe of " mutual regret, I to have conducted ſuch ſoldiers, or you " to have followed ſuch a captain. We have both paſſed " the limits which we found, I thoſe known to antient " governors, you thoſe of former armies. The utmoſt " bound of Britain is found, not by fame only and report; " but we poſſeſs it with our arms and camps. Britain is " entirely diſcovered, and entirely ſubdued. While we " were marching, and fatigued with paſſing mountains, " rivers, and bogs, I have often heard every man remarkably brave cry out, When ſhall we ſee the enemy? " when be led to battle? Already they are come, " rouſed from their faſtneſſes and lurking-holes. Here " you ſee the end of all your wiſhes; here is room for " all your valour, and all things promiſing and propitious, " if you conquer; but equally diſaſtrous, ſhould you be " overcome. To have thus marched over a tract of " country ſo immenſe, to have paſſed through thick and " gloomy foreſts, to have croſſed arms of the ſea, is mat- " ter

Agricola's ſpeech to his men.

[t] Tacit. ibid. c. 30—32.

" ter of great glory and applauſe, while we advance a-
" gainſt the enemy; but if we fly from them, what-
" ever is now moſt to our advantage, will prove moſt to
" our diſadvantage and ruin. We are not ſo well ſkilled
" in the country as the enemy; nor have we the like
" ſtore of proviſions; but we have hands and weapons,
" and in theſe all things. For myſelf, I have been long
" ſince convinced, that neither for the ſoldiers, nor for
" the general, is there any ſafety in turning their backs
" upon the foe. Hence an honourable death is far prefer-
" able to a life with reproach; and ſecurity is inſeparable
" from renown. Neither would it be a fate void of
" glory to fall in this utmoſt verge of the world and na-
" ture. Were people unknown to you now arrayed a-
" gainſt you, were you to engage men never before tried,
" I would animate you by the examples of other armies.
" At preſent only recollect and enumerate your own ex-
" ploits, only aſk and conſult your own eyes. Theſe are
" the ſame men, who, but the laſt year, truſting to the
" darkneſs of the night, attacked by ſtealth a ſingle le-
" gion, and were by the terror of your ſhouting utterly
" overthrown. Theſe, of all the Britons, are the moſt
" timorous and moſt prone to flight; and therefore have
" thus ſurvived all the reſt. As in foreſts and woods,
" beaſts of the greateſt ſtrength are driven thence by ſupe-
" rior force, and the timorous and ſpiritleſs are ſcared
" even at the cry of the purſuers; ſo all the braveſt Britons
" are long ſince fallen by the ſword, and only the moſt
" fearful and daſtardly remain, whom at length you have
" found, not becauſe they intended to ſtay and make head
" againſt you, but becauſe they are overtaken and ſur-
" priſed. They ſtand in the field, ſtruck with dread and
" bereft of all ſpirit; whence you may without much
" danger gain over them a moſt glorious and memorable
" victory. Here conclude your warfare; here complete
" your expeditions and efforts, and put an end to a
" ſtruggle of fifty years, with one great and important
" day; ſo that the army may not be charged either
" with protracting the war, or with any cauſe for re-
" viving it [u]." Agricola had ſcarce ended his ſpeech, when the ſoldiers, tranſported with joy, flew to their arms. Agricola, ſeeing them ſufficiently animated and inflamed, drew

He engages the Caledonians under thecommand of Galgacus.

[u] Idem ibid. c. 33, 34.

drew them up in battle array, placing the auxiliary foot, to the number of eight thousand men, in the centre, and three thousand auxiliary horse in the wings. The legions he would not suffer to advance, but commanded them to stand in battle-array close to the entrenchments; for the victory, he thought, would be the more glorious, were it, by sparing them, gained without spilling any Roman blood; and, on the other hand, they were still a sure succour, should the rest be repulsed. The Caledonians were ranged upon the rising grounds in such manner, that the first band stood upon the plain, and the rest rose successively on the brows of the hills, one rank close above the other, as if they had been linked together. The enemy's chariots of war and cavalry filled the interjacent field. Then Agricola fearing, as the enemy far surpassed him in number, lest he should be attacked at once in the front and on each flank, opened and extended his front. As thence his ranks proved more weak, many advised him to bring on the legions; but he, in all difficulties more prone to hope than to fear, without hearkening to their advice, dismissed his horse, and advanced on foot before the ensigns. The onset was begun at a distance, wherein the Britons displayed great courage and equal skill, eluding, with their huge swords and small bucklers, the missive weapons of the Romans, whilst of their own they poured a torrent upon them, till Agricola encouraged three Batavian cohorts and two of the Tungrians, to close with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand, as what to the veteran soldiers by a long practice was become familiar, but proved to the enemy very uneasy and embarrassing, as they were armed with little targets and with swords of enormous size; for the swords of the Britons, as they were blunt at the end, were quite unfit for a close encounter. Hence the Batavians doubled their blows, wounded the enemy with the iron bosses of their bucklers, mangled their faces, and beating down all who withstood them in the plain, were already carrying the attack up to the hills; insomuch, that the other cohorts, encouraged by their example, fell upon the enemy with equal ardour, and made a dreadful havock of all who opposed them; nay, such was the hurry of the conquerors, that they left many of the enemy behind them but half dead, and others not so much as wounded. In the mean time, their cavalry betook themselves to flight, and their chariots of war, mix-

ing with the battalions of foot, and entangled with the unevenneſs of the place, occaſioned in the plain a general diſorder and confuſion. The engagement had not the leaſt appearance of a combat of cavalry; for ſtanding ſo obſtinately foot to foot, they preſſed to overthrow each other by the weight and bodies of their horſes. Beſides, the chariots, abandoned and ſtraggling, and likewiſe the horſes deſtitute of managers, and thence wild and affrighted, were running to and fro juſt as the next fright drove them; inſomuch, that all of their own ſide who met them, or croſſed their way, were beaten down by them. In the mean time, the Britons, who were lodged upon the ridges of the hills, and had hitherto no ſhare in the encounter, looking with ſcorn upon the ſmall number of the Roman forces, began to deſcend ſlowly, and to ſurround them in the rear, while they were purſuing their victory. But Agricola, who had apprehended this very deſign, detached againſt them four ſquadrons of horſe, which he had reſerved near him for the ſudden exigencies of the field. Theſe falling upon the enemy, with great vigour and intrepidity, obliged them to retire, and put them in great diſorder: then, turning againſt the Caledonians their own devices, they wheeled about, and attacked the enemy in the rear. Hereupon the Caledonians began to retire in great confuſion, and nothing was to be ſeen all over the open fields but purſuits, wounds, and captivity, and the preſent captives always ſlaughtered when others occurred to be taken. Some of the enemy fled in large troops, with all their arms, before a ſmaller number who purſued them; others quite unarmed, ruſhing into danger, offered themſelves through deſpair to inſtant death. On all ſides lay ſcattered arms, and carcaſes, and mangled limbs; and the ground was dyed with blood. Some bands of the vanquiſhed ſtill fought with incredible reſolution and bravery; and when they drew near the wood, they rallied and ſurrounded the foremoſt purſuers, who, without knowing the country, had ventured too far: whence the conquerors muſt have ſuffered ſome notable diſaſter, had not Agricola, who was conſtantly flying from one quarter to another, ordered the braveſt cohorts lightly equipped to inveſt the enemy on all ſides, and ſome of the cavalry to diſmount and enter the narrow paſſes, while the reſt of the horſe advanced into the more open and paſſable parts of the wood. The Caledonians, perceiving the Romans to continue the purſuit, with

The Caledonians are utterly routed.

And purſued by the Romans with great ſlaughter.

with regular and cloſe ranks, betook themſelves to flight, not in united bodies, as before, but quite ſcattered, no man regarding or awaiting another, but all in the utmoſt confuſion making towards the deſerts and in the moſt remote places. The Romans followed them cloſe; and the purſuit was not ended, but with night and a ſatiety of ſlaughter. Of the enemy, ten thouſand were ſlain; of the Roman army, three hundred and forty, among whom was Aulus Atticus, commander of a cohort, who, by his own youthful heat and alſo by a fiery horſe, was hurried into the midſt of the enemy [w] (E).

THE

[w] Idem, c. 35——38.

(E) We will not take upon us to aſcertain the preciſe place of this memorable action, our antiquaries being greatly divided in their opinions about it. However, we cannot help obſerving, that the chief argument, which the author of the Itinerarium Septentrionale makes uſe of to confute the opinions of other antiquaries, equally concludes againſt his own. For he approves of no place, but where ſome veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen of a Roman camp capable of containing the army which Agricola had with him at this battle. Hence he rejects the opinions of thoſe who pretend, that the battle was fought in the Mearns, or at the Blair of Athol, becauſe no remains of a Roman camp are to be ſeen in either of theſe places. Againſt ſuch as maintain Ardoch in Strathallan and Innerpeffery to be the ſpot on which the fate of Caledonia was determined, he alledges, that the camps, which are to be ſeen there, were not capable of containing the army which Agricola led out againſt the Caledonians. Having thus confuted the opinions of other antiquaries, he offers his own, which is, that the real place, where the battle was fought, is in Strathern, half a mile ſouth of the kirk of Comerie, there being ſtill to be ſeen in that place a Roman encampment, divided into two partitions or ſquares which are joined together, with a vaſt rampart of ſtone and earth. Our learned antiquary tells us, that having calculated the number of men contained in the ſouthmoſt camp, according to the allowance of ground made by Polybius for every foot ſoldier, he was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed to find it contained the preciſe number of foot which Tacitus ſays Agricola had along with him at the battle of Mons Grampius, viz. eight thouſand auxiliaries; and that the other ſquare, where he ſuppoſes the horſe lay, contained exactly three thouſand horſemen. For Tacitus, ſays he, plainly informs us of the number of Agricola's

The following night proved a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from victory and ſpoil. But the Caledonians, both men and women, crying and howling, wandered in deſpair: ſome dragged away their wounded; others were heard calling their loſt friends; all abandoned their

army at that battle; for, ſpeaking of his diſpoſing of the troops, he ſays thus; Inſtinctos ruenteſque ita diſpoſuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur: that is, Thus encouraged and ruſhing forward, Agricola formed them ſo, that the body of auxiliary foot, who were eight thouſand men, compoſed the centre, and three thouſand horſe were placed in the wings. But were theſe eight thouſand auxiliary foot, and three thouſand horſe all the troops, Agricola had with him at this battle? Does not Tacitus to the words we have juſt quoted ſubjoin, Legiones pro vallo ſtetere, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum ſanguinem bellanti, & auxilium, ſi pellerentur: that is, The legions ſtood juſt without the intrenchments, that the victory might be the more glorious, were it gained without Roman blood; and that the legions might be ready to ſuccour the auxiliaries, if repulſed. Hence it is evident, that Agricola, beſides the eight thouſand auxiliary foot and three thouſand horſe, had ſome legions with him, for which there was no room, according to our antiquary's own calculation, in the above-mentioned camp. If therefore his chief argument has any force, it confutes, without leaving room to any reply, his own opinion, as muſt evidently appear to every reader. Beſides, to us it ſeems quite abſurd to ſuppoſe, as that writer does, that ſome veſtiges muſt ſtill remain of all the Roman camps in this iſland, and indeed elſewhere, notwithſtanding the innumerable changes and alterations that muſt have happened, unknown to us, in the courſe of ſo many ages. How many camps were made by the Romans in Germany, Gaul, and Italy, of which no traces remain in our days! Great cities have been overturned and utterly deſtroyed, by the devourer of all things, time; inſomuch, that antiquaries are at a loſs about the places where they ſtood. But, admitting our authors ſuppoſition, it is evident from his own arguments, that the battle was not fought in the place for which he contends, the camp there being capable of containing only eight thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; beſides which, Agricola had with him ſeveral legions, as is plain from the words of Tacitus (18).

(18) Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 35.

their houſes, and ſome in rage, even ſet fire to them: not knowing where to ſhelter themſelves, they fled from one lurking-hole to another; then met to conſult, and from their counſels gathered ſome hope; ſometimes, at the ſight of their deareſt pledges of nature, they were moved to pity, ſometimes to reſolution and fury: nay, ſome, out of compaſſion and tenderneſs, murdered their children and wives. The next day diſplayed more fully the greatneſs of the victory; on all ſides a profound ſilence, ſolitary hills, a thick ſmoke riſing from the houſes on fire, and not a living ſoul to be found by the ſcouts. When from theſe, who had been diſpatched out into all quarters, it was learnt, that no certain traces could be diſcovered whither the enemy had fled, and that they had no-where rallied in bodies, Agricola conſidering that the ſummer was already far ſpent, and conſequently that he could not purſue the operations of the war, led his army into the country of the Horeſtians, that is, as is commonly ſuppoſed, into Angus. Having there received hoſtages, he ordered the admiral of the fleet to ſail round Britain, furniſhing him with proper forces for that expedition, which he happily accompliſhed; and thence proved Britain to be, as it was thought before, an iſland. On this occaſion were diſcovered and ſubdued the iſles of Orkney, till then unknown. Thule, now called Iſeland, or, as others will have it, Shetland, was likewiſe found, hitherto hid, to uſe the expreſſion of Tacitus, by winter, under eternal ſnow. In the mean time Agricola himſelf led on the foot and horſe with a ſlow pace, that the minds of theſe new conquered nations might be awed and diſmayed by prolonging his march through them. He then put his army into winter quarters. Soon after the fleet having ſailed round the iſland, returned with great fame to the port whence it had departed. That port is called by Tacitus, Trutulenſis, which is utterly unknown. Some; inſtead of Trutulenſis, read Rhutupenſis, ſuppoſed to be Sandwich haven. But from Tacitus it is manifeſt, that the fleet at that time attended Agricola in Caledonia or Scotland; and conſequently muſt have ſailed from ſome part of that kingdom. Thus, after many ſtruggles and conteſts, Britain was at length entirely reduced; but the Romans did not long continue maſters, at leaſt of Caledonia, what Agricola won being ſoon after loſt by Domitian. The poet Juvenal ſpeaks of a Britiſh king, by name Arviragus, who was at war with the Romans in Domitian's reign [x]; and all the Scotch hiſtorians

He orders his fleet to ſail round the iſland.

He puts his troops into winter quarters.

Britain entirely reduced.

[x] Juven. ſatir. iv. v. 38.

tell us, that, upon the departure of Agricola, the Caledonians poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtles and forts raiſed by him in their country. As for the Roman hiſtorians, they ſcarce take any notice of the Britiſh affairs till the reign of the emperor Hadrian, who came over into Britain, where he built a wall eighty miles in length, in order to ſeparate the Romans from the barbarians, as Spartianus ſtyles themy.

AGRICOLA immediately acquainted Domitian by letters with the ſucceſs that had attended his arms in Britain, and the ſituation of affairs there. The account he conveyed to him was plain and modeſt, without all oſtentation, or any pomp of words. The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but with anguiſh in his heart, being well appriſed, that his late mock triumph over the Germans was held in public deriſion; whereas now a true and mighty victory, gained by the ſlaughter of ſo many thouſands of the enemy, was every-where ſounded by the voice of fame, and received with univerſal applauſe. He could not brook that the name of a private man ſhould be exalted above that of the prince: to the emperor alone, he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with theſe anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being ſhut up in ſecret, a certain indication that he was meditating ſome bloody deſign, he at laſt judged it the beſt courſe upon this occaſion, to ſmother his rancour, till the fame of theſe conqueſts, and the affection of the army to Agricola, were ſomewhat abated. To him, therefore, he cauſed to be decreed by the ſenate the triumphal ornaments, a ſtatue crowned with laurel, and whatever elſe is beſtowed inſtead of a real triumph, heightening theſe honours with many expreſſions full of eſteem and reſpect. But in the mean time, he reſolved to recal him; and that this might not be aſcribed to jealouſy or envy, he cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad, that to Agricola was deſtined the province of Syria, a government then vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, a man of conſular dignity, ſince the fame was reſerved only for men of the firſt rank. There were many who believed, that an imperial freed-man, one much truſted with the ſecret deſigns

Domitian is ſtung with envy at the news of his conqueſts.

Yet cauſes triumphal honours to be decreed to him.

He recalls him.

y Spart. in vit. Hadriani.

ſigns of his maſter, was by him diſpatched to carry the inſtrument appointing Agricola governor of Syria, with orders to deliver it to him, were he ſtill in Britain, for he had already named him a ſucceſſor; that the freed-man met Agricola croſſing the chanel, and, without ſo much as ſpeaking to him, returned directly to Domitian. Whether this account be true, or only a fiction, framed in conformity to the character and genius of Domitian, is, according to Tacitus, uncertain. Agricola had already ſurrendered to his ſucceſſor, probably Salluſtius Secundus, the province, now ſettled in perfect peace and tranquillity. To avoid all popular diſtinction and concourſe of people to meet him, he entered Rome by night, and by night went, as he was directed, to the palace, where he was received by the emperor with a ſhort embrace, without a word ſaid, and then paſſed undiſtinguiſhed amongſt the crowd of courtiers. From this time forward, to leſſen the reputation he had acquired of a military man and a gallant commander, a name very diſtaſteful to thoſe who live themſelves in idleneſs, he reſigned himſelf entirely to inactivity and repoſe. In his dreſs he was modeſt; in his converſation affable and free, and never found accompanied by more than one, or at moſt two, of his friends: inſomuch, that many, eſpecially ſuch as judge of great men from their retinue and parade, when they beheld and obſerved Agricola, could not conceive, whence proceeded his mighty fame; and indeed, few there were, who could account for the motives of his conduct. Notwithſtanding the retired life he led, he was frequently accuſed in his abſence before Domitian, and as often in his abſence acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor any thing elſe, ſave the glorious character of the man, and the perverſe diſpoſition of the emperor, hating all excellence and every virtue. With theſe cauſes concurred the worſt ſort of enemies, ſuch as extolled him in order to deſtroy him. Beſides, ſuch times afterwards enſued, as would not ſuffer the name of Agricola to remain unmentioned; ſo that he was in conſtant danger of being ſacrificed to the jealouſy of the emperor, but nevertheleſs lived nine years longer [z]; whence we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him again in the courſe of this reign.

Agricola leads a retired life.

THE

[z] Tacit. ibid. c. 38—42.

THE ſame year, Cariomerus, king of the Cheruſcans, a German nation, being driven out by the Cattans, becauſe he had ſubmitted to the Romans, and delivered hoſtages to them, had recourſe to Domitian for aſſiſtance. But the emperor, not caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented himſelf with conveying to his friend and ally a ſum of money, inſtead of troops, which, he ſaid, he could not at that juncture well ſpare [a]. About the ſame time, one Ganda, a German virgin and propheteſs, and revered in Germany as a deity, arrived at Rome; and being there well received by Domitian, after ſome private conferences with him, returned to her own country [b].

THE year following, Domitian was conſul the eleventh time, and had for his collegue one Fulvius, whom Onuphrius takes to be T. Aurelius Fulvius, or Fulvus, the grandfather of Titus Antoninus. He was a native of Niſme, twice conſul and governor of Rome. This year Domitian took the title of emperor four times, but for what victories we find no-where recorded. We read indeed in Dion Caſſius, that the Suevians and Lygians, whom that writer places in Mœſia, ſolicited Domitian for ſuccours, who ſent them only an hundred horſemen; which ſo provoked the Suevians, that joining the Iazygians, a people of Sarmatia, they advanced with a deſign to paſs the Danube, and lay waſte the Roman territories [c]. Dion Caſſius does not acquaint us with the iſſue of this bold undertaking; but Tacitus, having told us in one place, that the Sarmatians and Suevians entered into an alliance againſt Rome [d], adds in another [e], that, ſoon after the return of Agricola out of Britain, the Romans loſt entire armies in Mœſia, in Dacia, in Germany, and in Pannonia, all by the bad conduct of their generals, either altogether cowardly or fool-hardy. From ſeveral medals it appears, that Domitian returned this year to Rome, from ſome expedition, of which not the leaſt mention is made by the hiſtorians: perhaps he marched in perſon againſt the Suevians and Iazygians; at leaſt ſeveral medals were ſtamped this year in memory of a ſignal

The Suevians invade the Roman territories.

[a] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 760. [b] Idem, p. 761. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [e] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 41.

nal victory, real or pretended, gained over the Germans. The emperor, after his return to Rome, abandoning himſelf to all manner of cruelty, cauſed the nativity to be caſt of all the illuſtrious perſons in the city, and put ſuch of them to death, as were ſaid by the aſtrologers to be deſtined to the empire. Metius Pompoſianus, againſt whom ſome ill-deſigning perſons had on the ſame account endeavoured in vain to ſtir up the emperor Veſpaſian, was on this occaſion baniſhed Italy, and confined to the iſland of Corſica, where he was ſoon after by Domitian's order put to death. Nerva, who ſucceeded him in the empire, would have ſuffered the ſame doom, had not an aſtrologer aſſured the emperor, that he had no reaſon to be afraid of Nerva, who could not live many days. He encouraged informers more than any other prince had done, tho' in the beginning of his reign he had treated them with great ſeverity, and ſolemnly declared, that he would never give ear to their informations. Amongſt theſe, the moſt famous were Metius Carus, Catullus Meſſalinus, and Bebius Maſſa, three robbers, as Pliny calls them [g], who enriched themſelves and the emperor, with ſpoils of many thouſand illuſtrious and innocent perſons. Carus is often mentioned by the poet Juvenal and Martial, and by Pliny, againſt whom he preſented a memorial to Domitian [h]. Catullus Meſſalinus was blind, but nevertheleſs one of the moſt miſchievous informers who frequented the court: he died about the latter end of Domitian's reign; whence it is plain, that Catanæus was miſtaken in ſuppoſing him to be the ſame perſon with Catullus, governor of Cyrene, who died according to Joſephus, in the reign of Veſpaſian [i]. Authors obſerve, that this year multitudes of ſenators and knights were accuſed of treaſon, and either ſentenced to death by the ſenate, or ordered by Domitian to diſpatch themſelves. Of theſe the moſt illuſtrious were, Ælius Lama, whom he cauſed to be publicly executed only for a jeſt; for the emperor, who, as we have obſerved above, had taken away his wife, commending one day his voice, Lamia anſwered, Yet, alas! I muſt be ſilent.

Domitian puts many perſons of diſtinction to death.

[f] Vide Birag. numiſm. p. 134 & Noris. ep. conſul. p. 175.
[g] Plin. panegyr.
[h] Idem, l. iii. ep. 4.
[i] Vide Catan. in not. ad Plin. jun. & Joſeph. de bell Jud. l. vii. c. 39.

ſilent. Civicus Cerealis was murdered during his proconſulſhip of Aſia, under colour, that he deſigned to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate, but in reality becauſe he had accepted the government of Aſia, which had fallen to him by lot. Hence Agricola, when to his lot the pro-conſulſhip of Aſia or Africa was to fall, declined the employment, and preſented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excuſed. Domitian not only granted him his requeſt, but ſuffered himſelf to be on that account preſented with formal thanks. Neither to Agricola did he give the ſalary which was wont to be paid to pro-conſuls, and which he himſelf had continued to ſome. Salvius Cocceianus was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor Otho, who was his uncle by the father's ſide; Salluſtius Lucullus, who had ſucceeded Agricola in the government of Britain, for ſuffering a new kind of lances to be called after his own name; Junius Ruſticus for publiſhing a writing in commendation of the celebrated Thraſea and of Helvidius Priſcus; Maternus, a renowned philoſopher, for having declaimed in public againſt tyranny and tyrants. All the profeſſors of philoſophy and every laudable ſcience, ſays Tacitus, were expelled and driven into exile: and that nothing which was worthy and honeſt might anywhere be ſeen, not only againſt perſons, but againſt books commending virtue or patriotiſm, a new kind of cruelty was exerted; for in the forum the works of men famous for their genius and parts were publicly burnt [k]. Every thing gave the jealous tyrant fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? he withdrew the affections of the people, rivalled the prince, and threatened a civil war. Was he afraid of popularity and lived retired? he gained fame by ſhunning it, was ſtill an eye-ſore, and his beſt fate was to leave his country. Was he virtuous and his life and morals without blame? he was another Brutus, and by the purity of his manners upbraided the vicious behaviour of the emperor. If a man ſeemed dull and unactive, he only put on the diſguiſe of ſtupidity and ſloth, till he found room for ſome bloody purpoſe. If he had a different character, and was a lively and active man, then it was plain he did not ſo much as feign a deſire of private life and receſs, but avowed a buſtling republican ſpirit.

The deplorable condition of Rome.

[k] Suet. c. 20. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2.

he was rich, he was too wealthy for a ſubject; and great wealth in private hands boded ill to princes: if he was poor, he was thence the more enterpriſing and deſperate. In ſhort, no man could poſſeſs any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to his fellow-citizens, and a bleſſing to his country, to his friends, or to himſelf, but ſuch quality and advantage was ſure to awaken the jealouſy and vengeance of the tyrant, and procure his doom. Hence Tacitus, ſpeaking of theſe unhappy times; Mighty, ſays he, was the teſtimony which we gave of our patience; for, as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate perfection of liberty, ſo did we of bondage; ſince, through dread of informers, we were bereft of the common intercourſe of ſpeech. Nay, with our utterance we had likewiſe loſt our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be ſilent [l]. Againſt the defence of innocence accuſed, againſt the moſt evident truth and juſtice, the ears of the emperor were ever ſhut; but calumny whiſpered by any informer had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witneſſes. Falſhood and flattery, ſays Dion Caſſius, envy and rapaciouſneſs, paſſed for evidence; juſtice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage; the tribunals, erected for juſtice and preſervation of life and property, were turned into ſhambles; and what had the names of pains and penalties was in truth robbery and aſſaſſination. The perſons of the accuſers were conſidered as ſacred and inviolable; the more they were deteſted by the public, the more they were protected by the emperor; and, in proportion as they deſerved death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vileſt forgeries, convicted and owned againſt the lives and fortunes of the greateſt men, drew down no puniſhment upon them [m]. In the midſt of his cruelties, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, and was on that ſcore no leſs infamous, than the moſt vicious of his predeceſſors. His avarice was equal to his lewdneſs and cruelty; not that he had any natural biaſs to that vice, ſays Suetonius; but having exhauſted his treaſury by the many buildings he raiſed, by the magnificent ſports and ſhews which he exhibited, by encreaſing the pay of the ſoldiers, and by other wild and extravagant expences, he betook himſelf to all ſorts

Encourages informers.

Abandons himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs.

[l] Tacit. ibid. [m] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 759.

His avarice and extortions.

sorts of rapine and extortion, seizing, upon the least information, the estates of the most wealthy citizens: the least action or word against the majesty of the prince, was made use of as a pretence for stripping them of whatever they possessed. He confiscated inheritances, appropriating to himself all the effects of persons whom he never knew, if he could find but one witness to depose, that he had ever heard the deceased say, that Cæsar was his heir. With these and such-like artificial contrivances, he reduced to beggary the most opulent persons, not only in Rome and Italy, but in all the provinces of the Roman empire. His officers and procurators exacted the tributes and taxes with the greatest rigor and severity imaginable; but above all, he oppressed the Jews in a most cruel manner, not excepting even such of them as had renounced their religion; and with the like severity treated those, says Suetonius, meaning, no doubt, the Christians, who lived in Rome after the manner of the Jews, and seemed to profess the same superstition [n]. The heavy tributes, and the rigor used by the officers in exacting them, occasioned great disorders and frequent revolts in the distant provinces. In Africa, the Nasamonians, whom most geographers place in the province of Cyrenaica, no longer able to bear the heavy imposts with which they were loaded, and the insults and extortions of the collectors, rose up in arms this year, defeated Flaccus governor of Numidia, stormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the sword. But Flaccus was soon revenged on them; for being informed, that, elated with their success, they had abandoned themselves to jollity and carousing, he rallied his men, and coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the Roman camp, he cut them all off to a man.

The Nasamonians revolt.

But are utterly cut off.

Zonaras seems to insinuate, that he extirpated the whole nation, without any regard to sex or age [o]; and Aristides tells us, that by an order from one of the emperors, the whole race of the Nasamonians was cut off [p]. However, that some of that race out-lived this dreadful slaughter, is evident from Ptolemy the geographer, who places them, as a people still in being, to the south of Libya Marmarica [q]. Domitian, puffed up with the victory gained by his lieutenant

[n] Suet. c. 12. [o] Zonar. p. 197. [p] Arist. P
494. [q] Ptol. l. iv. c. 5.

nant over the Naſamonians, bragged in the ſenate, that he had cut off the whole nation; for to himſelf he aſcribed, as Dion Caſſius obſerves [r], all the advantages gained by his officers, tho' he bore not the leaſt ſhare in them, and to others every miſcarriage, however occaſioned by a ſtrict obſervance of his orders. As he hated and ſuſpected every man of parts, eſpecially ſuch as had acquired any military renown, the commanders of the armies, to recommend themſelves to his favour, carefully avoided ſignalizing themſelves by any military exploits, chuſing rather to bear the inſults of the enemy, than to expoſe themſelves to the dangers ariſing from the jealouſy of the prince [s]. The ſame year he firſt aſſumed, according to Euſebius, the title of Lord and that of God, not being aſhamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his ſecretaries, to begin it thus; Our Lord and our God orders and commands, &c. About the ſame time he enacted a law, obliging all to pay him divine worſhip; and from that time forward no man dared to call him by any other name but that of Lord and of God [t]; nay, ſome writers [u] tell us, that by an expreſs law, all other titles, either in ſpeaking or writing to him, were to be ſuppreſſed. Of this impious flattery we have many inſtances in the poets Juvenal and Martial. Pliny complains, that all the ſtreets leading to the capitol were conſtantly crouded with droves of victims to be ſacrificed before his ſtatues [w]. He pretended to be, and would be called, the ſon of Minerva, for which goddeſs he profeſſed a particular veneration. He would not ſuffer any ſtatues to be erected to him in the capitol, but ſuch as were of pure gold or ſilver, and of a fixt weight. He filled the city with triumphal gates and arches, and by an immenſe number of monuments, raiſed at a vaſt charge, endeavoured to tranſmit to poſterity the memories of his pretended victories [x]. He was the firſt who was ever known to have been ſeventeen times conſul. Not ſatisfied to have aſſumed the title of Germanicus, on account of his pretended victory over the Cattans, he cauſed the month of September to be diſtinguiſhed with the ſame name, and the month of October with that of Domitian; becauſe in the

Domitian aſſumes the title of Lord, and that of God.

The ſhameful flattery of the Romans.

[r] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 709.
[s] Plin. l. viii. epiſt. 14.
[t] Suet. c. 13.
[u] Aur. Vict. & Oroſ. l. vii. c. 10.
[w] Plin. Paneg p. 99.
[x] Suet. c. 13.

the latter he was born, and in the former declared emperor. In ſhort, before the end of the fourth year of his reign, he ſurpaſſed, if Dion Caſſius is to be credited, all his predeceſſors, Nero not excepted, in pride, cruelty, rapaciouſneſs, and all other vices, which complete the character of an accompliſhed tyrant y.

The inſtitution of the Capitoline ſports.

THE following year, Domitian entered upon his twelfth conſulſhip, having Servius Cornelius Dolabella for his colegue. This year were inſtituted the Capitoline ſports, ſo much ſpoken of by the writers of thoſe days, according to whom they were to be exhibited once in five, but, according to our way of reckoning, once in four years; for they were celebrated, as the olympic ſports, at the end of four years complete, and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, the emperor preſided at them in perſon, attended by the prieſt of Jupiter, and the college of the Flavian prieſts z. To this year Euſebius fixes the war with the Dacians, the moſt bloody and dangerous which the Romans ſuſtained, during the reign of Domitian. The Dacians were looked upon by the Romans as the moſt warlike nation they were then acquainted with. They were not only men for the moſt part of great ſtrength, but of equal courage, deſpiſing death, which they conſidered as the end of a tranſitory, and the beginning of a happy and laſting, life; whence with great intrepidity they braved the greateſt dangers. This doctrine they had learnt of an antient philoſopher, by name Zamolxis, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been the diſciple of Pythagoras; others to have flouriſhed long before his time a.

Some account of the Dacians.

Dion Caſſius obſerves, that theſe people were by ſome Greek writers called Getæ; but by the Romans Daci, which was their proper appellation; for the Getæ dwelt beyond mount Hæmus, near the mouth of the Danube and the Euxine ſea; but the Dacians more to the weſt and nearer Germany, that is, according to the opinion of moſt modern geographers, in the countries now known by the names of Moldavia, Valachia, and Tranſilvania. But the emperor Aurelian, having afterwards placed them on this ſide of the Danube, (we ſpeak with reſpect to Rome) they gave their name to that

y Dio, ibid. p. 710. z Suet. c. 4. a Strabo l. vii. p. 297. Suid. Phot. c. 166.

that part of Illyricum which they poſſeſſed; and this is the province, which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was known by the name of Dacia. As for the antient Dacia, it was then held by the Goths, whom Jornandes throughout his hiſtory confounds with the Dacians [b]. At this time one Duras ruled over the Dacians; but after having for ſome time held the ſovereignty, by an inſtance of moderation hardly to be matched in hiſtory, reſigned it of his own accord to one Decebalus, whom he judged better qualified for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt than himſelf; for Decebalus was a man of great proweſs and experience in war, and equally ſkilled in affairs of ſtate [c]. He is by Jornandes [d] and Oroſius [e] called Dorpanæus and Diurpanæus; for a prince of that name reigned, according to them, in Dacia, when the defeat of Fuſcus happened, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon; and, on the other hand, we are told by Dion Caſſius, that Fuſcus was overthrown in battle by Decebalus. As to the iſſue of the war which he maintained againſt Rome, Tacitus ſpeaks thus, without deſcending to any particulars: In the commonwealth there enſued ſuch times, as would not permit the name of Agricola, lately returned from Britain, to remain unmentioned; ſo many were the armies we had loſt in Mœſia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia, all by the miſconduct of our generals. The queſtion and conteſt was not now about maintaining the limits of the empire, and guarding the rivers which ſerved for its boundaries, but about defending the ſtanding encampments of the legions, and preſerving our own territories. Thus, when public calamities were following one another, and each year was become ſignal for ſlaughters and misfortunes, Agricola was, by the common voice of the populace, required for the command of our armies; for all men were comparing his vigor, his reſolution, and experience in war, with the ſloth and timidity of the others. The beſt of Domitian's freed-men adviſed and preſſed him to this choice out of pure affection and duty, as did the worſt, out of virulence and envy, hoping by that means to compaſs the deſtruction

They make war upon the Romans.

[b] Vide Lloyd. dict. hiſtoric. p. 405. Baul. p. 237. Jornand. Got. c. 12, 13, &c. [c] Dio, ibid. p. 709—761. [d] Jornand. c. 13. [e] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 20.

Domitian jealous of Agricola.

truction of Agricola. But that jealous and diſtruſtful prince dreaded nothing ſo much, as to ſee a man of courage and reputation at the head of an army [f]. Thus much Tacitus in general of the war with the Dacians, in which he Romans, according to that hiſtorian, ſuſtained great loſſes, and had many armies ſlaughtered, many brave officers killed, and many taken priſoners. For a more partic ular and diſtinct account of this deſtructive war, we muſt recur to, and depend upon, Jornandes. According to him, the Dacians, dreading the effects of the emperor's avarice, broke the alliance which they had made with his predeceſſors, croſſed the Danube, drove away the troops ſtationed on the banks of that river; and falling upon Appius, or Oppius, Sabinus, governor of Mœſia, defeated and killed him, committing every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations, and ſeizing all the forts and caſtles raiſed in their neighbourhood by the Romans. Hereupon Domitian, having with all poſſible expedition raiſed a formidable army, marched himſelf at the head of it into Illyricum. Upon his approach, Decebalus diſpatched embaſſadors to him, declaring, that he was ready to put an end to the war, and renew the former treaties. But Domitian, inſtead of returning any anſwer to the deputies, ordered the flower of his forces to advance againſt the Dacians, under the conduct of Cornelius Fuſcus, captain of the prætorian guards. He was, according to Tacitus [g], of an illuſtrious deſcent, and had in his early youth, from a paſſion for ſolitude and repoſe, deveſted himſelf of the ſenatorial dignity. Upon the death of Nero, he declared for Galba, by whom he was created procurator of Illyricum. Afterwards he embraced the party of Veſpaſian againſt Vitellius, and to the flame of war added, to uſe the expreſſion of Tacitus, freſh fuel; for he took not ſo much delight in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themſelves. He was ſecond in the command of the forces under the famous Antonius Primus, and honoured by the ſenate, after the death of Vitellius, with the ornaments of the prætorſhip. Domitian conferred upon him the command of the prætorian guards. But after all, he was not, if Juvenal is to be credited [h], ſufficiently qualified for the chief command of an army. Hence Decebalus, deſpiſing ſuch

The Romans defeated by the Dacians, and their general killed.

[f] Tacit. vit. Agric. c. 41.

[g] Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 86.

[h] Juven. ſat. iv. ver. 112.

such a general, sent a fresh embassy to Domitian, offering to conclude a peace with him upon condition that each Roman paid him yearly two oboli; threatening, if they rejected his proposal, to pursue the war with vigor, and destroy their territories with fire and sword. The Romans were so provoked with the insolence of this proposal, that they demanded to be led forthwith against the enemy. Accordingly Fuscus, having caused his army to pass the Danube on a bridge of boats, entered the Dacian territories, where, after several skirmishes, Decebalus and Fuscus agreed to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement. Both armies fought with equal bravery and resolution, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the Romans were utterly routed, and Fuscus himself slain. The Dacians took one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vast number of captives, who were afterwards found in the enemy's castles, and released by the emperor Trajan [i]. They are defeated a second time.

THE news of this defeat alarmed Domitian, who was already returned to Rome, where he made a no less dreadful havock of the senate and people, than the Dacians had done of the soldiery. He strove at first to smother the dismal tidings; but finding they were by common fame divulged all over the city, and even magnified, he left Rome a second time, giving out, that he would head the army in person. But arriving in Mœsia, he stopped in a city of that province, and sent forward his generals against the enemy. Many bloody battles were fought with various success, fortune being sometimes favourable to the Romans, sometimes to the Dacians [k]. Julianus, one of the Roman commanders, gained a signal victory, by obliging his soldiers to write their names on their bucklers, that he might by that means the more effectually encourage or upbraid each particular [l]. On this occasion Vezinas, who among the Dacians was next in authority to Decebalus, finding no other means to make his escape, concealed himself among the dead, and in the night retired undiscovered. Decebalus apprehending the Romans might, The Dacians receive a great overthrow.

[i] Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 13. Oros. l. vii. c. 8. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 773. Juv. sat. iv. ver. 111. [k] Tacit. hist. l. 1. c. 2. [l] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 762. & in excerpt. Val. p. 709.

after their victory, lay ſiege to his capital, felled, during the night, a great number of trees in the neighbouring wood, covered the trunks of them with armour, and, by that contrivance, prevented the Romans, who miſtook them for ſoldiers, from purſuing the advantages of their victory. However, Decebalus was at length reduced to great ſtreights, and obliged to ſue for peace; which Domitian would not grant him upon any terms whatſoever. But, inſtead of purſuing the war with vigor, and forcing him, as he might eaſily have done, to ſubmit at diſcretion, he turned his arms againſt the Quadians and Marcomanians, becauſe they had ſent him no ſuccours during the war with the Dacians. Theſe two nations, though ſignal in force and renown, declining to involve their reſpective countries in an unſucceſsful war, ſent deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hoſtilities, which they were not conſcious to themſelves to have provoked. But Domitian, inſtead of hearkening to their entreaties, cauſed their embaſſadors, in defiance of the right of nations, to be murdered; which ſo provoked thoſe warlike people, that drawing together all their youth, they took the field, engaged Domitian, and put him to flight. Then the cowardly prince, now no leſs dejected upon his defeat, than lately elated with his victory, diſpatched embaſſadors to Decebalus, with offers of peace, upon very advantageous terms; which the Dacian thought it adviſeable to accept, ſince his army had been greatly weakened by the many battles he had fought. However, he refuſed to go in perſon to Domitian; but ſent his brother to treat with the emperor, whom Domitian received with particular marks of friendſhip and eſteem, delivering to him a diadem for Decebalus, and by that means acknowledging him for king. Beſides the diadem, he preſented him with large ſums, ſent to him, at his requeſt, a great number of artificers and workmen of all profeſſions, and engaged to pay him yearly a certain ſum, which, to the reign of Trajan, was punctually conveyed to him; but that prince would not ſubmit to the payment of ſo ſhameful a tribute, ſaying, That he had never been overcome by Decebalus [m]. Domitian, upon the concluſion of ſuch an opprobrious peace, acquainted the ſenate by letters that he

Domitian defeated by the Marcomanians.

Concludes a diſhonourable peace with the Dacians.

[m] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 762. & l. lxviii. 771. Mart. l. v. epigr. 3.

he had at length obliged the Dacians to ſubmit to the Roman yoke; and at the ſame time diſpatched to Rome the embaſſadors of Decebalus, with a letter written to him by that prince, or, as was moſt commonly believed, feigned by the emperor himſelf, wherein the Dacian owned himſelf conquered, and no longer able to withſtand the gallantry of the Roman troops, led on by ſo brave and valiant a commander as Domitian. Hereupon the ſenate decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return, triumphing at the ſame time over the Dacians, of whom he had with an annual tribute purchaſed a peace, and over the Quadians and Marcomanians, by whom he had been utterly defeated and driven out of the field [n]; for his triumphs, ſays Pliny [o], were ever certain proofs of ſignal advantages gained by the enemy. However, the poets, who flouriſhed under him, extol theſe mock victories, and compare them to thoſe gained by the Scipios and Cæſars. Domitian, before he left Dacia, cauſed a ſtately monument to be erected to the memory of Cornelius Fuſcus [p]. Pliny complains that Domitian, in his marches and journeys, behaved more like an enemy than a prince, exacting immenſe ſums from the inhabitants of the countries through which he paſſed, pillaging their houſes, laying waſte their fields, and obliging them to ſupply, at a vaſt charge, with all manner of proviſions both him and his numerous retinue [q].

But is honoured with a triumph.

THE following year, Domitian was conſul the thirteenth time with L. Saturninus; but nothing happened, during their adminiſtration, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. But the following year, when Domitian was conſul the fourteenth time with L. Minucius Rufus, is remarkable for the celebration of the ſecular games, ſo called, becauſe they were to be ſolemnized once in an age. They had been celebrated but forty-one years before by Claudius; but Domitian computed the time from their being exhibited by Auguſtus [r]. They ended, as appears from ſeveral medals which have reached our age, ſome time after the ides of September in the eighth year of Domitian's reign [s], while Tacitus the hiſtorian was

He celebrates the ſecular games.

[n] Dio, p. 761. Suet. c. 6. Euſeb. in chron. [o] Plin. paneg. p. 21. [p] Mart. l. vi. p. 76. [q] Plin. ibid. p. 35, 56. [r] Suet. c. 4. [s] Onuph. lud.

prætor [t]. Domitian, purſuing this year the carnage he had begun, before he left Rome to wage war with the Dacians, filled the city with funerals, putting all thoſe to death, who, on account of their birth or virtue, gave him the leaſt umbrage [u]. This general ſlaughter was in all likelihood produced by the revolt of L. Antonius, which happened this year. L. Antonius was governor of Upper Germany, where he had two legions under his command. Being provoked with the cruelties and tyrannical conduct of the emperor, and depending upon the fidelity of his ſoldiers, whoſe affections he had gained by his mild and obliging behaviour, he at once took upon him the title of emperor, and as ſuch was acknowledged by the forces he commanded, and likewiſe by moſt of the German nations, who promiſed him powerful ſuccours, not from any eſteem or kindneſs they had for him, but through hatred to Domitian. The news of this revolt no ſooner reached Rome, than Domitian, quitting the city, haſtened to ſuppreſs it, leading with him the prætorian guards and the flower of the troops quartered in Italy, all the ſenators, and the greater part of the Roman knights, even ſuch as had abſented themſelves from the city and long led a retired life, leſt they ſhould be afterwards accuſed of having abandoned the emperor in time of danger; a charge which might have coſt them their lives. But he had not proceeded far on his march, ere he received a certain account of the total overthrow of Antonius, whoſe army was entirely cut off, and he himſelf ſlain by L. Maximus, according to ſome writers, or, as others will have it, by Appius Norbanus [w]. Perhaps theſe four names belonged to one and the ſame perſon; at leaſt a letter written by Domitian to L. Appius Maximus has reached our times [x]; and one Appius Maximus is ſaid in an antient inſcription to have happily ended the war in Germany [y]. While the armies of Antonius and Maximus were engaged on the banks of the Rhine, the River ſwelled all on a ſudden to ſuch an height that the Germans, who came to the aſſiſtance of Antonius, could not croſs it; ſo that his army was entirely cut off. Antonius himſelf being killed in the battle, his head was cut off and ſent to Rome [z]. Suetonius tells us, that the

The revolt of L. Antonius.

Who is defeated and killed.

[t] Tacit. annal. xi. c. 12. [u] Euſeb. in chron. [w] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 764. Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 709. Plut. in vit. Æmil. [x] Vide Onuph. in faſt. p. 216. [y] Idem ibid.
[z] Suet. c. 6. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 709.

the very day on which the battle was fought, an eagle, placing herself on one of the emperor's statues at Rome, covered it with her wings, making a noise which expressed a kind of joy; and that at the same time a report prevailed all over the city, that Antonius was overcome, and utterly defeated; nay, that he was killed, and that his head was brought to Rome, which several persons affirmed they had seen [a]. Maximus on this occasion displayed no less prudence after the victory, than he had done courage in gaining it; for upon the death of Antonius, he seized and burnt all his papers, that the emperor might not make use of them to the prejudice of any man. Domitian, however, made a diligent search after his accomplices, torturing in a most cruel manner persons of all ranks and conditions, upon the least suspicion of their having been privy to the conspiracy, or having lived in friendship and intimacy with Antonius. On this occasion great numbers of persons were executed or banished, and their estates seized. Of the many who were accused, two persons only escaped unpunished, viz. a tribune of senatorial dignity, and a centurion, who saved their lives at the expence of their reputation, by making it appear, that they had been pathics, and consequently incapable of engaging in any hazardous enterprize, or having an interest in matters of this nature, either with the general or the army [b]. After this revolt, Domitian would not suffer two legions to be quartered in the same camp during the winter; but kept them all separate and at some distance from each other, lest, depending upon their strength, they should form dangerous designs, and raise new disturbances [c]. This year another counterfeit Nero appeared in Asia; and having, with a great multitude of followers, struck terror into the neighbouring provinces, retired to the court of the Parthian king, who received him with great marks of distinction, supplied him with a chosen body of troops, and seemed inclined to quarrel on his account with the Romans. But in the end he was prevailed upon by Domitian to deliver him up to the governor of Syria [d]. This, without all doubt, is what gave occasion to the poet Silius to celebrate the emperor's triumph, and extol his victories over the

Great numbers of persons executed.

A counterfeit Nero in Asia.

[a] Plut. in Æmil. p. 489. Suet. ibid. [b] Suet. c. 10. [c] Dio, p. 764. Tacit. l. i. c. 2. Suet. c. 6.

Ganges, the Bactrians, and, in ſhort, over all the countries of the eaſt [e].

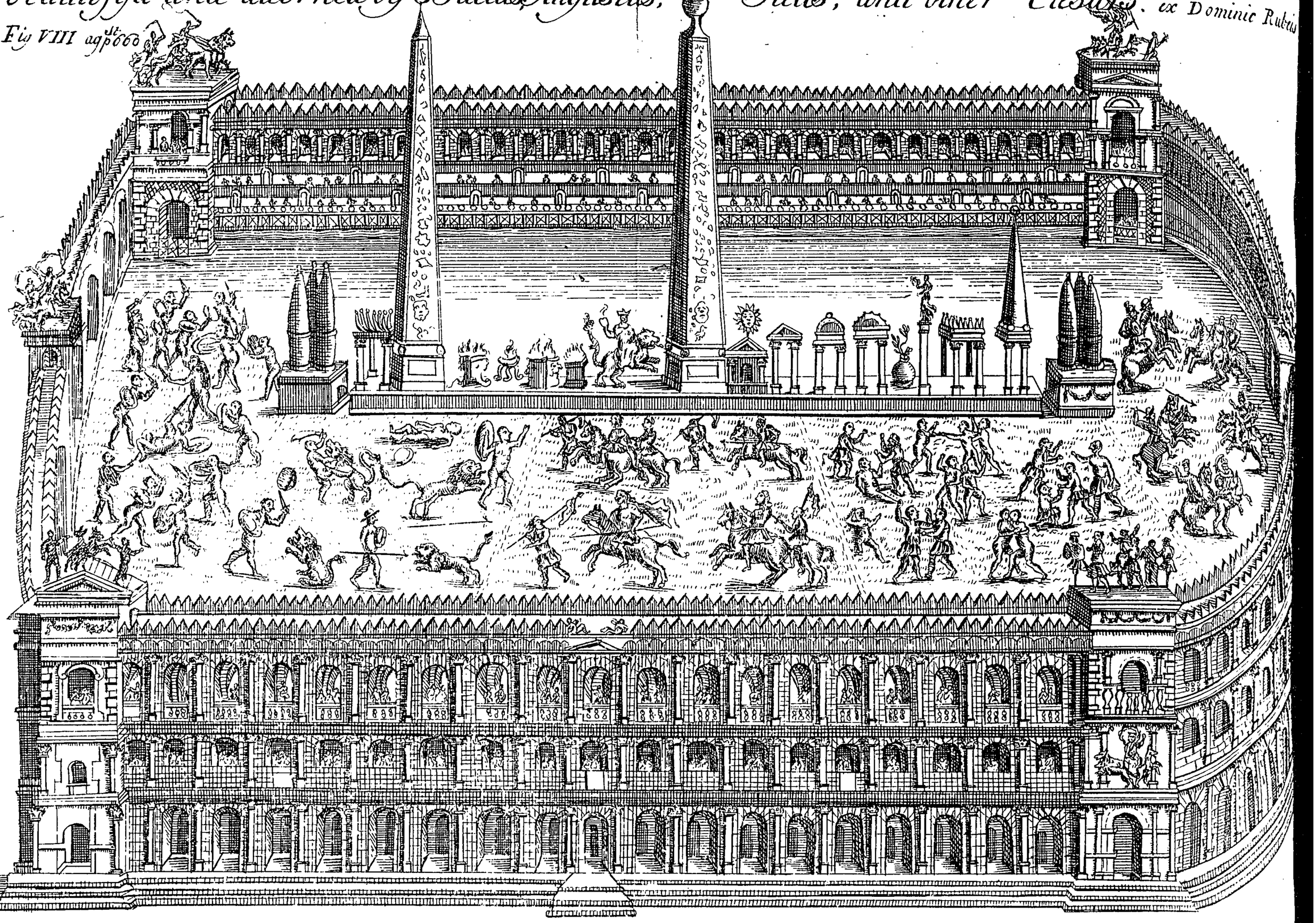
THE following year, T. Aurelius Fulvius and L. Atratinus being conſuls, Domitian took the title of emperor three times; but for what exploits we know not. Some writers, and amongſt the reſt the learned cardinal Noris, are of opinion, that Domitian this year undertook a ſecond expedition againſt the Germans [f], the more becauſe the poet Statius ſuppoſes the Germans to have been by Domitian twice conquered [g]. But theſe triumphs were in all likelihood only for pretended victories and real overthrows. Thus we have ſeen him triumph over the Dacians, of whom he had purchaſed a peace, by engaging to pay them an annual tribute, and over the Marcomanians and Quadians, by whom he had been ſhamefully put to flight. The next conſuls were Domitian, the fifteenth time, and M. Cocceius Nerva, who was afterwards raiſed to the empire, the ſecond time; for he had been conſul in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian's reign. Some modern writers [h] tell us, that having been baniſhed by Domitian the year before, in this he was recalled, and honoured with the conſulſhip. They quote Dion Caſſius; but in that writer we find no ſuch account. Philoſtratus indeed writes, that Nerva, who ſucceeded Domitian, was baniſhed to Tarentum; but from his words it is manifeſt, that Nerva did not incur the diſpleaſure of Domitian, till he had finiſhed his ſecond conſulſhip [i]. Nothing happened this year, either at Rome or in the provinces, which the few hiſtorians, who have written of theſe times, and whoſe works have reached us, thought worth recording. The conſuls of the following year were M. Ulpius Trajanus, who ſucceeded Nerva in the empire, and Acilius Glabrio. As Glabrio was a man of great ſtrength and activity, the emperor obliged him to fight in the arena with an huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The people with loud ſhouts applauded his victory; which roufed the jealouſy of the emperor, who thereupon, under colour of ſome crime or other, baniſhed him, and ſoon after cauſed him to be murdered in the place of his exile, as if he had attempted to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate [k]. A modern writer would fain perſuade us, that he was put to

Acilius Glabrio put to death.

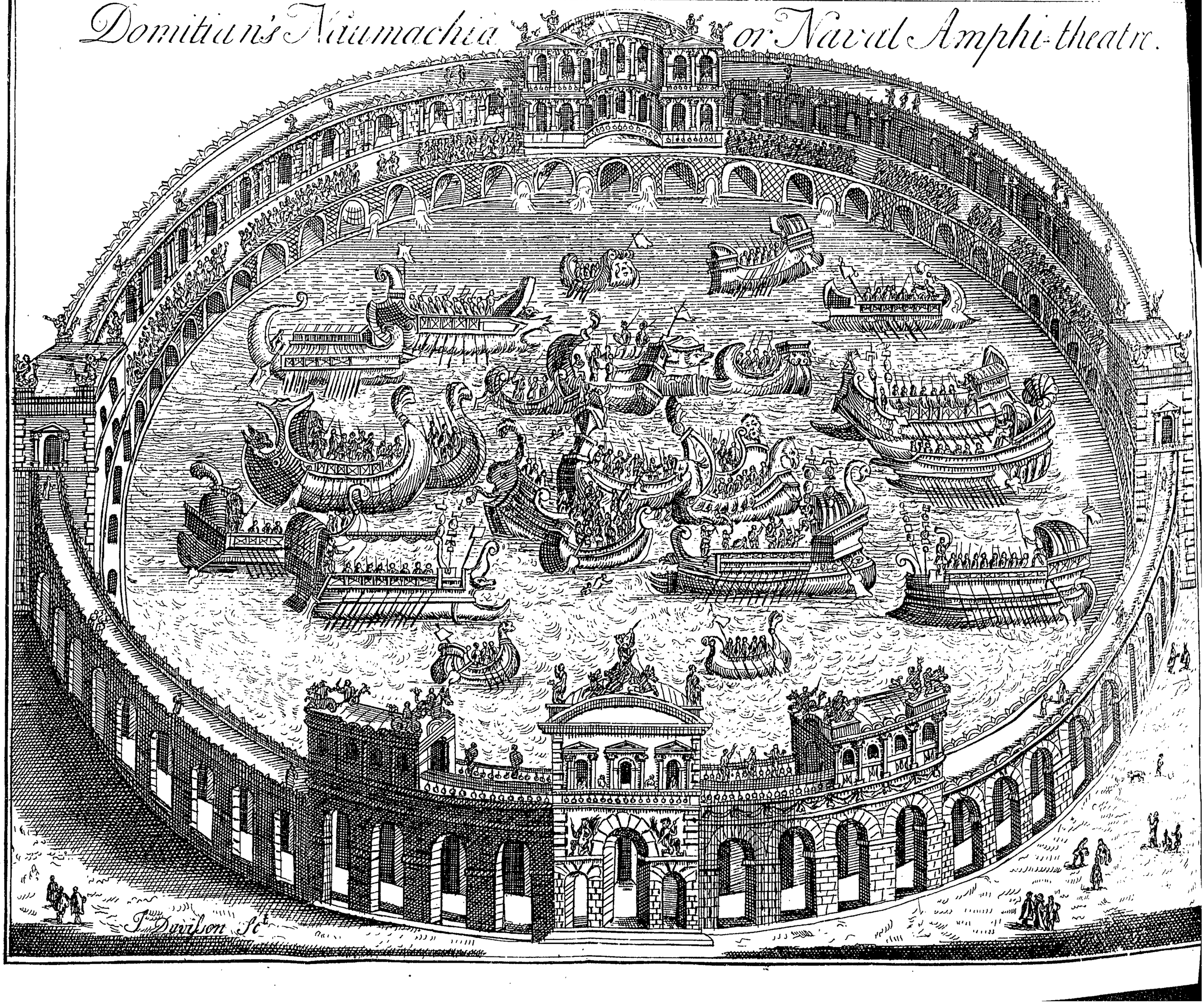
[e] Sil. l. iii. p. 51. Theb. l. i. ver. 19. [f] Noris. ep. conſ. p. 175. [g] Stat. [h] Petav. chron. & Calviſ. [i] Phi. loſt. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. [k] Dio, p. 766. Suet. c. 10.

The Great Circus, begun by Romulus and Finished by Tarquin; as it was afterwards beautifyd and adorned by Julius, Augustus, Titus, and other Cæsars. ex Dominic Rubeis

Fig VIII ag.p660



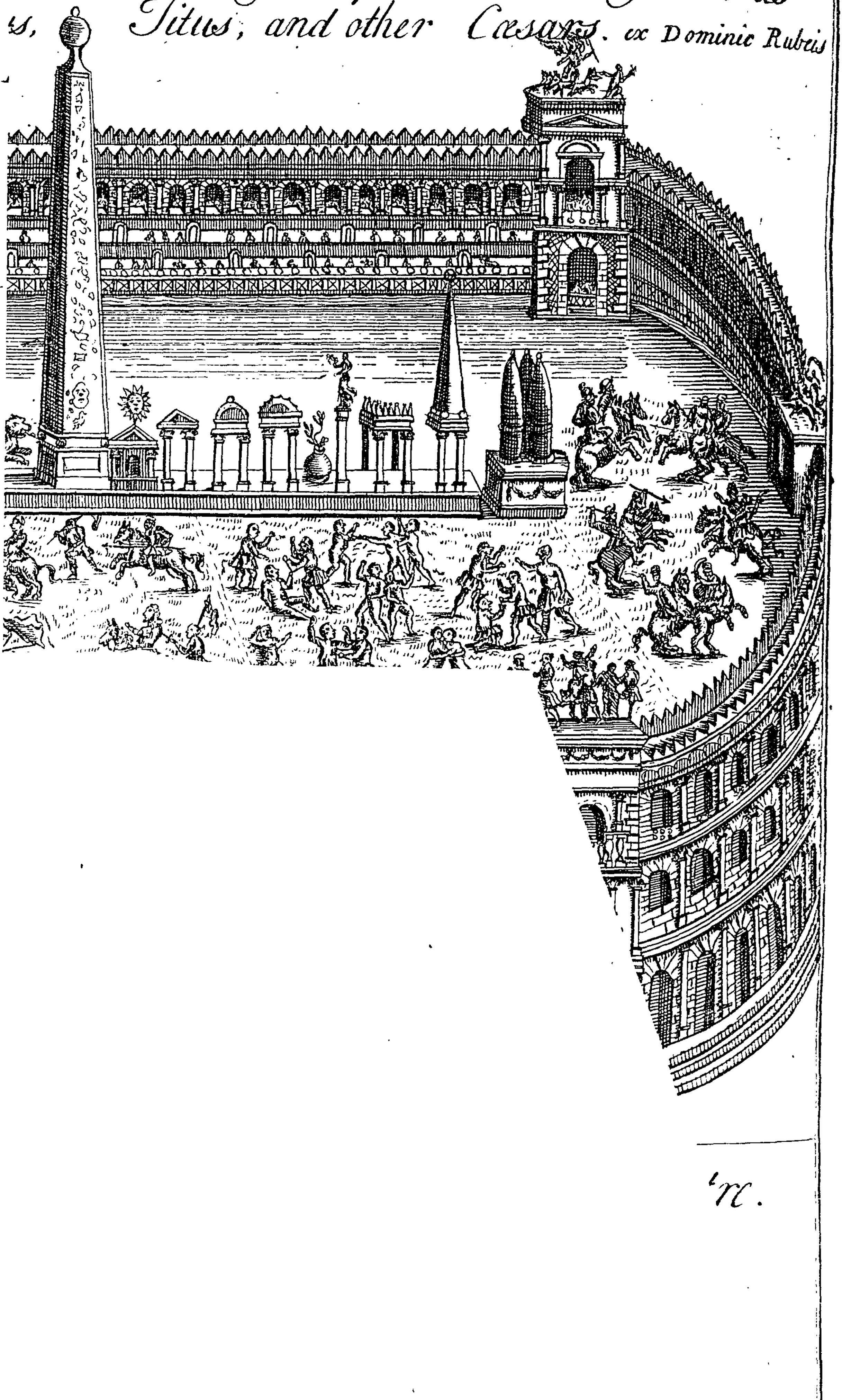
Domitian's Naumachia or Naval Amphi-theatre.



J. Davison Sc.

d Finished by Tarquin; as it was afterwards

s, Titus, and other Cæsars. ex Dominic Rubris



'rc.

to death for profeſſing the chriſtian religion [1]; but the arguments which he makes uſe of are deſtitute of all ſolidity and quite trifling. This year Domitian exhibited a great many ſhews, both in the amphitheatre and the circus, which are celebrated by the writers of thoſe times, as the moſt coſtly and magnificent that Rome had ever beheld. Near the Tiber he cauſed a vaſt lake to be dug, in which a ſea-fight was repreſented with ſuch numbers of ſhips as amounted to complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but women, entered the liſts. In the amphitheatre two great combats were exhibited, one of horſe, the other of foot: with the former, which was quite new, the populace were ſo taken, that, forgetting the emperor's cruelties, they beſtowed upon him higher encomiums, than they had ever given either to Veſpaſian or Titus. During the ſea-fight a violent ſhower fell; but nevertheleſs the emperor continued till the fight was ended, often changing his cloaths, and would not ſuffer any of the ſpectators to retire; whence, as the ſhower laſted ſome hours, many were ſeized with diſtempers, and ſome even died [o]. Dion Caſſius deſcribes at length an entertainment, to which the emperor invited the principal men among the ſenators and knights; an entertainment, ſays that writer, which more than any thing elſe diſplays his tyrannical temper, and how wantonly he abuſed his power. At the entrance of the palace, the gueſts were received with great ceremony, and conducted to a ſpacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated with a few melancholy lamps, which were only ſufficient to diſcover the horror of the place, and the ſeveral coffins, upon which were written in capitals the names of the ſeveral ſenators and knights invited. Great was their fright and conſternation at the ſight of ſo diſmal a ſcene; for the emperor had often publicly declared, that he could not think himſelf ſafe ſo long as one ſenator was left alive, and that among the knights there were few whom he did not look upon as his enemies. After they had long waited, expecting every moment their laſt doom, the doors were at length all on a ſudden burſt open, when a great number of naked perſons, having their bodies all over died black, entered the hall, with drawn ſwords in one hand, and flaming torches in the other. The gueſts, at this dreadful appearance, giving themſelves

Domitian exhibits magnificent ſhews.

He terrifies the ſenators and chief knights by a cruel device.

[1] Baron. ad ann. 74. 762, 763.

[o] Suet. c. 4. Dio, l.

ſelves up for loſt, already felt all the agonies of death; but thoſe whom they looked upon as their executioners, having for ſome time danced round them, ſet at once open the doors, and acquainted them, that the emperor gave the company leave to withdraw. Thus did Domitian inſult theſe two illuſtrious orders, ſhewing, ſays Dion Caſſius, how little he feared them, and at the ſame time with how much reaſon they might dread his reſentment, ſince it was in his power to cut them all off, without expoſing himſelf to the leaſt danger [p].

His edict againſt planting vines.

THE next conſuls were Domitian, the ſixteenth time, and Q. Voluſius Saturninus. This year, the emperor obſerving a great plenty of wine and as great a ſcarcity of corn, concluded from thence, that the huſbandmen neglected the tillage of the earth to attend the cultivating of their vines. To prevent therefore this inconvenience for the future, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in Italy, and commanding half the vines in the provinces to be immediately rooted up. Hereupon the cities of Aſia ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to him, begging he would ſuſpend the execution of the edict with reſpect to their lands, ſince their chief revenues accrued from wine, and the neighbouring provinces abounded with corn. At the head of this embaſſy was Scopelianus, profeſſor of eloquence at Smyrna, who, inſinuating himſelf with wonderful addreſs into the emperor's favour, prevailed upon him, if Philoſtratus is to be credited [q], to repeal the edict, and allow all nations ſubject to Rome full liberty of planting and cultivating what vines they pleaſed. Suetonius tells us, that to this he was prompted chiefly by the general diſcontent, which his edict produced amongſt perſons of all ranks, both in the city and the provinces, where many lampoons were publiſhed, one among the reſt, importing, that, in ſpite of all edicts, wine would not be wanting for the ſacrificing of Cæſar [r]. But after all, Eutropius [s] and Vopiſcus [t] ſpeak of this edict as continuing in full force in moſt provinces of the empire, till the reign of the emperor Probus, that is, for the ſpace of almoſt two hundred years. From ſeveral medals it appears, that the city of Chalcis in Syria began its æra in the autumn of this year, the 92d after the birth of Chriſt, according to the common method of computing, and the eleventh of Domitian's reign; whence

The ſmall kingdom of Chalcis united to the empire.

ſome

[p] Dio, ibid. p. 769. [q] Philoſtr. ibid. c. 17. [r] Suet. c. 14. [s] Eutrop. p. 246. [t] Vopiſ. p. 245.

ſome learned chronologers conclude, that this ſmall kingdom, formerly poſſeſſed by the brother, and afterwards by the ſon, of Agrippa, the laſt king of the Jews, was then by Domitian united to the empire [u]. It was in all likelihood on this account, that the city of Chalcis took the name of Flavia, which we ſuppoſe to have happened after the death of Ariſtobulus, who reigned at Chalcis in the year 72. of the chriſtian æra [w].

THE following year, Pompeius Collega and D. Priſcus were conſuls. Pliny names the former among the conſulars who were ſtill living in the reign of Trajan [x]. From an antient inſcription it appears, that both conſuls reſigned the faſces on the thirteenth of July, the former to M. Lollius Paulinus Valerius Aſiaticus, and the latter to C. Antius Julius Quadratus. This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated Agricola. His end proved afflicting to his family, ſays Tacitus, ſorrowful to his friends, and matter of trouble even to foreigners and ſuch as knew him not. The common people, during his ſickneſs, were not only frequent in their viſits to his houſe; but in all public places, in all private companies, made him the ſubject of their converſation: nor, when his death was divulged, was there a ſoul found, who did not lament it as a public misfortune. What heightened the general concern was, a prevailing rumour, that he was diſpatched by poiſon. That there was any proof of this, Tacitus, his ſon-in-law, will not take upon him to aver. However, he tells us, that, during the whole courſe of his illneſs, Domitian cauſed frequent viſits to be made him, indeed much more frequent than princes are wont to make, both by his favourite freedmen and his moſt truſty phyſicians; whether from real concern for his health, or eagerneſs to learn the probability of his death, our hiſtorian will not determine. It is certain, that on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were by meſſengers, purpoſely placed, every inſtant tranſmitted to the emperor, informing him how faſt his end was approaching; and no one believed he would have been thus eager to hear tidings, had he been to feel any ſorrow from hearing them. However, upon the news of his death, he affected to ſhew in his countenance ſome grief and concern; for being now ſecure againſt the object of his hatred, he

The death of Agricola.

Domitian ſuſpected of having cauſed him to be poiſoned.

[u] Noris. de epoch. Syro-Macedonum. [w] Joſeph. bell. Jud. c. 28. [x] Plin. l. ii. epiſt. 11.

he could more eaſily diſſemble his preſent joy, than lately his fear. It is incredible, how great was the ſatisfaction which he expreſſed, when upon reading the laſt will of Agricola, he found himſelf left joint heir with his excellent wife and tender daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice; ſo blinded he was by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no prince, but a tyrant, did ever any good father bequeath his fortune[y]. Agricola was born, according to Tacitus, on the thirteenth of June, during the third conſulſhip of the emperor Caligula, and died on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, during the conſulſhip of Collega and Priſcus, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, the ninety-third of the Chriſtian æra, and twelfth of Domitian's reign. But as to the time of his birth, ſome miſtake has certainly crept into the text of Tacitus, there being but fifty-three years, two months, and ſome days, from the thirteenth of June of the year of the Chriſtian æra 40, when Caligula was the third time conſul, to the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, in the year 93. Agricola therefore either died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, or was born in the ſecond conſulſhip of Caligula, that is, in the year 33 of the Chriſtian æra. Tacitus delivers the following glorious and affecting character of him. If poſterity deſires to know his make and perſon, he was rather genteel and well-proportioned than tall: in his aſpect there was nothing terrible; his looks were extremely gracious and pleaſing, a good man you would have readily believed him, and been glad to have found that he was a great man. Tho' he was ſnatched away, while his age was yet in full vigor; yet, if his life be meaſured by his glory, he attained to a great length of days. For every true felicity, namely ſuch as ariſes from virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had been likewiſe diſtinguiſhed with the conſular and triumphal honours, what more could fortune add to his luſtre or renown? Exceſſive wealth he coveted not; an honourable ſhare he poſſeſſed. As behind him he left ſurviving his daughter and his wife, he may be even accounted happy, ſince by dying while his credit was no-ways ſtained, while his fame was in its full ſplendor, and his relations and friends in a ſtate of ſecurity, he eſcaped the evils to come and the miſery of the latter times. We ſhall cloſe our account of this great commander,

His character

[y] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 44.

commander, this virtuous citizen, with the tender and affecting words of Tacitus, who thus addreſſes him after his death. Happy therefore art thou, Agricola; not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was ſeaſonable! Thou didſt, as I am informed by thoſe who heard thy laſt words, accept thy fate chearfully and with firmneſs; as if, for thy part, thou wouldſt have ſaved the credit of the prince. But to myſelf and thy daughter, beſides the grief of having our father ſnatched from us, it proves a further acceſſion of ſorrow, that we had not an opportunity of attending thee in thy ſickneſs, of cheriſhing thy drooping ſpirits, and pleaſing ourſelves with ſeeing and embracing thee. We ſhould greedily have received thy inſtructions and precepts, and engraved them for ever in our hearts. This is our grief, this our unſpeakable misfortune, that, by our long abſence from thee, thou waſt already loſt to us four years before thy death. Thou waſt, no doubt, abundantly ſupplied with whatever thy condition required, by thy loving wife, the beſt of mothers, who attended thee. Yet fewer tears were ſhed at thy funeral, and at thy laſt hour ſomewhat was wanting to ſatisfy thine eyes. If for the manes of good men any place be allotted; if, as philoſophers hold, the ſpirits of great men periſh not with their bodies; pleaſing be thy repoſe! Recal us, thy family, from this our weakneſs in bewailing thee, to the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjuſt to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory with immortal praiſes, and by following, as far as our weakneſs will allow, and adopting thy excellencies. This is true honour, this is the duty incumbent upon every near relation. Thus I would have thy daughter and wife to reverence the memory of a father and huſband, and to be ever ruminating upon all his doings and ſayings; and rather to adore the image of his mind, than that of his perſon. Not that I mean to condemn the uſe of ſtatues in marble or braſs; but as the perſons of men are frail and periſhing, ſo are likewiſe the images of them: the form of the mind is eternal, and cannot be repreſented or preſerved by art or materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwiſe but by a conformity of manners. What we loved in Agricola, what we admired, remains, and will for ever remain, imprinted in the minds of men, and conveyed through a continual ſucceſſion of ages, by the voice of fame to the lateſt poſterity. Many of the antients lie buried

Tacitus's affecting addreſs to him after his death.

ried in an obſcure and inglorious oblivion; but Agricola ſhall live recommended to future ages, and his fame continue for ever [z]. Thus far Tacitus, who wrote the life of Agricola, in the reign of the emperor Trajan, without which, and a ſhort paſſage in Dion Caſſius, the memory and exploits of one of the greateſt commanders and beſt citizens Rome ever bred, would have been buried in oblivion. Tacitus, as he himſelf informs us, had, together with his wife, been four years abſent from Rome when his father-in-law died; but where, or on what account, we are no-where told. Some writers, without the leaſt foundation, ſuppoſe him to have been baniſhed by Domitian; but Lipſius is of opinion, that he retired of his own accord from the city, not being able, as he was a man of a virtuous and humane ſpirit, to behold the ſufferings of the Romans under ſo cruel and bloody a tyrant [a].

Bebius Maſſa a noted accuſer, arraigned.

THE ſame year, Bebius Maſſa, an infamous accuſer, was himſelf accuſed of extortion by the Bithynians, whom he had plundered and oppreſſed, in a moſt tyrannical manner, while he governed that province. The ſenate appointed Pliny the younger and Herennius Senecio, originally a Bithynian and formerly quæſtor in the ſame province, to plead the cauſe of the Bithynians; which they did ſo effectually, that Bebius was condemned by the ſenate, and the conſuls were ordered to ſeize his eſtate and effects. But as they, taken up with more preſſing affairs, put off from day to day the execution of the judgment, Senecio fearing the delinquent might in the mean time privately convey away part of his goods, reſolved to apply to them for an immediate execution of the ſentence, and begged Pliny to act therein in concert with him. Pliny at firſt declined engaging in an affair which he thought foreign to the profeſſion of a pleader; but, Senecio continuing obſtinate in his reſolution, he at length conſented to ſolicit jointly with him the conſuls to ſeize without delay the effects of Bebius, that reparation might thence be made of the loſſes ſuſtained by the Bithynians. Accordingly they went together to the conſuls, where they found Bebius, who, upon hearing their ſuit, was ſo provoked againſt Senecio, that he ſummoned him before the emperor, as guilty

[z] Idem, ibid. c. 45, 46. [a] Lipſ. vit. Tacit.

ty of treaſon. The very name of treaſon ſtruck the whole aſſembly with terror. But Pliny, without betraying the leaſt fear, addreſſing Bebius, told him, he was ſorry he did not charge him with the ſame crime, ſince by his not accuſing him, as well as Senecio, of treaſon, men might believe that he had not acted againſt him with equal zeal, and that he ſhould be grieved if he knew that any one entertained of him ſo bad an opinion. This firmneſs and intrepidity in Pliny, was by all highly applauded; and Nerva, who was at that time in exile at Tarentum, congratulated him by letters upon his ſteady conduct. Pliny himſelf wrote to Tacitus, acquainting him with what had paſſed, and begging him to inſert it in his hiſtory, which he looked upon as a work that would never die; but the letter of Pliny has outlived that part of Tacitus's hiſtory [b]. This year Domitian undertook an expedition againſt the Sarmatians, who had cut in pieces a whole legion with the officer who commanded them [c]: but as to the iſſue of this war, we are quite in the dark: all we know is, that on this occaſion he quarrelled likewiſe with the Marcomanians, and on his return aſſumed the title of emperor, for the twenty-ſecond and laſt time. He returned to Rome in the month of January, and, inſtead of triumphing, contented himſelf with preſenting a crown of laurel to Jupiter Capitolinus [d]. Statius [e] and Martial [f] make frequent mention of this war, extolling with their uſual flattery, the ſuppoſed exploits and pretended victories of their hero.

The conſtancy and firmneſs of Pliny.

THE following year, L. Nonnius Aſprenas and Sextilius Lateranus being conſuls, Domitian began to rend the commonwealth with cruelties without all reſpite, as Tacitus expreſſes [g], and to put in execution the deſign, which he had long ſince formed, of utterly extirpating the ſenate, and deſtroying all who were any-ways conſiderable, either for their birth or virtue. That hiſtorian deſcribes the miſeries of theſe calamitous times in general terms thus: The iſlands were peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood. But more hideous ſtill were the ravages of cruelty at Rome. It was treaſonable

The calamity of the times.

[b] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 33. & l. iii. epiſt. 4 [c] Suet. c. 6. [d] Idem, ibid. [e] Stat. ſyl. l. 3. p. 398, &c. [f] Mart. l. vii. epigr. 1, 4, 7. & l. viii. epigr. 8, 15, &c. [g] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 44.

able to be noble; capital to be rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable deſtruction. Nor were the iniquities of the informers more ſhocking, than their great and diſtinguiſhing rewards; for upon ſome were beſtowed, as the ſpoils of the ſtate, the pontifical dignities and thoſe of the counſulſhip; others were ſent with the character of procurators into the provinces; ſome were made prime miniſters and confidents at home; and, in every ſtation exerting all their terrors and purſuing their hatred, they controuled and confounded all things. Slaves were ſuborned againſt their maſters, freed-men againſt their patrons; and ſuch as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends. The age, however, continues our hiſtorian, was not ſo utterly deſtitute of all virtue, as not to afford commendable examples of friendſhip and magnanimity. There were mothers who accompanied their baniſhed ſons; wives who followed their huſbands into exile; in relations were found reſolution and ſuccour; in ſons-in-law conſtancy and duty; in ſlaves ſuch fidelity as baffled all the menaces and horrors of the torture; illuſtrious men ſtruggling under the greateſt diſtreſs, ſupporting it with conſtancy, and diſplaying a fortitude in death equal to that in the moſt celebrated antients [h]. The ſame writer, after having recounted the death of Agricola; He ſaw not, adds he, the court of the ſenate beſieged, nor the ſenate encloſed with armed men, nor the butchery of ſo many perſons of conſular dignity, nor the flight and exile of ſo many women of the prime nobility, all effected in one continued havock. Even Nero with-held his eyes from ſcenes of cruelty: he indeed ordered murders to be perpetrated, but ſaw them not. The principal part of our miſeries under Domitian was, to be obliged to ſee him, and be ſeen by him, at a time when all our ſighs and ſorrows were watched and marked down for condemnation; when that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a ſettled red, whence he hardened himſelf againſt ſhame and bluſhing, ſerved him to obſerve all the pale horrors at once poſſeſſing ſo many illuſtrious men [i]. Thus Tacitus deſcribes in general terms the calamities of thoſe unhappy times.

[h] Tacit hiſt. l. i. c. 2. [i] Idem, vit. Agr. c. 44.

times. The perſons whom he mentions in particular to have been this year put to death by Domitian, are Helvidius, Ruſticus, and Senecio. Helvidius was the ſon of the celebrated Helvidius Priſcus, of whom we have ſpoken above. He had been raiſed to the conſulſhip, in what year we know not; and was, on account of his extraordinary virtue, abilities, and accompliſhments, in great credit with perſons of all ranks, though he endeavoured, through fear of giving the emperor umbrage, to ſhun the applauſes of the multitude, and conceal his talents in ſolitude and retirement. However, he was accuſed of treaſon, and it was pretended, that in a poem, by him compoſed, he had, under the borrowed names of Paris and Œnone, reflected on the emperor for divorcing his wife Domitia. When the accuſed appeared to plead his cauſe before the ſenate, one of the judges, by name Publicius Certus, formerly prætor, ſeized him with the aſſiſtance of ſome other ſenators, and, without allowing him to ſpeak in his own defence, dragged him to priſon, where he was by the emperor's orders ſoon after executed [k]. As for Certus, he was named for the conſulſhip, which he ſeems to have diſcharged four years after, that is, in the ſecond year of Nerva's reign, when Pliny demanded leave of the ſenate to arraign him as a criminal, in order to clear his friend Helvidius, and make his innocence appear, at leaſt after his death, ſince no one had been allowed to ſpeak in his favour while living. The ſenate put a ſtop to all proſecutions of this nature, but yet degraded Certus, and deprived him of the conſular dignity; whence he died a few days after in great agonies and terror, imagining, as he himſelf owned, that Pliny purſued him with a drawn ſword. Pliny publiſhed the ſpeech which he pronounced againſt him in the ſenate; but it has been long ſince loſt [l]. Herennius Senecio was, as we have related above, accuſed of treaſon by Bæbius Maſſa, whom he had accuſed of extortion at the ſuit of the Bithynians. The charge alledged againſt him was, that he had written the life of Helvidius Priſcus, at the requeſt of Fannia his widow, and made uſe of the memoirs with which ſhe had furniſhed him. Tho' Senecio had with all poſſible care avoided ſuch expreſſions as

Helvidius, Senecio, and Ruſticus put to death.

[k] Suet. c. 10. Plin. ix. epiſt. 13.

[l] Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. & l. vii. epiſt. 33.

as might ſeem in the leaſt to reflect on the emperor, yet, becauſe he could not help commending a man whom the prince had condemned, Domitian cauſed him to be ſentenced to death, and the ſentence to be without delay put in execution. Fannia owned of her own accord, that ſhe had perſuaded Senecio to write the life of her huſband, and ſupplied him with materials for it. For this crime ſhe was, by a decree of the ſenate, confined to a deſert iſland, whither ſhe carried with her, as her only comfort, the hiſtory of her huſband's actions, which had been the cauſe of her baniſhment, tho' it was declared capital to read or keep it. Arria, her mother, the widow of the famous Pætus Thraſea, was likewiſe baniſhed; but they were both called home in the beginning of the reign of Nerva [m]. The emperor, as Tacitus informs us [n], did not content himſelf with condemning Senecio for celebrating the praiſes of Helvidius Priſcus, and Arulenus Ruſticus, of whom anon, for thoſe of Pætus Thraſea; but ordered the magiſtrates to commit their books to the flames, imagining, that in the ſame fire he ſhould aboliſh the voice and utterance of the Roman people, with the liberty of the ſenate, and all the ideas and memory of mankind. The third perſon, mentioned by Tacitus to have been ſacrificed by Domitian this year, was Lucius Junius Arulenus Ruſticus. He profeſſed the philoſophy of the Stoics, was tribune of the people when Pætus Thraſea was condemned by a decree of the ſenate in the reign of Nero, and as ſuch would have interpoſed againſt it, had not Thraſea himſelf reſtrained him [o]. He was prætor in the ſhort reign of Vitellius, by whom he was ſent to Petilius Cerealis, one of Veſpaſian's commanders, to mediate an accommodation. On which occaſion he was wounded by the ſoldiery, who ſternly rejected all terms of peace; and, notwithſtanding the character of an embaſſador, altogether ſacred, would have been maſſacred, had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by Cerealis [p]. The crime laid to his charge by Domitian was, his having, in a book publiſhed by him, commended Thraſea, and likewiſe Helvidius Priſcus, as men of honour and integrity. He

Fannia, the wife of Senecio, and her mother Arria baniſhed.

[m] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 19. & l. ix. epiſt. 13. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Suet. c. 10. [n] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. [o] Tacit. annal. l. xvi. c. 26. [p] Idem, hiſtor. l. iii. c. 80.

He was accuſed by one Marcus Regulus, who even publiſhed a book filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt him [q]. Pliny ſeems to have entertained a mighty opinion of his accompliſhments and integrity [r], as does likewiſe Plutarch, who tells us, that he was by Domitian's orders put to death for no crime of his own, but merely to remove from the emperors ſight one who, with his exemplary life, ſeemed to reproach him with his debaucheries. That writer adds, that while he himſelf was one day declaiming in public, a ſoldier, entering the aſſembly, preſented to Ruſticus, who was hearkening to him with great attention, a letter from the emperor. Hereupon he immediately interrupted his diſcourſe; but Ruſticus, putting the letter, without even opening it, into his boſom, deſired him to purſue his ſpeech, and would not open the letter till Plutarch had done [s]. Dion Caſſius writes, that Domitian, not long before he was killed, dreamt that Ruſticus was purſuing him with a drawn ſword [t]. Junius Mauricus, the brother of Ruſticus, who is highly commended by Pliny [u], was baniſhed, as was likewiſe Pomponia Gratilla, the wife of Ruſticus; but they were both recalled by the emperor Nerva [w]. At the ſame time was executed by the emperor's orders one Hermogenes of Tarſus, being accuſed of ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in a hiſtory which he compoſed: all thoſe, who were concerned in tranſcribing or ſelling it, were condemned to be crucified [x]. The ſame year, and chiefly out of hatred to Ruſticus, who, as we have hinted above, profeſſed the philoſophy of the Stoics, all philoſophers were, by a decree of the ſenate, driven out of Rome, and every laudable ſcience expelled Italy, that nothing which was worthy and honeſt, ſays Tacitus, might any where be ſeen [y]. Epictetus, the famous Stoic, was, in virtue of this decree, obliged to abandon the city [z]. Lucius Teleſinus, who had been conſul in the reign of Nero, choſe rather to retire from his native country, as a philoſopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing the profeſſion [a]. Pliny beſtows mighty encomiums up-

Several illuſtrious perſons baniſhed.

All philoſophers driven out of Rome.

[q] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. Suet. c. 10. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Plin. l. i. epiſt. 5. [r] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 14. [s] Plut. curioſ. p. 927. [t] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767. [u] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 14. [w] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 14. & l. v. epiſt 13. [x] Suet. c. 10. [y] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. [z] Gell. noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 11. [a] Philoſtrat. ibid. l. vii. c. 5.

on the philoſopher Artemidorus, who, on this occaſion, left Rome. He had contracted great debts, but for laudable purpoſes, ſays Pliny, who ſupplied him with money to diſcharge them, when his other friends, tho' poſſeſſed of great wealth, abandoned him in his diſtreſs. The philoſopher would afterwards have reimburſed Pliny; but he generouſly preſented him with the ſum which was owing to him[b]. Pliny went frequently to viſit him in the place of his retirement; by which means he expoſed himſelf to no ſmall danger, his actions and conduct being the more narrowly obſerved, as he was at that time prætor. He was himſelf well appriſed, that Domitian ſuſpected him, as he had lived in great intimacy with Senecio, Helvidius and Ruſticus. And truly, had not Domitian been ſeaſonably cut off, Pliny would have undergone the ſame doom which moſt of his friends had ſuffered: for after the emperor's death, a memorial was found among his papers, preſented to him againſt Pliny by the celebrated informer Metius Carus[c]. Some abandoning Italy, fled to the moſt weſtern coaſts of Gaul; and others to the deſerts of Libya and Scythia. Dion Chryſoſtomus, a celebrated ſophiſt, took ſhelter in the country of the Getæ, where he earned a livelihood by tilling the ground, and carrying water, having always with him, to comfort him in his diſtreſs, a treatiſe of Plato and an oration Demoſthenes[d]. In the height of his perſecution, Apollonius Tyaneus came to Rome, if Philoſtratus is to be credited[e], and was there received with great marks of eſteem and veneration by Caſperius Ælianus, commander of the prætorian guards. He had not been long in the city, ere he contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Nerva, Rufus, and Salvidienus Orfitus, whom he ſollicited to conſpire againſt Domitian, and to deliver the world from ſo bloody a tyrant. The author of his life tells us, that the conſpiracy was actually formed; but that the conſpirators putting off, for want of courage, the execution of it, the emperor, in the mean time, ſuſpecting their deſign, accuſed them of treaſon before the ſenate: the charge was not proved; but nevertheleſs Rufus and Orfitus were confined to the iſlands, and Nerva to the city of Tarentum[f]. Orfitus was ſoon after put

Pliny ſuſpected by Domitian.

Apollonius of Tyaneus comes to Rome.

Encourages Nerva and others to conſpire againſt the emperor.

[b] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 11. [c] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 27.
[d] Philoſ. ibid. l. vii. c. 2. [e] Idem ibid. l. vii. c. 4. [f] Idem ibid. c. 3. 4.

put to death [g] in the place of his exile. Of Rufus we find no farther mention made by the writers of thoſe times. As for Nerva, if he was baniſhed, as Philoſtratus writes, he returned home the ſame, or the following, year; for he was at Rome, as is plain from Dion Caſſius [h], when Domitian was murdered: nay, that writer takes no notice of the baniſhment of Nerva, which makes us ſuſpect the truth of what Philoſtratus writes, who is often guilty of very conſiderable miſtakes. Sulpicia, a Roman lady of great diſtinction, wrote a poem upon the expulſion of the philoſophers, wherein ſhe inveighs with great bitterneſs againſt Domitian, and even threatens him with death. She is highly commended by Martial for the purity of her manners and the elegance of her compoſition [i]; for ſhe publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, but was not, as ſhe ſeems to boaſt, the firſt Roman of her ſex known to the muſes [k].

THE following year, Domitian entered upon his ſeventeenth and laſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue Flavius Clemens of whom we ſhall ſpeak anon. This conſulate of Domitian is the ſubject of one of the poet Statius's poems [l]. In the beginning of the year was diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy againſt the emperor; at the head of which was Juvenius Celſus, whom ſome writers take to be the celebrated civilian Publius Jubenius Celſus, who was prætor in the reign of Trajan and conſul in that of Adrian, and is highly commended by Pliny [m]. Be that as it will, Celſus, finding himſelf betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor; in which throwing himſelf at his feet, and accoſting him as a deity with the titles of Lord and of God, he proteſted, that as to himſelf, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, provided he was allowed a ſhort reſpite, diſcover all thoſe who were concerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt. Hereupon the emperor diſmiſſed him untouched; but Celſus, putting off, under various pretences, from time to time, the promiſed diſcovery, eſcaped by the death of Domitian, which happened the following year, the danger that threatened him [n].

The conſpiracy of Juvenius Celſus.

[g] Suet. c. 10.
[h] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767.
[i] Mart. l. x. epig. 35.
[k] Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. c. 2, 3.
[l] Stat. ſyl. l. iv. c 1.
[m] Plin, l. vi. epiſt. 5.
[n] Dio, ibid. p. 765.

Dion Caſſius obſerves, that Domitian about this time cauſed the road to be paved leading from Sinueſſa to Puteoli [o]; and Statius ſpeaks of another road by him repaired at a vaſt expence, that, as we conjecture from the poet's words, which led from Rome to Baiæ [p]. This year the fourteenth of Domitian's reign and 95th of the Chriſtian æra, is remarkable for the cruel perſecution, which was by the bloody tyrant raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at Rome and in the provinces, the emperor having diſpatched letters and edicts into the moſt remote provinces of the empire, commanding all thoſe who profeſſed that religion to be treated as declared enemies to the ſtate [q]. This perſecution is taken notice of by Suetonius, who tells us, that he obliged thoſe who lived at Rome after the manner of the Jews, to pay the ſame taxes as if they were really Jews, and treated them with no leſs rigor and ſeverity [r]. That Suetonius meant the Chriſtians, is evident; for all the pagan hiſtorians, whether Greek or Latin, conſtantly ſpeak of them as reſembling the Jews in their manners, tho' not originally of that nation. Among the many illuſtrious perſons, who ſuffered for ſo good a cauſe, we may deſervedly reckon the emperor's own relations; viz. Flavius Clemens, his couſin german and collegue in the conſulſhip, and the two Flaviæ Domitillæ, the one the wife, the other the niece, of Flavius Clemens. He was the ſon of Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian, who was killed by the ſoldiers of Vitellius, while he was governor of Rome, as we have related above. His eldeſt ſon, named likewiſe Flavius Sabinus, was conſul with Domitian in the firſt year of his reign, and, ſoon after, by the emperor's orders, put to death. Flavius Clemens married, in compliance with the emperor's deſire, Flavia Domitilla, who was nearly related to Domitian, but not his ſiſter, as Philoſtratus writes [s]; Domitilla, his only ſiſter, being dead before Veſpaſian was raiſed to the empire [t]. Flavia Domitilla was, as appears pretty plain from Dion Caſſius [u] and Quintilian [w], the daughter of Domitilla, and the niece of Domitian. By her Clemens had two ſons, to

The ſecond general perſecution.

The death of Flavius Clemens.

Some account of that illuſtrious perſon.

[o] Idem, p. 766. [p] Stat. ſyl. iv. c. 3. [q] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 10. Tertull. apol. c. 5. Lactan. perſ. c. 3. Euſeb. chron. c. 17. [r] Suet. c. 12. [s] Philoſtrat. ibid. l. viii. c. 10. [t] Suet. vit. Veſp. c. 3. [u] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 766. [w] Quintilian. l. iv. p. 105.

to whom Domitian as he had no iſſue of his own, reſolved to leave the empire; and therefore changed their names, cauſing one of them to be called Veſpaſian, and the other Domitian. Quintilian [x] tells us, that he was charged with the care of inſtructing and educating the two grandſons of the emperor's ſiſter; which is a convincing proof, that Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Clemens, was daughter to Domitilla the emperor's ſiſter; for theſe two youths were, without all doubt, the ſons of Clemens by Flavia Domitilla [x]. Clemens was this year conſul; but had ſcarce reſigned the faſces, when he was, upon a ſlight and groundleſs ſuſpicion, ſays Suetonius [y], cut off by the emperor's orders. Dion Caſſius tells us, that he was accuſed of impiety or atheiſm; a crime ſays that writer, for which many others were at that time condemned, who had adopted the manners of the Jews [z]. Thus the Chriſtians are conſtantly deſcribed by the Pagan writers, as is evident from Origen and other Chriſtian writers of the primitive times [a]. As for the crime of impiety or atheiſm, this was one of the charges commonly brought againſt the chriſtians, on account of their refuſing to pay any worſhip to the pretended deities of the gentiles [b]. Suetonius, ſpeaking of Flavius Clemens, ſays, he was no-ways to be feared, in reſpect of his ſloth and inactivity; which was another charge, as Tertullian obſerves [c], brought againſt the Chriſtians, on account of the retired life they led, and their deſpiſing the dignities, which by others were ſo ambitiouſly coveted. It is therefore, in our opinion pretty plain, that the only crime alledged againſt Flavius Clemens was, his profeſſing the Chriſtian religion; and conſequently that he ought to be ranked among thoſe illuſtrious heroes, who have ſealed their faith with their blood. A modern writer of great note ſuppoſes St. Clement, who at this time was biſhop of Rome, to have been of the imperial family [d]; but therein confounds him, as we conjecture, with Clement the conſul, aſcribing to the former, what he muſt have read of the latter. Flavia Domitilla, wife to Flavius Clemens, was likewiſe arraigned of impiety; and, beſides, refuſed to comply with the orders

[x] Dio, ibid. [y] Suet. c. 15. [z] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 760. [a] Origen. in Celſ. l. i. p. 5. [b] Vide Juſt. apol. i. p. 56. [c] Tertull. apolog. c. 42. [d] Pearſon. epiſc. Ceſtrien. annal. Paulin. p. 215.

of the emperor commanding her to marry another perſon a few days after the death of her huſband [e]. She was therefore baniſhed to the iſland of Pandataria, in the bay of Puteoli, now known by the name of Santa Maria. Euſebius mentions another Flavia Domitilla, confined at the ſame time and for the ſame cauſe, to the iſland of Pontia, near that of Pandataria; and ſuppoſes her to have been the daughter of Clemens's ſiſter [f]. Scaliger takes this Domitilla to be the ſame with the wife of Flavius Clemens, not aware that Euſebius follows therein and quotes a Roman hiſtorian, by name Brutius, who flouriſhed in thoſe times, and whom ſome writers take to be Præſens, named alſo Brutius, to whom one of Pliny's letters is inſcribed [g]. To theſe two illuſtrious women Tacitus perhaps alluded, when he wrote, that Domitian towards the latter end of his reign, drove into exile ſeveral ladies of the prime nobility [h]. St. Jerom mentions Domitilla in particular, whom he honours with the title of ſaint, and tells us, that ſhe ſuffered a long martyrdom in the iſland of Pontia, to which ſhe was confined by Domitian for profeſſing the Chriſtian religion [i]. As to Clemens's two ſons, to whom Domitian deſigned, as we have obſerved above, to bequeath the empire, we find no farther mention made of them by the antient hiſtorians; but we ſuppoſe, that if they were not put to death by Domitian, the excellent princes Nerva and Trajan, who were enemies to all bloodſhed and ſlaughter, ſuffered them to live unmoleſted. Gruter proves from an antient inſcription, that Clemens had likewiſe a daughter, named Flavia Domitilla, who was married to one T. Flavius Oneſimus [k]; but no hiſtorian ſpeaks either of her or her huſband. Trebellius Pollio, in his hiſtory of the thirty tyrants, under the emperor Gallienus, mentions a celebrated commander, by name, Domitian, deſcended from Flavius Clemens and the niece of the emperor Domitian [l]; whence it is plain, that the children of Clemens had iſſue. During this perſecution, St. John was confined to the iſland of Patmos in the Archipelago, where he wrote the Apocalypſe; and a great many illuſtrious champions of the Chriſtian faith, mentioned by the eccleſiaſtic writers, ſuffered for the ſame glorious

Flavia Domitilla baniſhed.

Another heroine of the ſame name baniſhed.

Many Chriſtians put to death or baniſhed.

[e] Philoſtrat. ibid. l. viii. c. 10. [f] Euſeb. in Chron. p. 250. [g] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 3. Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. iii. p. 698 Scal. in chron. p. 205. [h] Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 45. [i] Hier. epiſt. xxvii. c. 1. [k] Gruter, p. 245. [l] Treb. Poll. hiſt. trig. tyr. c. 11. p. 191. edit. Pariſ.

glorious cauſe death or baniſhment, with a conſtancy and firmneſs worthy of the religion which they profeſſed. Lactantius will have this cruel perſecution to have ended with Domitian's life, and not before; for then all his acts were annulled by the ſenate, and conſequently the edicts which he had enacted againſt the Chriſtians [m]. But two of the moſt antient eccleſiaſtic writers, viz. Hegeſippus, quoted by Euſebius [n], and Tertullian [o], tell us in expreſs terms, that Domitian, before his death, put a ſtop to the perſecution which he had raiſed againſt the church, and recalled all thoſe whom he had baniſhed on the ſcore of their religion. This ſame year, Domitian cauſed Epaphroditus, formerly freed-man and ſecretary to Nero, to be put to death for having aided that prince in diſpatching himſelf, when he ought to have defended him. By this inſtance of ſeverity he hoped to deter his own men from any attempts upon his life; and this, as Dion Caſſius obſerves, was the only motive which prompted him to exert ſuch rigor againſt one whom he had admitted to his confidence, and honoured with the ſame employment which he had enjoyed under Nero [p]. This is, as is commonly believed, the Epaphroditus, to whom Joſephus inſcribed, at leaſt three years before, his antiquities; a plain proof, that he was then in great favour with the emperor.

THE next conſuls were Caius Fabius Valens and Caius Antiſtius Vetus, of whom the former was ninety years old when he entered upon his conſulſhip, and ſeems to have died before it expired [q]. Many prodigies are ſaid to have happened this year, at Rome and in the provinces. The city was for eight months together almoſt daily alarmed with dreadful claps of thunder, and flaſhes of lightning; the capitol, the temple of the Flavian family, and the emperor's own chamber were thunder-ſtruck; the inſcription upon one of the emperor's triumphal ſtatues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the ſtorm, carried into a neighbouring monument; the tree, which had been thrown down in Veſpaſian's time, as we have related above, and roſe up again, fell down the ſecond time; the oracle at Præneſte, which had always returned favourable anſwers, and

The death of Domitian foretold by ſeveral prodigies.

[m] Lact. perſ. c. 3: [n] Euſeb. l. 3. c. 20. [o] Tert. apol. c. 5. [p] Dio. p. 766. Plin. panegyr. Suet. c. 14. [q] Dio, p. 766. Onuph. p. 313. Idat. in faſt, &c.

and promiſed him good fortune and ſucceſs at the beginning of each year, preſaged nothing now but calamities and ſlaughter; Domitian himſelf dreamt, that Minerva, to whom, as his tutelar deity, he paid a particular worſhip, and whoſe feaſt he annually celebrated on the Alban mount, had withdrawn herſelf from the chapel which he had conſecrated to her, telling him, that Jupiter had diſarmed her, and that ſhe could protect him no longer. But nothing terrified him ſo much as the anſwer of an aſtrologer, by name Aſcletarion, and what enſued thereupon; for he being accuſed of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, Domitian aſked him, Whether he knew what would be his own doom? The aſtrologer anſwered, He was to be, and that in a ſhort time he ſhould be, devoured by dogs. Hereupon the emperor, to convince the world of the falſehood of his art, ordered him to be immediately put to death, and his body to be burnt. The firſt part of the ſentence was put in execution; but before the body was half conſumed by the flames, it was blown down, together with the funeral pile, by a violent ſtorm, and devoured, purſuant to the prediction, by the dogs [q]. Another aſtrologer, by name Larginus Proculus, foretold publicly in Germany, that the eighteenth of September would prove the laſt day of Domitian's life. Hereupon he was apprehended by the governor of the province, and ſent to the emperor, in whoſe preſence he maintained the truth of his prediction, and was on that account condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of the aforeſaid month; but Domitian being murdered the day before, as Proculus had foretold, he was not only diſmiſſed unhurt, but preſented by Nerva with a large ſum, and ever after had in great eſteem [r]. No wonder, therefore, that Domitian, terrified with theſe predictions and prodigies, and moreover alarmed by his own guilty conſcience, lived in continual diſquiet: there was no accident ſo trivial, no perſon ſo contemptible, as not to diſmay him, and put him upon ſanguinary precautions. Of the eminent perſons, either of the ſenatorial or equeſtrian order, he was under perpetual apprehenſions, and making daily victims: their wealth

He lives in continual agonies and apprehenſions.

[q] Suet. c. 5. Dio, p. 767. Chron. Alexand. p. 599.
[r] Dio, ibid. Suet. c. 16.

wealth and race, their poverty, names, and quality, frightened him; he feared friends and enemies; thoſe who adviſed him in council, thoſe who diverted him at his leiſure hours, his moſt intimate friends and confidents, were all martyrs to his jealouſy and fury: he dreaded all men and every thing, ſeveral of his freed-men he put to death, depoſed the commander of the prætorian guards, diſcharged great numbers of officers, &c. But the more he made others ſuffer, the faſter he multiplied his own torments. At length he would not ſuffer any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had firſt ſecured their chains in his hands [s]. A young child, with whom he uſed to divert himſelf, having one day, while the emperor was aſleep, taken a paper from under his head to play with it, the empreſs happening to meet him, deſired to ſee it; when, to her great ſurpriſe, ſhe found it contained the names of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons deſtined to ſlaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with thoſe of Norbanus, of Petronius Secundus, captains of the prætorian guards, and of Parthenius, the emperor's chamberlain. To theſe Domitia immediately communicated the whole, and by them a reſolution was, without further deliberation, taken to diſpatch the tyrant, before he had time to put his bloody deſign in execution [t]. Of this Suetonius takes no notice; but nevertheleſs tells us, that Domitian periſhed by a conſpiracy of his friends and freed-men, not without the privity of his wife [u]. The death of Clemens haſtened, according to the ſame writer, his own ruin [w], either becauſe the cruelty he exerciſed towards thoſe of his own family occaſioned a general dread and deſpair, or becauſe it provoked Stephanus, who was a freed-man and procurator to Domitilla, the wife of Clemens, and beſides was at that time accuſed of having embezzled part of her effects [x]. Be that as it will, Stephanus not only joined the conſpirators, but, as he was a man of great ſtrength, took upon him to diſpatch the tyrant [y]. Domitian had, if Suetonius is to be credited, long before an apprehenſion, not only of the year and day, but of the hour and manner of his death, having been forewarned of what in the end befel him, when he was but a child. One night his father Veſpaſian,

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

[s] Dio, p. 766. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] Suet. c. 14. [w] Idem, c. 15. [x] Philoſt. ibid. l. vii. c. 10. [y] Dio, ibid. Suet. c. 17.

Veſpaſian, who gave great credit to the predictions of aſtrologers, and retained one of them, by name Seleucus, conſtantly about him, obſerving that Domitian at ſupper abſtained from muſhrooms, derided him as one ignorant of his own fate, ſince he ſeemed to be under greater apprehenſion of poiſon, than of the ſword. This Domitian ever after remembered, and was thence ſtrangely affected by the bare ſight of a drawn ſword or any other weapon. From this diffidence and fear it was, that, however ambitious, he refuſed the new and extraordinary honour that was decreed for him, namely, that as often as he was conſul, a certain number of Roman knights, choſen by lot, ſhould walk before him amongſt his lictors in their robes, with lances in their hands. When the time which he chiefly dreaded and ſuſpected drew near, his jealouſy encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the gallery, in which he uſually walked, to be ſet round with a certain ſtone called phengites, by which images were reflected as in a looking-glaſs; ſo that he could diſcover what was done behind him [z]. The day before he was murdered, he ordered ſome choice fruit, which were preſented to him, to be reſerved againſt the next day, adding, If it be my fortune to uſe them: then turning to thoſe about him, To morrow, ſaid he, the moon will appear bloody in Aquarius, and ſomething will happen which will be much talked of. About midnight he was ſo terrified, that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the forum to adminiſter juſtice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, the time which he chiefly dreaded. Having therefore aſked, what time of the day it was, one of the conſpirators, on purpoſe to deceive him, told him, it was noon. Whereupon overjoyed, as if he had happily eſcaped all danger, he thought of nothing but abandoning himſelf to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the Roman faſhion, before dinner, Parthenus, his chief chamberlain, accoſting him, told him, he had ſomething of great importance to impart to him, and ſuch as could not be deferred. Hereupon the emperor, ordering all his attendants to withdraw, retired to his chamber, where Parthenius introduced Stephanus to him, who the better to diſguiſe his deſign, had appeared for ſome days with his left

His jealouſy.

He ſeems to have ſome knowledge of his death.

[z] Suet c. 14.

left arm wrapt up and in a ſling, as if he had received ſome hurt. He preſented to Domitian a memorial, wherein he pretended to diſcover a dangerous conſpiracy formed by his couſin Flavius Clemens, whom he averred to be ſtill alive, and by ſeveral others, whoſe names were all ſet down with the places of their abode. While the emperor was reading the memorial with great attention, Stephanus drawing ſuddenly a dagger, which he kept concealed, ſtruck it into his belly. The emperor finding himſelf wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and to run for aſſiſtance; but under his pillow was found only a ſcabbard, and the doors were all locked and well ſecured. Domitian, notwithſtanding his wound, ſtruggled ſome time with Stephanus, and even threw him with great violence to the ground, ſtriving to wreſt the dagger out of his hand, and with his fingers, tho' all cut and mangled, to thruſt out his eyes. At length Parthenius, who had withdrawn when Stephanus came in, fearing ſome of the guards might, in the mean time, hearing the noiſe, come to his relief, opened the door of the chamber; and falling upon the emperor with Claudianus, Maximus, Satureius, and a celebrated gladiator, diſpatched him with many wounds. Many, who were not privy to the conſpiracy, alarmed at the noiſe, haſtened to the emperor's apartment; and, finding him wallowing in his blood, killed the brave Stephanus. The other conſpirators made their eſcape as ſoon as the murder was perpetrated [a]. Thus died Domitian, notwithſtanding all his precautions, and his pretended divinity, after having lived forty-four years, ten months and twenty-ſix days, and reigned fifteen years and five days. For his death the common people ſhewed neither grief nor joy; but the ſoldiers, whoſe pay he had encreaſed, and with whom he often ſhared his rapines, bewailed him more than they had done either Veſpaſian or Titus; and would have raiſed great diſturbances, had not their officers, as moſt of them were concerned in the conſpiracy, reſtrained them. The troops quartered in the country of the Getæ, were ready to revolt when they underſtood he had been aſſaſſinated; but the philoſopher Dion

He is wounded by Stephanus.

And diſpatched by him, and the other conſpirators.

He is regretted by the troops.

[a] Idem, c. 17. Dio, p. 676. Philoſt. in vit. Apoll. Ty. p. 485.

Dion Chryſoſtomus, who had retired to that province, as we have related above, checked their fury, by a ſpeech which he made to the mutinous legion upon the guilt of tyrants, and puniſhments due to ſuch as abuſe their power, to the oppreſſion of the people commited to their care [b]. But, on the contrary, the ſenate could not diſguiſe their joy: they aſſembled in haſte, and after having, in the moſt opprobrious manner imaginable, reviled his memory, they commanded ladders to be immediately brought, in order to pull down, and tear to pieces all his images. An infinite number of ſtatues of gold and ſilver, erected to him in the different quarters of the city, were by their orders broken and melted down; his triumphal arches were overturned, and his name declared infamous; nay, they enacted a decree, commanding all inſcriptions, in which he was mentioned, to be razed, his name to be ſtruck out of the conſular tables, his body to be thrown into the Tiber, and his memory to be aboliſhed for ever [c]. Several antient inſcriptions are ſtill to be ſeen, in which the name of Domitian is razed [d]. All his acts were annulled, and thoſe whom he baniſhed recalled. A woman, by name Phyllis, who had been charged with the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, cauſed his body to be privately conveyed upon a bier, as that of a perſon of the meaneſt condition, to a country-houſe ſhe had at a ſmall diſtance from the city; where ſhe burnt it, and carrying the aſhes, without being obſerved, to the temple which he had built for the Flavian family, mixed them with thoſe of Julia the daughter of Titus, whom ſhe had likewiſe brought up. Domitian was the laſt emperor of the Flavian family, and likewiſe the laſt of thoſe princes, who are commonly ſtyled the twelve Cæſars.

The joy of the ſenate.

His ſtatues broken, and his acts annulled.

As the celebrated philoſopher Apollonius Tyaneus acted a chief part in the late revolutions of the Roman empire, and made at this time a great figure in the world, a ſuccinct account of his life and actions cannot be looked upon as foreign to the preſent ſubject, nor be ill received by our readers. Of the other writers who flouriſhed under Domitian, we

Some account of the celebrated philoſopher Apollonius Tyaneus.

[b] Suet. c. 22. Philoſt. ibid. p. 492. [c] Suet. ibid. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769. Macrob. Saturn. l. v. c. 12. Lactan. perſec. c. 3. [d] Goltz. p. 234.

we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (F). Apollonius was born three or four

(F) Theſe were Quintilian, Valerius Flaccus, Martial, Statius, Juvenal, Silius, &c. Marcus Fabius Quintilianus was, according to St. Jerom and Auſonius, a native of Calagorina, now Calahorra, in Old Caſtile. What profeſſion his father followed, we find no-where recorded; for all we know of him is, that he wrote ſome declamations, which are quoted by his ſon (15). Our Quintilian ſtudied rhetoric under Domitius Afer, who was ſtricken in years when Quintilian was very young (16), and died, as is plain from Tacitus (17), in the fifth year of Nero's reign. Hence it is manifeſt, that Quintilian did not come firſt to Rome with the emperor Galba, as St. Jerom ſuppoſes (18); neither can we conclude, as ſome have done (19), from his having ſtudied at Rome while he was very young, that he was born there. He pleaded ſeveral cauſes at Rome before queen Berenice (20), and conſequently under Veſpaſian; for in his reign Berenice came to Rome, and was by Titus ſent back to her own country, in the very beginning of his reign: Veſpaſian having ſettled a ſalary upon the profeſſors of eloquence, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, Quintilian was the firſt who opened a free ſchool at Rome. He diſcharged that important office with great reputation, and to the ſatisfaction of all, for the ſpace of twenty years; during which time he acquired great wealth, what by a ſalary, what by the preſents made him by the parents of the children whom he inſtructed (21). Both Juvenal and Martial ſpeak of him as an able orator; and Pliny the younger, who was one of his diſciples, ſeems to have entertained a high opinion of him. After he had taught publicly for twenty years, he reſigned his charge, and writ a book about the cauſes of the decay of eloquence (22). Whether this be the dialogue which is commonly aſcribed to Tacitus, we will not take upon us to determine, there being, as to this particular, a great diſagreement amongſt authors. When Quintilian had finiſhed this treatiſe, he was prevailed upon by his friends to undertake a more laborious work, viz. his twelve books of rhetoric, which will be ever admired by all perſons of taſte and judgment. This performance coſt him two years labour, and it was much againſt his will that he publiſhed

(15) Quint. l. ix. c. 3. (16) Idem, l. v. c. 7. (17) Tacit. annal. xiv. c. 19. (18) Hier. chron. (19) Vide P. Pagi, p. 432. (20) Quint. l. iv. c. 1. (21) Martial. l. ii. epig. 90. Auſon. de Moſ. p. 268. Sidon. car. ix. ver. 318. (22) Quint. præfat. & l. vi. p. 177.

four years before the common chriſtian æra; for he is ſaid to

publiſhed it before he had kept it by him for ſome time, in order to examine it as the work of another. It is inſcribed to one Marcellus Victorius, and filled with commendations of Domitian, altogether unworthy of a man of Quintilian's character (23). While he was employed in compoſing this work, Domitian charged him with the education of his ſiſter's grandſons, as we related above (24). He was afterwards honoured with the conſular ornaments, at the recommendation of Flavius Clemens, then in great favour with the emperor (35). Auſonius ſeems to inſinuate, that, after having acquired conſiderable wealth at Rome, he was, by what misfortune we know not, reduced to earn a livelihood by teaching rhetoric at Beſancon and Lions. Perhaps upon the death of Clemens, who was his chief patron, he was baniſhed Rome (26). Whether it was to him or to another of the ſame name, that Pliny the younger preſented, in a moſt genteel and obliging manner, a conſiderable ſum, on occaſion of the marriage of his daughter with Nonius Celer, has by ſome writers been queſtioned (27). Sidonius Apollinaris beſtows high encomiums upon Quintilian, and equals him to the moſt elegant writers of antiquity (28). As for the declamations which paſs under the name of Quintilian, and are frequently mentioned by the antients, it is evident, they were not written by him, but either by his father, or, as a modern author conjectures (28), by his grandfather, ſince Seneca the elder, the father of Seneca the philoſopher, who flouriſhed in the reign of Auguſtus, ſpeaks of the author of theſe declamations as a perſon more antient than himſelf (29). This is the opinion of M. Pithou concerning the declamations aſcribed to our Quintilian, which he publiſhed in 1580, and inſcribed to the celebrated Thuanus. Beſides theſe, there are nineteen declamations more, commonly thought to have been written by Quintilian; but by Voſſius aſcribed to Poſthumus the younger, who as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory, aſſumed the name of Cæſar, and that of Auguſtus in Gaul, about the year 260 (30).

C. Valerius

(23) Idem, l. iv. præfat. (24) Idem, ibid. (25) Auſon. conſ. p. 387, (26) Idem ibid. (27) Plin. l. vi. epiſt. 32. P. Pagi, p. 247. (28) Sid. Apollin. l. v. epiſt. 10. & l. ii. car. ver. 190. & l. ix. ver. 318. (28) M. Pithou, in præfat. ad Thuan. (29) Sen. declam. l. x. p. 105. (30) Voſſ. rhet. c. 15.

to have lived an hundred years, and died ſoon after the acceſſion

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus was a native of Padua, as is evident from Martial (31), and not of Setia in Campania, as ſome have conjectured from the name of Setinus. He wrote an epic poem on the voyage of the Argonauts, divided into eight books, which he began in the reign of Veſpaſian, to whom it is inſcribed, and continued under Domitian; for he was, according to Voſſius, prevented by death from putting the laſt hand to it (32). He died while Quintilian was writing his books of rhetoric, that is, in the latter end of Domitian's reign. Quintilian (33) and Martial (34) commend his performance; but the moſt able critics amongſt the modern writers ſpeak of it with the utmoſt contempt, diſcover in it a great many material faults, and few, if any, beauties (35).

The poet M. Valerius Martialis, ſo famous for his epigrams, was a native of Bilbilis, (36), which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent city of Calataïud in the kingdom of Arragon (37). He was born in the reign of Claudius, came to Rome in that of Nero, being then twenty years old, and lived there thirty years (38), favoured by the emperors, eſpecially by Domitian, whom on all occaſions he flatters in a moſt ſhameful manner. Upon that prince's death he left the city, and retired to his own country; where after three years, which he paſſed without writing, he was prevailed upon by Terentius Priſcus to compoſe his twelfth book, in which he ſpeaks of the emperors Nerva and Trajan (39). Pliny, in whoſe commendation he had written an epigram, had a particular kindneſs and eſteem for him; whence he preſented him, upon his departure from Rome, with a ſum of money to defray the expences of his journey (40). As to his writings, the emperor Lucius Verus uſed to call him his Virgil (41); but few, either before or ſince that prince's time, ſeem to have entertained ſuch a mighty opinion of his compoſitions. Scaliger approves of what he himſelf wrote of his epigrams viz. that ſome of them were good, ſome indifferent, and ſome bad. Moſt critics have found fault with his

(31) Martial. l. i. epigr. 62, 77, 87. (32) Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 46. (33) Quint. l. 10. c. 1. (34) Mart. ibid. (35) Vide Bail. poet. c. 1163. p. 396. (36) Mart. l. xii. epig. 18. (37) Baudr. & Bail. poet. p. 412. (38) Voſſ. ibid. p. 46. (39) Mart. l. xii. præf. epig. 18, 4, 6, 8. & l. x. epig. 34. (40) Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 21. (41) Lamprid. vit. ver. p. 15.

ceſſion of Nerva to the empire, which happened in the ninety-ſixth

his thoughts, his ſtyle, and, above all, with his puns, which are often very low, and with his pretended witticiſms (42). Beſides, ſome of his epigrams are, for their lewdneſs, infamous, perhaps beyond any thing written in the Latin tongue. His epigrams are compriſed in fourteen books; beſides which, that de ſpectaculis is commonly aſcribed to him, tho' Voſſius takes it to be a collection of verſes written partly by Martial, and partly by other poets of that time, upon the ſhews which Titus exhibited in the year eighty of the chriſtian æra (43). Martial died, as we conjecture from Pliny's letters, about the end of the firſt century. He is by Lampridius (44) ſurnamed Cocus, perhaps becauſe his father, or he himſelf in his youth, followed that mean profeſſion.

Statius flouriſhed at the ſame time; but is never mentioned by Martial, which ſome aſcribe to jealouſy, Statius being highly eſteemed by Domitian, on account of his making, with extraordinary eaſe, extemporary verſes upon any ſubject whatever; which Martial durſt not attempt. He wrote two epic poems, viz. the Thebais, compriſed in twelve books, and the Achilleis, which conſiſts only of two, the poet being prevented by death from accompliſhing that work (45). They are both inſcribed to Domitian. Beſides theſe two poems, he wrote ſeveral other pieces upon various occaſions, which have likewiſe reached us, under the title of Sylvæ, and are comprehended in five books. His compoſitions were mightily eſteemed at Rome in his own time, and are ſtill admired by the young poets; nay, Julius Scaliger is of opinion, that of all the antient poets he comes neareſt to the inimitable Virgil. But better judges look upon Statius rather as a bad hiſtorian than a good poet, and deſpiſe his bombaſt ſtyle, and odd expreſſions. His Sylvæ, which were for the moſt part written off-hand, and without premeditation, are by moſt critics more eſteemed than his epic poems, there being in them ſome very good thoughts, mixed with ſuch as are quite trivial and common (46). Some writers have confounded P. Statius Papinius, who was a native of Naples, with Statius Surculus, or rather Uſulus, who was born in Toloufe, and, in the reign of Nero, taught rhetoric in Gaul (47). Statius acquired great fame by his Thebais, but no wealth; whence he was obliged to write pieces for the theatre, and ſupport himſelf by

(42) Vide Bail. ibid. (43) Voſſ. poet. Lat. c. 3. (44) Lamp. in vit. Alex. p. 126. (45) Bail. ibid. p. 425. (46) Idem ibid. p. 426. (47) Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 45.

ſixth year of the chriſtian æra. The ſurname of Tyaneus

by that means (48). One Placidus Lactantius, who flouriſhed in the ſixth century, wrote a learned comment upon Statius, which has not reached our times (49).

Decius Junius Juvenalis was contemporary with Statius and Martial, and continued to write under Nerva and Trajan; for he ſpeaks of the baniſhment of Marius Priſcus, who was condemned in the third year of Trajan's reign, and one hundredth of the chriſtian æra (50). He was born at Aquinum, whence he came to Rome while he was yet very young, and there gained great credit by his ſatires, which were read by many Romans, who peruſed no other book (51). It were much to be wiſhed, that in cenſuring the manners of others, he had not ſhewed himſelf quite deſtitute of modeſty, nor inveighed againſt the abuſes which prevailed in his time, in a manner rather calculated to teach his readers to be vicious, than to inſpire them with averſion to vice. From his life, written many ages ſince, and quoted by Sidonius Apollinaris (52), it appears, that a player, in great favour at court, offended at ſome verſes of his ſeventh ſatire, had intereſt enough with the emperor to get him removed from Rome and ſent into Egypt, to command a legion quartered in the utmoſt bounds of that province; where he died ſoon after of grief, being fourſcore when he was obliged to undertake that journey. Some writers conjecture this player to have been one Pylades, who was highly favoured by Trajan. Quintilian in all likelihood alluded to Juvenal, when he wrote, that, in his time lived ſome poets, authors of ſatires, who would one day be ranked amongſt the beſt writers (53). Salmaſius is of opinion, that the antient ſcholiaſt of Juvenal was contemporary with Spartianus, who flouriſhed under Dioclefian and Conſtantine the great (54). Julius Scaliger and ſome other critics prefer Juvenal to Horace; but now-a-days few, if any, men of taſte acquieſce to their judgment, thinking they ſufficiently honour Juvenal, by placing him amongſt the Latin ſatiriſts next to Horace, but next at a great diſtance.

Caius Silius Italicus wrote a poem, highly commended by Martial (55), on the ſecond Punic war. Before he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, he had pleaded many years at the bar, and had even been conſul; which office he diſcharged

(48) Juv. ſat. vii. ver. 83. (49) Voſſ. ibid. (50) Juv. ſat. iv. (51) Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 374. (52) Sid. Apoll. carm. ix. ver. 274. (53) Quint. l. x. c. 1. (54) Salmaſ. in Spartian. p. 162. (55) Mart. l. iv. epig. 14.

neus he borrowed from the city of Tyana in Cappadocia, the

the year that Nero was killed. He is not by our modern critics much eſteemed as a poet; but greatly commended for the purity of his ſtyle, wherein he is thought to excel all the writers of his time (56). He adheres with great exactneſs to truth, and relates ſome events, which we read no-where elſe (57). He died in the ſecond year of the reign of Trajan, by abſtaining from all food, being no longer able to bear the pain occaſioned by an impoſtume, which the phyſicians could not cure (58). He died the laſt of all thoſe who had been conſuls under Nero, and was himſelf the laſt conſul under that prince (59). From what he ſays of Domitian (60) it is plain, that he wrote after the war with the Dacians. Moſt writers have ſuppoſed him to be a native of Italica, and thence called Italicus; but Italicus was, as appears from the letters of Pliny and the conſular tables, not an epithet, but his name; and beſides had he been born in Italica, he would have thence been called Italicanus, or Italicenſis (61).

Voſſius is of opinion, that Terentianus, who, in Martial's time, governed Syene in Egypt (62), is the ſame perſon with Terentianus Maurus, who wrote a poem on the meaſure of verſes, which has reached our times, and is greatly eſteemed by all perſons of taſte; but others aſcribe that excellent performance to Poſthumius Terentianus, to whom Longinus, about the year 270, inſcribed his book "on the ſublime." Several other poets are mentioned by Martial as flouriſhing at this time, namely Curtius Montanus, Turnus, and Scæva Memor, who were brothers; Aruntius Stella, Codrus or Cordus, Paceius, Fauſtus, Rubrenus Lappa, M. Unicus, Ligurinus, Theodorus, Canius, Licinianus, Voconius Victor, and Paſſienus Paulus (63). Turnus acquired, it ſeems, great reputation by his ſatires, and was, though of a mean deſcent, very powerful at court under the emperors Titus and Domitian (64). Scaliger aſcribes to Scæva Memor, upon what grounds he has not thought fit to impart to us, the tragedy entitled Octavia, which is commonly believed to have been written by Seneca (65). Suidas mentions one

(56) Vide Bail. poet. p. 392. (57) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 29. (58) Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 7. (59) Idem ibid. (60) Silius Ital. l. iii. p. 51. (61) Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 42. & Bail. poet. p. 388. (62) Martial. l. i. epig. 87. & Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 47. (63) Vide Voſſ. ibid. (64) Juv. ſat. i. p. 4. Mart. l. vii. epig. 96. (65) Voſſ. ibid. p. 48.

the place of his nativity. His birth was foretold and accompanied, if the author of his life is to be credited [e], by many prodigies. When he was but fourteen years old, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Pythagoric philoſophy, firſt at Tarſus, the capital of Cilicia, and afterwards at Ægæ, another city of the ſame province, under the direction of one Euxenes, whoſe manners did not anſwer his profeſſion. But Apollonius following his precepts, without regarding his manners, retired at the age of ſixteen to a houſe in the country, led there a life of great auſterity, abſtaining, purſuant to the maxims of his ſect, from all manner of fleſh, ſuffering his hair to grow, going barefoot, and clad only in linen, that he might uſe nothing proceeding from any living creature. From his country-houſe he removed, after ſome time, to the temple of Æſculapius in the city of Ægæ, where he ſoon became known, great numbers of votaries flocking daily to the temple of that pretended deity, for the preſervation or recovery of their health. There Apollonius began to ſet up for a cenſor and reformer of manners, having already, it ſeems, a mighty opinion of his own virtue [f]. His father dying about the time that Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, was accuſed of having betrayed the Romans, that is, about the ſeventeenth year of the chriſtian æra, he took poſſeſſion of his inheritance; but reſerved a ſmall ſhare of it for himſelf; the greateſt part of it he yielded to his brother, who led a vicious and diſſolute life, from which he was by this means retrieved; the reſt, ſave a very ſmall portion, he divided amongſt his neceſſitous relations. Being thus diſengaged from every thing that could divert him from the ſtudy of philoſophy and the practice of virtue, he paſſed five years in ſilence, agreeable to the cuſtom of the Pythagorics; wherein he found, as he himſelf

He applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the Pythagoric philoſophy. The auſterity of his life.

And diſintereſtedneſs.

one Epaphroditus, author of ſeveral books upon the grammar; which have been long ſince loſt. He was a native of Bœotia, had been ſlave to Modeſtus governor of Egypt; but afterwards became famous at Rome in the reign of Nero, and died in that of Nerva, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age (66).

[e] Philoſt. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 3. [f] Idem, c. 6—9.

(66) Suid. p. 966.

ſelf owned, great difficulty. During that time, he appeaſed, ſays the author of his life, ſeveral tumults and ſeditions in Cilicia and Pamphylia, eſpecially at Aſpenda, one of the chief cities in the latter province, where the populace roſe, and were ready to burn the chief magiſtrate alive, for not obliging ſome of the wealthy inhabitants to produce their corn, during the famine, and ſell it at a reaſonable price. He went afterwards to Antioch, to Epheſus, and to ſeveral cities, where he took upon him to revive the worſhip of ſome deities or idols, which now began to be neglected. He practiſed every-where ſecret myſteries, to which thoſe alone were admitted, who had obſerved ſilence for the ſpace of four years. He took upon him the character of legiſlator, pretending to require nothing of others, but what he had performed himſelf: he even boaſted a thorough knowledge of all languages, without ever having learnt them; and had the impudence to give out, that the moſt ſecret receſſes of mens hearts and their moſt private thoughts lay open to him [s]. However, he had yet but ſeven diſciples, and theſe too abandoned him, as ſoon as he declared his intention of travelling as far as India, to viſit the philoſophers there, known by the name of Bramans, or Bracmanes; ſo that he left Antioch, attended only by two domeſtics; but at Niniveh was joined by Damis, a native of that place, who of all the diſciples he ever had, proved the moſt addicted to him; for he obſerved with great attention, and carefully regiſtered, not only his moſt minute actions, but even his words. Theſe memoirs of Damis falling afterwards into the hands of Julia Auguſta, the wife of the emperor Severus, ſhe imparted them to Philoſtratus, who chiefly copied from them what he wrote of his pretended hero. Apollonius, on his journey from Niniveh to Babylon, learned, as he paſſed through Meſopotamia, what to his time had been a great ſecret, namely, that of underſtanding the anſwers of the oracles delivered by birds. Thus this wiſe philoſopher adopted the follies peculiar to each country through which he paſſed. Upon his arrival at Babylon, he was received by the mages of the place, with whom he often conferred in private. Philoſtratus deſcribes Babylon as a city above ſeventy miles in compaſs, with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, as if it had been no leſs magnificent and beautiful

His impudence and preſumption.

His favourite diſciple Damis.

He arrives at Babylon.

[s] Idem, c. 10—25.

beautiful in the time of Apollonius, than formerly in that of Nebuchadonezzar; whereas it is plain from Pliny, who was contemporary with Apollonius, that Babylon then lay in ruins, and ſcarce any building remained, except the temple of Belus [h]. Trajan, who, not many years after, was prompted by a commendable curioſity to viſit ſo celebrated a place, found it quite buried in its ruins [i]; and Pauſanias, who wrote in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, tells us, that Babylon, the greateſt city the ſun ever ſaw, had in his time nothing left but its walls. Theſe remained long after, the ſpace within being made a park by the Parthian kings for the keeping of wild beaſts, and the diverſion of hunting. It is therefore plain, that Philoſtratus was no leſs miſtaken in his deſcription of Babylon, than he is in ſuppoſing, that the kings of Parthia, in the time of Apollonius, reſided there, it being plain from Strabo, that they then paſſed the winter at Cteſiphon near Seleucia, and the ſummer at Ecbatana [k]. He tells us, that the king's name who then reigned was Vardanes, and that, two years and two months before, he had recovered his kingdom, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by his brother Gotarzes, adding, that Apollonius paſſed twenty months at the court, and found, about ſix months after, the ſame prince ſtill on the throne [l]; ſo that according to Philoſtratus, Vardanes muſt have reigned four years and upwards: whereas it is plain from Tacitus [m], that Vardanes began to rule over the Parthians in the ſeventh year of Claudius's reign, and was dead ſome time before the end of the ninth. Apollonius left Babylon, and, taking leave of the king, ſet out for India; where he was received with great marks of eſteem by a king named Phraothes, of whom Philoſtratus relates wonders; and by him introduced to Hiarchus, the chief of the Bramans, who at that time was but eighteen years old. If what Philoſtratus relates of theſe philoſophers be true, they were far from being gods, tho' they impiouſly paſſed themſelves for ſuch upon the undiſcerning multitude [n]. Apollonius paſſed four months with them, held frequent conferences with the chief men amongſt them, to which not even Damis was admitted, and ever after entertained a mighty opinion of their ſect. After he had

His travels to India.

[h] Plin. l. vi. c. 26. [i] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785. [k] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743. [l] Philoſt. ibid. l. i. c. 15, 19. [m] Tacit. annal. xi. c. 8, 9, 10. [n] Philoſt. l. iii. c. 6, & 9.

had learned all the myſteries of their profeſſion, he left India; and returning by ſea, landed at the mouth of the Euphrates, or rather the Tigris; went from thence by land to Babylon, then to Niniveh, and from Niniveh to Antioch. He was not, it ſeems, much admired at Antioch; for, after a ſhort ſtay in that city, he removed to Ionia, and ſettled in that country, reſiding ſometimes at Epheſus, and ſometimes at Smyrna [o]. He is ſaid to have undertaken with incredible ſucceſs the reformation of manners, firſt at Epheſus, and afterwards in the other cities of Ionia, reclaiming, what by his precepts, what by his exemplary life, ſuch at were entirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and iniquity [p]. From Ionia he went to Ilium, where he embarked for Leſbos, and from thence ſailed to Athens, in which city he reformed innumerable abuſes, and utterly aboliſhed the inhuman ſpectacles of gladiators. He travelled all over Greece, reviving every-where the antient ſuperſtition of the Greeks, and eſtabliſhing the idolatrous worſhip of the gods. The Eleans invited him to the ſports, which were to be celebrated on occaſion of the CXth olympiad, ſeven years before Nero undertook the cutting of the iſthmus, and conſequently in the year of the chriſtian æra 61. He complied with their invitation, and, by his warm exhortations, inſpired many both Greeks and foreigners, with the love of virtue and abhorrence of vice. At Corinth he was kindly received, and ever after admired by Demetrius, the moſt celebrated Cynic of thoſe days, and his diſciple Menippus. At Lacedæmon, where he paſſed great part of the winter, he is ſaid to have perſuaded the inhabitants to reſume their antient manner of living [q]. But of this great and remarkable reformation, no notice is taken by any other writer. In the beginning of the ſpring, he ſailed from Lacedæmon to Crete, and from thence to Rome, where he ſtayed performing wonderful things, related at length by the author of his life, till he was obliged to quit the city, in virtue of an edict enacted by Nero, driving all philoſophers out of Rome. He then retired to Cadiz, where, in a private conference with Galba, he encouraged him to revolt from Nero, and aſſume the ſovereignty. From Cadiz he croſſed over to

Returns to Aſia, and there undertakes the reformation of manners.

He encourages Galba to revolt from Nero.

[o] Idem, c. 15, 16. [p] Idem, l. 4. c. 1, 2. [q] Idem c. 3——11.

to Africa, from Africa to Hetruria, and thence to Sicily, where he received the tidings of Nero's death. However, he would not return to Rome, but ſailed to Achaia or Greece, where he remained the winter, and early in the ſpring paſſed over into Egypt, where he was followed by vaſt crouds, the ſuperſtitious Egyptians flocking from all quarters to hear and ſee him. Philoſtratus would fain perſuade us, that Veſpaſian went into Egypt for the ſame purpoſe; but of the true motive of his journey, we have ſpoken elſewhere. However, Veſpaſian, who was not exempt, as Tacitus obſerves, from ſuch ſuperſtition, while he was in Egypt, went to viſit Apollonius, and ſeemed to entertain a mighty opinion of him. He conſulted him in private about the ſtate of his affairs, and paid great deference to his judgment. Dion and Euphrates, two celebrated philoſophers, adviſed Veſpaſian to renounce the ſovereignty, after he had overcome Vitellius, and reſtore the republic to its former liberty. But Apollonius oppoſed their ſentiments, which occaſioned a warm debate, Apollonius being, it ſeems, impatient of all contradiction. Veſpaſian followed the opinion of Apollonius, who thereupon took the liberty to inſtruct him how to govern with equity and moderation. Veſpaſian would have rewarded him with great generoſity for his excellent precepts; but the philoſopher would not accept the leaſt acknowledgment[r]. From Alexandria Veſpaſian departed for Rome, and Apollonius ſoon after for Ethiopia, with a deſign to viſit the philoſophers of that country, whom Philoſtratus calls Gymnoſophiſts; a name by all other writers given to the philoſophers of India. Of the thirty diſciples he had at this time ten only accompanied him in his journey, the others chuſing to remain at Alexandria. He was at firſt received very coldly by the Ethiopian philoſophers, who had been prejudiced againſt him by Euphrates; but they were ſoon reconciled to each other, and held ſeveral private conferences, which Apollonius interrupted to view the ſources of the Nile; but he did not go beyond the third cataract. He returned to Egypt, about the time that Titus took the city of Jeruſalem, which he entered on the eighth of September of the year 70. The next year Titus returned to Rome, and was met by Apollonius at Argos, who the ſame year travelled

Is conſulted by Veſpaſian.

Travels into Ethiopia.

[r] Idem. l. v. c. 3——14.

travelled all over Phœnicia, Ionia, Cilicia; viſited ſeveral cities of Greece; and, if Codinus is to be believed, went to Byzantium, and there ſet up ſeveral taliſmans, or magical figures, which remained till the year 870, when the emperor Baſilius cauſed them to be removed [s]. From Byzantium, he returned to Greece, and from thence to Rome; where he endeavoured to ſtir up the people againſt the emperor Domitian, and exhorted Nerva, who was afterwards emperor, to head them. Domitian was informed of his private practices, and at the ſame time told, that in the neighbourhood of Rome he had ſacrificed a child, in order to diſcover by viewing its entrails, what ſucceſs would attend Nerva, if he engaged in the conſpiracy. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the governor of Aſia, whither Apollonius was already retired, ordering him to ſeize him, and ſend him in chains to Rome. But Apollonius, before the order arrived, had left Aſia, in order to return to Rome. At Puteoli he found Demetrius the celebrated Cynic, who acquainted him with the emperor's edict, ordering all the philoſophers to depart Rome; and at the ſame time exhorted him to retire, leſt he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the rage of Domitian, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to all philoſophers, and to him in particular. Apollonius replied, that he could not follow his advice, without betraying Nerva; and that he was very ſure it was not in the power of the tyrant to put him to death. He therefore purſued his journey to Rome, in the habit peculiar to philoſophers; but obliged Damis, his only companion, to quit it, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered and ſeized [t]. He no ſooner arrived at Rome, than the emperor ordered Caſperius Ælianus, captain of the prætorian guards to ſeize him. Caſperius, who had a particular veneration for him, under pretence of examining him in private, inſtructed him how to make his defence, when ſummoned before the judges; and then, as he durſt not diſmiſs him, committed him to priſon; where Apollonius comforted his fellow priſoners, fifty in number, and encouraged them to bear their confinement, and the miſeries attending it, with conſtancy and patience. After he had been thus confined for the ſpace of ſix days, he was brought before the emperor, who examined him

Goes to Rome.

Where he is ſeized, and impriſoned by Domitian's orders.

[s] Georg. Codin. origines Conſtantinop. l. vii. c. 2——6.

[t] Philoſt. ibid.

him concerning the deſigns of Nerva. Apollonius anſwered, That Nerva had never entertained the leaſt thought of conſpiring againſt him, or aſſuming the ſovereignty, tho' he was at that time actually contriving, according to Philoſtratus, the means of depoſing the emperor, and ſeizing the empire, being inſtigated thereunto by Apollonius himſelf[u]. Domitian, finding he could draw no ſatisfactory anſwer from him, ordered his beard to be ſhaved, a great affront to a philoſopher; and commanded him to be led back to priſon, loaded with chains, from which, however, he was two days after diſcharged, at the requeſt of Caſperius. While he was in bonds, he aſſured Damis, who attended him even in priſon, that the emperor, notwithſtanding his great power, could not hurt him; and, in ſo ſaying, drew with great eaſe his leg out of the chain. He was a few days after brought again before the emperor; who, after having examined him in the preſence of many perſons of diſtinction, declared him innocent, and afterwards had a private conference with him, in which Apollonius diſplayed to him the great evils that muſt neceſſarily enſue from the prince's giving ear to informers. As for myſelf, ſaid he, I am not under the leaſt apprehenſion: you may cauſe me to be ſeized; but put me to death you cannot; that the laws of fate and my deſtiny will not allow. Apollonius, having thus ſpoke, diſappeared, and was ſeen that evening at Puteoli, three days journey diſtant from Rome[w]. From Puteoli he paſſed over into Sicily, and from thence into Greece, where he remained two years, followed and admired by vaſt crowds, and perſons of all ranks and ages, whom, by his precepts and example, he animated to deſpiſe wealth, and place their whole happineſs in the purſuit of virtue. From Greece he returned to Ionia, reſiding partly at Smyrna, and partly at Epheſus; but frequently viſiting all the cities of that province. While he was diſcourſing to a numerous aſſembly at Epheſus, the ſame minute that Domitian was ſlain, he began all on a ſudden to lower his voice, as if he had been ſeized with fear; but nevertheleſs purſued his diſcourſe for ſome time, tho' faintly, and often ſtopping, as if he had been intent upon ſomething elſe. At length he quite gave over ſpeaking, fixed his eyes ſtedfaſt on the ground; and, after a ſhort

Is brought before the emperor, and by him declared innocent.

Is acquainted with Domitain's death the very minute it happens.

[u] Idem, ibid. c. 3, 12, 14.

[w] Idem, c. 17.

ſhort ſilence, Strike home, he cried, ſtrike the tyrant home! As the numerous aſſembly was greatly ſurpriſed, he no ſooner returned to himſelf, than he bid them be of good cheer and rejoice; For the tyrant, added he, is dead; he is juſt now expired [x]. The ſame thing is related by Dion Caſſius, as an event not to be doubted; nay, he adds, that Apollonius, during his trance, as he calls it, named Stephanus, crying out ſo as to be heard by the whole aſſembly, Courage, brave Stephanus! courage! diſpatch the tyrant [y]. Nerva, who ſucceeded Domitian, had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he wrote to Apollonius, inviting him to Rome. The philoſopher returned anſwer, That by the decrees of fate, they were never more to ſee one another. However, ſome time after he wrote to the emperor a letter, filled with excellent precepts for governing with equity and moderation. This letter he ſent by Damis, whom he charged to deliver to the emperor ſeveral rules of government by word of mouth in his name. While Damis was at Rome he received advice, that Apollonius had diſappeared; whence he concluded, that he had ſent him to Rome, on purpoſe that he might not be preſent at his death: hence he is generally thought to have died this year, the firſt of Nerva's reign, and ninety-ſixth of the chriſtian æra. Damis, in his memoirs, made no mention of his death; and Philoſtratus declares, that in his time no one could give any probable account of it. Some pretended he died at Epheſus; others related, that he went into a temple at Lindus in the iſland of Rhodes, and was never afterwards ſeen. Philoſtratus aſſures us, that tho' he had travelled into ſeveral countries, he could no-where find his tomb, nor hear any certain account of the manner of his death [z]. This ſuccinct account of the life of Apollonius is ſwelled by Philoſtratus with a great number of miracles and predictions, upon which he makes long deſcants. Amongſt other miracles wrought by his hero, he tells us, that he reſtored to life a young woman of a conſular family; but at the ſame time ſeems to doubt, whether or no ſhe was quite dead: and truly, had he ever wrought ſuch a miracle, he would have been, as Euſebius rightly obſerves [a], more famous than he

Is invited to come by Nerva, but refuſes to go thither.

He diſappears.

Miracles aſcribed to him.

[x] Idem, l. viii. c. 10. [y] Dio, l. vii. p. 768

[z] Philoſt. l. viii. c. 13. [a] Euſeb. in Hier. p. 461.

he ever was. His prodigies are atteſted only by Philoſtratus, who, as Lipſius obſerves [m]; is guilty of many groſs miſtakes, and often contradicts himſelf in what relates to the Roman hiſtory. What can ſeem leſs probable than his account of what paſſed at the interview between Apollonius and Domitian? Euſebius calls his book a Romance; and Photius looks upon it as a heap of inconſiſtent fables [n]. Moſt the fathers ſpeak of it in the ſame ſtyle [o], as do likewiſe Suidas [p] and the moſt judicious among the modern writers, viz. Scaliger [q], Vives [r], Voſſius [s], Caſaubon [t], &c. Many of the pagans themſelves ſeem to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of Apollonius, notwithſtanding his boaſted virtue and miracles. Even thoſe who bore him no hatred looked upon him as a magician, and ſcrupled admitting him to their myſteries [u]; nay, the ſame opinion ſtill prevailed in the time of his panegyriſt Philoſtratus, as he himſelf witneſſes [w]. Lucian, ſpeaking of one of his favourite and moſt faithful diſciples, calls him a celebrated and profeſſed magician [x]. In the epitome of Dion Caſſius by Xiphilin, we read, that the wicked emperor Caracalla had a particular eſteem for Apollonius, whom he looked upon as the moſt accompliſhed impoſtor and ſorcerer the world had ever ſeen. No one can peruſe his life, tho' written with the utmoſt partiality, without diſcovering in all his actions a great deal of pride, arrogance, and preſumption, and an extraordinary opinion of his own virtue. Before his journey to India, when the image of the Parthian king was ſhewn him, and he commanded to adore, according to the cuſtom of the country, he returned to the king's officers this arrogant and haughty anſwer; The prince whom you adore, may reckon himſelf happy, if he deſerves by me to be only eſteemed and commended [y]. He imagined himſelf poſſeſſed of all virtues in an eminent degree, took upon him every-where the character of cenſor, legiſlator, inſtructor,

What opinion the antients entertained of him.

His pride, arrogance, and preſumption.

[m] Lipſ. Tacit. hiſt. l. iii. n. 80. [n] Euſeb. ibid. Phot. c. 44. p. 29. [o] Vide Aug. epiſt. xlix. Chryſ. in Jud. hom. iii. [p] Suid. p. 376. [q] Scaliger. in Euſeb. chron. [r] Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 15. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Caſaub. in Spart. p. 229. [u] Philoſt. l. iv. c. 6. l. viii. c. 8. [w] Idem, l. 2. c. 3. [x] Lucian. vit. Alex. p. 476. [y] Philoſt. l. i. c. 14, 15, 19.

inſtructor, &c. pretended to know every thing, to foreſee future events, to be acquainted with the moſt hidden thoughts of thoſe with whom he converſed; nay, he ſuffered himſelf to be by the multitude acknowledged for a god, and divine worſhip to be paid him; which he indeed once refuſed, but the only motive which prompted him to reject it was, fear of being envied [z]. Philoſtratus cries up his diſintereſtedneſs and the purity of his manners; but tho' he would receive no preſents from kings or emperors, yet he accepted, and even aſked, a conſiderable ſum of one of the pontiffs [a]. As to the purity of his manners, he was commonly thought not to be free from all blame [b]; at leaſt his favourite diſciples wallowed, if Lucian is to be credited, in all manner of lewdneſs [c]. As he held the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls, he cauſed a lion to be publicly adored, pretending, that the ſoul of Amaſis, one of the antient kings of Egypt, had paſſed into that animal [d]. Philoſtratus endeavours to excuſe, in the beſt manner he can, his hero for quarelling with the philoſopher Euphrates, on whom he lays all the blame. But either the ſame writer, or another of the ſame name, who had read the life of Apollonius, and often refers his readers to it, owns, that neither Apollonius nor Euphrates behaved on that occaſion as became philoſophers [e]. However, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts both of Apolnius and his panegyriſt, to diſcredit and cry down Euphrates, he was, two hundred years after his death, generally eſteemed the greateſt philoſopher of his time [f]. Apollonius himſelf, before their quarrel, ſpoke of him to Veſpaſian as a man of an unblemiſhed character, not foreſeeing for all his pretence to a prophetical ſpirit, that he was ſoon to change his ſtyle, and inveigh againſt him as one of the moſt wicked of men [g]. Pliny the younger, who was intimately acquainted with Euphrates, beſtows mighty encomiums upon him [h]; and Arrian, in his comments upon Epictetus,

[z] Idem, l. vii. c. 6. l. i. c. 20. l. viii. c. 2. l. iv. c. 10.
[a] Idem, l. viii. c. 7. [b] Philoſt. vit. ſophiſ. p 568.
[c] Lucian. vit. Alex. [d] Philoſt. vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 15.
[e] Philoſt. vit. ſoph. c. 7. p. 492. [f] Euſeb. in Hier. p. 464, 465. [g] Idem, ibid. p. 463. [h] Plin. l. i. epiſt. 10.

Epictetus, not only extols his eloquence, but commends him greatly for having lived like a philoſopher, before he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that profeſſion [i]. He died in the beginning of Adrian's reign, with whoſe permiſſion he put an end to the infirmities attending old age with a draught of poiſon [k]. He publiſhed ſome writings againſt Apollonius, which Philoſtratus promiſes to refute [l]. Eunapius ſeems to aſcribe other works to him upon more noble ſubjects, by which he gained great reputation [m]. As no one could give any certain account of the death of Apollonius, his countrymen, the inhabitants of Tyana, believed him immortal, and conſecrated a temple to him cloſe to their city [n]. His images were ſet up in many temples; and the emperors, inſtead of checking, countenanced this ſuperſtition, by the honours which they themſelves paid to the impoſtor. Adrian collected and lodged in the palace at Antium a great many of his letters [o]. Antonius Caracalla honoured him with divine worſhip, and conſecrated a temple to him [p]. The emperor Alexander kept his image in a private place of his palace, together with the images of our Saviour, of Abraham, and of ſeveral princes, who had governed with equity and moderation [q]. Vopiſcus tells us, that he read in certain memoirs, and alſo heard of perſons of credit, that the emperor Aurelian being reſolved to give up the city of Tyana to be plundered by his ſoldiers, Apollonius appeared to him, and diverted him from that deſign; and adds, that the emperor, convinced by that miraculous apparition, that Apollonius was a god, vowed to him an image, a temple, and a ſtatue [r]; but whether he performed his vow, Vopiſcus does not inform us; neither does he vouch the truth of the apparition, tho' he profeſſed a particular veneration for Apollonius, and even deſigned to write his life in Latin, as Philoſtratus had done in Greek, that his ſtupendous actions, ſays he, may be known to the whole world. But, notwithſtanding the great eſteem which ſeveral of the emperors had for him, and his many pretended miracles, he was at the beginning of the

Honours paid him after his death.

[i] Arrian. Epict. l. iii. c. 15. & l. ii. c. 8. [k] Dio, l. 69. p. 791. [l] Philoſt. l. i. c. 10. [m] Eunap. in vit. ſophiſt. præfat. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Philoſt. l. viii. c. 13, 14. [p] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 878. [q] Lamp. in vit. Veri, p. 123. [r] Vopiſc. in vit. Aurel.

the fourth century, generally looked upon as an impoſtor and a magician [s]. Eunapius, who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, attempted to retrieve the reputation of his pretended hero [t]; but was therein attended with no better ſucceſs, than a late writer of no mean character; for in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of men, falſehood muſt in the end yield, and truth prevail. Philoſtratus has tranſmitted to us ſeveral letters written by Apollonius, moſt of them very ſhort, with a long apology, which he had compoſed with a deſign to pronounce it before Domitian, not knowing [u], tho' a great prophet, that the emperor would not hear it, and that in writing it he laboured to no effect. Beſides this apology and a great number of letters to perſons of all ranks and conditions [w], he wrote a treatiſe upon judicial aſtrology, compriſed in four books [x], and another upon ſacrifices, wherein he pretended to ſhew with what kind of victims each deity was moſt pleaſed. The former treatiſe was not much eſteemed: but the latter was received with general applauſe. It is once quoted by Euſebius [y], and mentioned likewiſe by Suidas [z]. His theology, out of which Euſebius quotes a paſſage [a], and his treatiſe upon ſacrifices are in all likelihood one and the ſame work.

His works.

[s] Lact. l. 5. c. 3. [t] Eunap. in præfat. [u] Philoſt. l. viii. c. 3. [w] Idem, l. iii. c. 13. [x] Idem, l. iv. c. 6. [y] Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. iv. c. 13. p. 376. [z] Suid. [a] Euſeb. demonſt. evang. l. iii. c. 3.

CHAP.

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A GENERAL MAP of the ROMAN EMPIRE

Shewing the Situation of all its Provinces *&c of its* Seats *of its* Barbarous Nations *on their* Frontiers.

ATLANTIC OCEAN.

Picts

Hibernia

BRITAIN

Caledonia

Angles Saxons

Jutes

GERMANY

Saxons

Sicambri

Burgundians

Bavarians

Suevi

Goths & Vandals

Huns

Pannonia

The European Sarmatia

The Bastarnæ

Palus Maotis

SCYTHIA

Seine

Paris

Loire

GALLIA or GAUL

Segusiani

Lions

Provence

Rhone

Gallicia

Spain

Lusitania

Lisbon

Tarragona

Carthagena

Cadiz

Straits of Hercules

Tingis

Mauritania Tingitana

Mauritania Cæsariana

Mount Atlas

Getulia

PART of AFRICA.

ITALY

Rome

Brundusium

Sardinia

Sicily

Utica

Carthagena

Numidia

Tripolitana

LIBYA.

DESERTS of LIBYA.

Scythia

Dacia

Macedonia

Thrace

Epirus

Greece

Peloponnesus

THE EUXINE SEA.

Paphlagonia

Abidos

ASIA MINOR

Armenia

Assyria

Mesopotamia

The River Euphrates

Babylonia

Comagena

Syria

Cyprus

Phœnice

Palestine

Egypt

Alexandria

Cyrene

Temple of Ammon

ARABIA the DESERT.

ARABIA FELIX

THE RED SEA

The Deserts of Thebes

IBERIA

THE CASPIAN SEA

THE PERS

OCEAN.

Picts

Hibernia

BRITAIN

Cimbri

Angles

Saxons

Scandi

GERMANY

Burgundian

Bavarians

Seine

Paris

GAUL or GALLIA

Loire

Segnani

Pannonia

Quadi

Goths afterwards Huns

The European Sarmatia

The Bastarnæ

Palus Mæotis

The Cherso-nese

THE EUXINE SEA.

IBERIA

THE CASPIAN SEA

ORAL or SALT SEA

SCYTHIA IN ASIA.

Lions

Provence

Gallicia

Rhone

Aragona

Lusitania

Rome

ITALY

Dacia

Scythia

Thrace

Macedonia

Epirus

Greece

Peloponnesus

Sicily

Abydos

Paphlagonia

ASIA MINOR

Armenia

Assyria

Mesopotamia

Tigris

Euphrates

Comagena

Syria

Phœnicia

Cyprus

Rhodes

Carthagena

Cadiz

Straits of Hercules

Tingis

Mauritania Tingitana

Mauritania Cæsariana

Utica

Carthage

Mount Atlas

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Alexandria

Cyrene

Tripolitana

Getulia

PART of AFRICA.

LIBYA.

Egypt

Pelusium

ARABIA the DESERT.

Babylonia

THE PERSIAN GULPH

Temple of Ammon

DESERTS of LIBYA.

ARABIA FELIX

THE RED SEA

The Deserts of Thebes

J. Wheatley &c

A IN ASIA.

CHAP. XX.

From the death of Domitian, the laſt of the twelve Cæſars, to the death of Trajan, who brought the empire to its utmoſt grandeur and extent.

HAVING delivered in this and the foregoing volumes, purſuant to our plan, the hiſtory of Rome, from Romulus to the commonwealth, from the commonwealth to the empire, and continued it to the death of Domitian, the twelfth emperor, and the laſt of thoſe princes, who are commonly ſtyled the twelve Cæſars; we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the other emperors, from the reign of Domitian, to the removal of the imperial ſeat to Conſtantinople, thence to the diviſion of the empire, and from the diviſion to the hiſtory of both empires; of the weſtern, to the taking of Rome by Odoacer, when with Auguſtulus fell the very name of an empire in the weſt; of the eaſtern, to the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins, to its recovery by the Greeks; and finally, to its utter deſtruction by the Turks, whoſe hiſtory, from the firſt notice we find of them to the preſent time, will follow, as in its proper place. Theſe are the ſubjects we deſign to purſue in their order, not doubting, but they will prove as uſeful and entertaining as any of the preceding parts of this hiſtory, notwithſtanding the extraordinary ſucceſs which they have met with both at home and abroad, and which we had not vanity enough to have promiſed ourſelves in ſo difficult an undertaking. The foregoing chapter we cloſed with the death of Domitian, who was ſucceeded by Nerva, as was Nerva by Trajan. The reigns of theſe two excellent princes will ſupply us with matter for the preſent chapter.

M. Cocceius Nerva emperor.

THE death of Domitian was no ſooner divulged, than the ſenate aſſembled, and with one voice declared M. Cocceius Nerva emperor. He was a native of Narnia in Umbria; but his family came originally from the iſland of Crete, ſo

His family.

that he was neither by birth a Roman, nor deſcended from an Italian family. However, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been honoured in Rome with the conſular dignity. His grandfather, M. Cocceius Nerva, one of the moſt learned civilians in Rome, was conſul in the eighth year of Tiberius's reign and the twenty-ſecond of the chriſtian æra, accompanied that prince in his retirement, and, affected with the ſadneſs of the times, choſe, when in perfect health, a voluntary death [a]. His father, who bore the ſame name, was conſul in the fourth year of Claudius and fortieth of the chriſtian æra [b]. His mother, by name Plautilla, was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, being the daughter of one Lænas a conſular [c]. The emperor was born, according to Dion Caſſius [d], on the ſeventeenth of March, in the eighteenth year of Tiberius's reign and thirty-ſecond of the chriſtian æra, and was by Nero, in the twelfth year of his reign, honoured with the

His preferments.

prætorſhip and a ſtatue in the palace [e], having by his elegant poems (for he was one of the beſt poets of his time) gained the affection of that prince, who even inſcribed to him ſome of his poetical pieces [f]. Pliny ſpeaks of his epigrams and commends them [g]. He was conſul with Veſpaſian in the year 71, and with Domitian in 90 [h]. He

His humanity, generoſity, &c.

is commended by all the antients as a prince of a moſt ſweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generoſity, and one who looked upon himſelf as raiſed to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people; and truly the happineſs and welfare of thoſe who lived under him were, during the ſhort time he reigned, his only end and purſuit. He ſeems to have been naturally timorous [i]; and ſome writers charge both him and Trajan with exceſſive drinking [k]. Apollonius Tyaneus was the firſt, if Philoſtratus is to be credited, who ſolicited him to aſſume the ſovereignty, or at leaſt to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Domitian. Nerva hearkened to him; but his courage failed him, when the deſign was to be put in execution [l].

[a] Tacit. annal. iv. c. 8. Aur. Vict. epit. Eutrop. Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767. Front. aquæduct. p. 119. Onuph. in faſt. p. 198.
[b] Onuph. ibid. [c] Gruter. p. 246. [d] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771.
[e] Tacit. annal. xv. c. 7. [f] Martial. l. viii. epigr. 70. & l. ix. epigr. 27. [g] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 8. [h] Front. aquæd. p. 219. [i] Aur. Vict. in vit. Trajan. [k] Idem ibid.

cution [l]. Apollonius, however, did not ſcruple denying the whole to Domitian, aſſuring him, that Nerva, tho' equal to the greateſt honours, was ſo far from procuring them by unlawful means, that he would not accept them, if offered, dreading nothing ſo much, on account of his infirmities and his love of retirement, as being any-ways concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs [m]. However, Domitian, either acquainted with Nerva's deſign, or giving credit to the aſtrologers, who adviſed him to beware of Nerva, ſince his nativity ſeemed to promiſe him the empire, confined him to Tarentum in the year 94; and would have put him to death, had not a more kind aſtrologer aſſured the emperor, that Nerva, who was of a weak conſtitution and ſubject to many infirmities, would die in a few days [n]. Aurelius Victor writes, that Nerva, dreading the cruelty of Domitian, had retired to Gaul, and was there when he received the news of the tyrant's death, and his own aſſumption to the empire [o]. On the other hand, Dion Caſſius takes no notice of his baniſhment; but ſuppoſes him to have been at Rome when Domitian was murdered: for he tells us, that Parthenius and the other conſpirators offered the empire, before the aſſaſſination of Domitian, to ſeveral perſons; who, looking upon ſuch an offer as a ſnare laid for their deſtruction, declined it; but that at length Nerva, who daily expected to be ſacrificed to the jealouſy of the emperor, was prompted, by his own fear, to accept the ſovereign power, as the only means of preſerving his life [p]. Domitian therefore being killed on the eighteenth of September of the year 96, Nerva was the ſame day declared emperor by the ſenate, and, as ſuch, acknowledged by the prætorian guards, notwithſtanding their concern for the death of the late emperor, which they would have revenged, had they not been reſtrained by Petronius Secundus, one of their captains, and by Parthenius, Domitian's chief chamberlain [q]. Nerva had ſcarce aſſumed the ſovereignty, when a falſe report was ſpread, that Domitian was ſtill alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to diſcover the deſigns of ſuch as he ſuſpected: hence dread ſeized all, and the

Narrowly eſcapes death under Domitian.

Is acknowledged emperor by the ſenate and ſoldiery.

[l] Philoſt. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. vii. c. 3. [m] Idem ibid. c. 14. &. l. viii. c. 3. [n] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769. [o] Aur. Vict. in epit. [p] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 767. [q] Plin. panegyr. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769.

concourſe about the new emperor diſperſed in a moment. Nerva himſelf, naturally wary and timorous, was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, betrayed great diſmay in his countenance, and, fallen from the higheſt hopes, waited for preſent death, till Parthenius aſſured him, that the report was quite groundleſs. Hereupon recovering his former temper, he went firſt to the camp of the prætorian guards, and thence, after he had ſecured them by a promiſe of the uſual donative, to the ſenate, where he was received with the greateſt marks imaginable of eſteem and affection. Many congratulatory ſpeeches were made to him on this occaſion; but that of Arrius Antonius, grandfather to the emperor T. Antonius by his mother, was of a different nature from the reſt; for embracing the new emperor, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, "I am come, ſaid he, with the reſt, to con-
"gratulate the ſenate, the people of Rome, and the
"provinces of the empire, upon your advancement to this
"high poſt; but cannot pay the ſame compliment to
"you, who, after having, by your wiſdom and virtue,
"happily eſcaped the rage of ſo many wicked princes,
"plunge yourſelf into new dangers and troubles, being
"expoſed to the cenſure and hatred both of your friends
"and foes, eſpecially of the former, who will not fail,
"if any of their ſuits are denied, to become your moſt
"implacable enemies [r]". Nerva now confirmed in the ſovereignty both by the ſenate and ſoldiery, blended together two things, ſays Tacitus [s], once thought irreconcileable; public liberty and ſovereign power: for under him the Romans enjoyed all the former, and felt none of the evil effects of the latter [t]. He immediately delivered from their fears, and ſet at liberty, all thoſe who had been, under the late emperor, arraigned of treaſon, and recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed under colour of the ſame crime [u], cauſing their lands and inheritances to be reſtored to them, without the leaſt deduction. Pliny mentions many illuſtrious perſons, who returned from baniſhment on this occaſion [w]; and a medal ſtruck the following year, which has reached us, bears the following legend; 'exules Romæ redditi,'

The Romans happy under him.

[r] Aur. Vict in epit.
l. ix. epiſt. 13.
l. iv. epiſt. 11.

[s] Tacit. vit. Agrip. c. 3.
[u] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769.

[t] Plin.
[w] Plin.

redditi,' that is, the exiles reſtored to Rome [x]. However, he would not ſuffer Licinianus, who had been baniſhed for debauching a veſtal, to return to Italy; but gave him leave to paſs the remainder of his life in Sicily [y]. He enacted more ſevere laws againſt informers, than Titus had done, who abhorred that race of men; and cauſed all the ſlaves and freed-men to be put to death, who had informed againſt their maſters and patrons. Beſides theſe, many other informers were publicly executed, and among them a philoſopher, by name Seras. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, agreeable to the antient laws of Rome, a ſlave or freed-man to appear againſt his maſter in any accuſation whatſoever; and ordering, that no perſon ſhould, for the future, be accuſed of violated majeſty, or proſecuted for living after the manner of the Jews [z], by which words Dion, without all doubt, meant the Chriſtians. He ſolemnly ſwore, that no ſenator ſhould ever by his orders be put to death; and religiouſly obſerved his oath, tho' ſome of that body conſpired againſt him, as we ſhall relate anon. All the goods and effects belonging to particulars, which he found in the palace, he ordered to be immediately reſtored to the proprietors; leſſened the taxes; delivered the Jews from the cruelties and oppreſſions of the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the great ſatisfaction of the Romans, annulled the law of Auguſtus, ordering the twentieth part of each inheritance and legacy to be paid into the exchequer. He allowed no gold or ſilver ſtatues to be erected to him, retrenched all ſuperfluous expences, aboliſhing for that purpoſe divers ſacrifices and public ſhews; and as he ſtill wanted money wherewithal to relieve the neceſſitous citizens and reward his friends, he at laſt ſold great part of the gold and ſilver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own houſe and of the imperial palace, with ſeveral houſes and eſtates. In ſelling them, he was not difficult as to the price; but ſeemed overjoyed to have ſo favourable an opportunity of obliging many. He laid out a vaſt ſum upon a purchaſe of land, to be divided amongſt the poor of Rome, appointing ſome ſenators of known integrity, and amongſt the reſt one Corellus, highly eſteemed by Pliny [a],

Punishes all informers.

Aboliſhes the law of majeſty.

Redreſſes grievances.

His generoſity towards the people.

[x] Birag. numiſ. p. 144.
[y] Euſeb. l. iii. c. 20.
[z] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 769.
[a] Plin. l. vii. epiſt. 31.

to divide it amongſt the moſt indigent [b]. From ſeveral medals of this year appears, that he twice divided conſiderable ſums among the people, beſides the lands, and moreover a large quantity of corn [c]. The children of ſuch as were poor he cauſed to be brought up, in all the cities of Italy, at the public expence. He eaſed not only Italy, but all the provinces, of the heavy impoſitions with which they had been burdened by Veſpaſian and Domitian; and utterly aboliſhed the tribute upon all carriages, which was generally looked upon as an inſufferable grievance: hence the ſenate cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck, to perpetuate by that means the remembrance of ſo great a favour [d]. Of the many inſtances of his diſintereſtedneſs taken notice of by the antients, we ſhall only relate the following: Atticus, a citizen of Athens, father to the famous Herodes Atticus, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the reign of T. Antoninus, having diſcovered in his houſe a large treaſure, wrote to Nerva, deſiring to know how he ſhould diſpoſe of it. The emperor, who had no biaſs to avarice, anſwered, Utere, Uſe it; but Atticus, not thinking himſelf yet ſecure, wrote to him a ſecond letter, acquainting him, the treaſure was too great for a private perſon, and that he was thence afraid to uſe it. To this the generous prince replied in two words, Ergo abutere, Then abuſe it, ſignifying thereby, that the treaſure was his without reſerve, and that he might diſpoſe of it as he thought fit *. Nerva renewed the law of Domitian, forbidding the caſtration of children [e]; and by one edict confirmed all the grants of that prince. He publiſhed a law forbidding any one to marry his niece, which was firſt allowed in the reign of Claudius [f]; applied himſelf with great care to the reformation of manners; was aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and, in ſhort, behaved in ſuch a manner towards all, that he uſed to ſay, he believed he might reſign the empire, and return with ſafety to a private life, not being conſcious to himſelf of having done the leaſt thing that could give any man juſt motive of offence [g]. He was perhaps too kind to ſuch as were altogether unworthy of his favours; which gave occaſion

His diſintereſtedneſs.

Some of his laws.

[b] Dio, ibid. p. 770. Zonar. p. 199. Chron. Alexand.
[c] Birag. numiſ. p. 143. [d] Idem, p. 144. * Philoſt. in vit. ſophiſt. p. 546. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 770. [f] Idem, ibid. [g] Idem, ibid.

caſion to ſome perſons to complain of his lenity and indulgence. Having one day invited to his table, beſides many other perſons of diſtinction, Junius Mauricus, who had been baniſhed by Domitian, and Fabricius Veiento, a conſular, who, with his ſecret informations, had occaſioned the ruin of many illuſtrious citizens in the preceding reign, one of the gueſts happened to mention Catullus Meſſalinus, a noted informer under Domitian, when the emperor, hearing him named, What would Catullus do, ſaid he, were he alive now? If he were alive now, replied Mauricus with great freedom, he would be at table with us; which was a gentle reflection on the emperor's lenity and kindneſs to Veiento and others, whom he ought rather to have puniſhed than careſſed [h]. As ſoon as, by the death of Domitian and aſſumption of Nerva, public liberty was reſtored, to uſe the expreſſion of Pliny [i], all who had ſuffered by falſe accuſations flocked to the ſenate, demanding, that condign puniſhment might be forthwith inflicted on ſuch as had informed againſt them. The ſenate hearkened to their requeſt, and puniſhed ſome with death, others with baniſhment; but not without great partiality, ſparing thoſe of their own body. Hereupon Pliny boldly undertook the accuſation of Publicus Certus, who was not only of the ſenatorial order, but had been by Domitian named to the conſulſhip with Vectius Proculus. The ſenate, having firſt attempted in vain to perſuade Pliny to drop the proſecution, referred in the end the whole affair to the emperor, who contented himſelf with confirming the conſulſhip to Vectius, and naming another to that dignity in the room of Certus, who died ſoon after of grief [k]. Nerva did not think it adviſeable to condemn him, as was then commonly believed, becauſe he lived in great friendſhip with the governor of Syria, who was at the head of a powerful army; which gave no ſmall umbrage to Nerva [l]. Beſides, in the heat of the firſt proſecutions, ſome perſons, among the reſt the philoſopher Seras, had been puniſhed with death as informers, and aftewards found innocent; which gave the good-natured emperor great uneaſineſs [m].

His too great lenity and indulgence.

[h] Vict. epit. Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 22. [i] Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 13. [k] Idem, ibid. Dio, p. 769. [l] Plin. ibid. [m] Dio, ibid.

On the calends of January, Nerva entered upon his third conſulſhip, which was the firſt after his acceſſion to the empire, and choſe for his collegue L. Verginius Rufus, to whom the ſoldiers had often offered the empire. As Verginius was riſing, after he had aſſumed the faſces, to pronounce a ſpeech in praiſe of the emperor, according to the cuſtom which then obtained, he let a book drop out of his hand, and as he ſtooped to take it up, fell himſelf, and had the misfortune to break his leg; which, as he was then in the eighty-third year of his age, occaſioned his death. He was by the emperor's orders, buried with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and Cornelius Tacitus, the hiſtorian, whom Nerva named to the conſulate in his room, pronounced his funeral oration [n]. Pliny wrote another panegyric upon him, in a letter which he ſent to one of his friends, acquainting him with the death of that illuſtrious citizen [o]. This year, Calpurnius Craſſus, deſcended from the antient and illuſtrious family of the Craſſi, conſpired with ſome others againſt Nerva; who, being immediately informed of their wicked deſigns, ſent for them, and carrying them with him to the public theatre, placed them next himſelf, and preſented to them, as Titus had done on the like occaſion, the ſwords of the gladiators, which were always brought to and viewed by the emperor [p]. We are not told what effect this inſtance of generoſity had upon the conſpirators. All we know is, that Craſſus, having owned his crime, was, with his wife, baniſhed to Tarentum. The ſenate were for condemning both him and his accomplices to death: but the emperor, alledging the oath he had taken not to ſpill the blood of any ſenator, checked their zeal. Whereupon Fronto, to whom Nerva had reſigned the faſces, offended at the prince's unſeaſonable clemency, as he ſtyled it, ſaid boldly, that it was a great misfortune to have a prince, under whom all things were criminal and forbidden; but a ſtill greater to be governed by one, under whom all things were allowed [q]. The emperor was ſo far from reſenting this freedom, that thenceforth he acted with ſomewhat more ſeverity, taking for his counſellors ſuch of the ſenators as were perſons of great experience and

Verginius Rufus dies.

Calpurnius Craſſus conſpires againſt Nerva.

Who pardons him.

[n] Plin. l. ii. epiſt. 1. p. 770. Vict. ibid.
[o] Idem, ibid.
[p] Dio.
[q] Dio. p. 769.

and known integrity, and diſpatching, with their advice, all matters of conſequence. The ſame year, the prætorian guards headed by Ælianus Caſperius their commander, occaſioned diſturbances in the city, under colour of revenging the death of Domitian; flew to the palace, and there beſieged Nerva, demanding with great boldneſs, that all thoſe who had been any-ways concerned in the aſſaſſination of the late emperor, might be forthwith delivered up to them, or publicly executed. Nerva, tho' naturally timorous, behaved on this occaſion with incredible firmneſs; for, offering his bare neck to the incenſed ſoldiery, he begged they would be ſatisfied with his life, and ſpare thoſe, to whom he was indebted for the empire, and whom, on that account, he could not in honour abandon. But his reſolution was to no effect; he was in the end conſtrained, as Pliny writes [r], to condemn thoſe, whom he ſtudied to preſerve at the expence of his own life; for the ſoldiers, without being in the leaſt awed or moved by him, cut in pieces Petronius Secundus, Parthenius, and the other conſpirators, as we read in Victor the younger, or as he is by ſome ſtyled, Victorinus [s]. Neither did the mutinous ſoldiery ſtop here, but obliged the emperor to return them public thanks before the people, for putting to death the worſt and moſt wicked of men [t]. This inſolence and boldneſs of the ſoldiery proved in the end very advantageous to the empire; for Nerva, finding himſelf deſpiſed on account of his infirmities and old age, reſolved to name ſome perſon for his ſucceſſor, who ſhould be able, both to ſupport him, and to govern with equity and moderation after his death. He was not without many relations and friends of his own; but, as he had more at heart the welfare of the empire, than the grandeur of his family, he overlooked them, and choſe Ulpius Trajan, the greateſt and moſt deſerving perſon of that age, for his ſucceſſor, and at the ſame time adopted him in the capitol, declaring his adoption with a loud voice thus: With my hearty wiſhes for the proſperity of the ſenate and people of Rome, and that what I do may prove fortunate to them and myſelf, I declare Marcus Ulpius Trajan my ſon. He afterwards gave him the title of Cæſar, with that of Germanicus, which he himſelf ſeems to have aſſumed about this time, inveſted him with

The prætorian guards raiſe a tumult.

Nerva is obliged to comply with their unjuſt demands.

He adopts Ulpius Trajan.

[r] Plin. panegy. [s] Vict. in epit. [t] Idem, ibid.

with the tribunitial power, and even honoured him with the title of emperor; ſo that he created him not only his ſucceſſor, but his partner in the empire: at the ſame time, he named him conſul for the enſuing year [u]. The adoption of Trajan, which was received with great joy both by the ſenate and people, put a ſtop to the diſorders committed by the ſoldiery, who immediately returned to their duty. As Trajan was then at the head of a powerful army in Lower Germany, Nerva ſent him a diamond of great value, and wrote to him with his own hand, acquainting him with his preferment, and leaving to him the revenging of the affront put upon him by the prætorian guards and their commander. Some time after, Trajan ſent for Caſperius and thoſe of his party, under colour of employing them in ſome expedition; but inſtead of making uſe of them, diſcharged them all with ignominy [w], or, as ſome write, put them to death. Towards the cloſe of this year, Nerva took upon him the title of imperator, on account of a victory gained over the Germans in Pannonia [x], of which we know not the particulars.

The death of Nerva.

THE following year, he entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having Ulpius Trajan, now the ſecond time conſul, for his collegue; but died ſoon after, according to ſome, on the twenty-firſt, according to others, on the twenty-ſeventh, of January. For having heated himſelf in chiding with great acrimony the celebrated informer Aquilius Regulus, he was ſeized with a fever which as he was weak and ſtricken in years, ſoon put an end to his life, after he had reigned ſixteen months and eight, or at moſt nine, days. He had lived, according to Dion Caſſius [*], ſixty-five years ten months, and as many days; according to Eutropius, ſeventy-one, and according to St. Jerom, ſeventy-three, years [y]. He died in the Salluſtian gardens, whence his body was carried by the ſenate to the tomb of Auguſtus [z]. He was ranked among the gods, and Trajan out of gratitude cauſed ſeveral temples to be erected to him, both in Rome and the provinces [a].

Is ranked amongſt the gods.

He

[u] Vict. ibid. Sid. car. vii ver. 114. Plin. panegyr. Dio, l. lxix. p. 770. [w] Dio, ibid. [x] Plin. panegyr. Birag. numiſm. p. 145. [*] Dio, ibid. [y] Euſeb. chron. [z] Vict. epit. [a] Plin. panegyr. Eutrop. Sid. car. vii. ver. 113.

He was, no doubt, a prince of great wiſdom, generoſity, and moderation; but ſome of the provinces were more grievouſly oppreſſed in his reign than in that of Domitian, the governors, who dreaded Domitian, preſuming upon the lenity and goodneſs of his ſucceſſor, to enrich themſelves at the expence of the unhappy people committed to their care. Theſe grievances Nerva would not have failed to redreſs, had he lived long enough to know them.

Trajan. TRAJAN was a Spaniard both by birth and extraction, deſcendedrat her of an antient, than an illuſtrious, family, born in Italica, near Seville, now known, according to ſome by the name of Old Seville, according to others, by that of Alcala del Rio [b]. His father, named alſo Trajan, had been honoured with the conſulſhip, diſtinguiſhed with triumphal ornaments, and raiſed, no doubt, by Veſpaſian to the rank of a patrician [c]. Trajan, commander of the tenth legion, who ſignalized himſelf at the taking of Japha, as we read in Joſephus [d], was, we conjecture, father to the preſent emperor, who was born, according to moſt writers, in the twelfth year of the reign of Claudius, and fifty-ſecond of the chriſtian æra [e]. He followed the profeſſion of arms from his early youth, and ſerved ten years in quality of tribune [f]. He checked the pride of the Parthians, ſays his panegyriſt, while he was yet very young, and defeated their meaſures with the bare fame of his name [g]. But he then commanded, in all likehood, under his father, to whom he gave, when emperor, the title of Parthicus, as appears from various medals [h]. He was prætor in the year 86, and conſul in 91, with Acilius Glabrio. Soon after his conſulſhip, he withdrew to Spain, dreading the cruelty of Domitian, and there led a retired life, till he was by that prince recalled, and appointed governor of Lower Germany [i]; which muſt have been after the revolt and defeat of Antoninus in 88, for had he had any ſhare in that victory, Pliny would have mentioned it in his panegyric. While he was governor of Germany, he performed nothing which his panegyriſt

His family, anceſtors and preferments.

thought

[b] Vide Baudr. p. 394. [c] Plin pan. Eutrop. [d] Joſeph. bell. Jud. c. 11. [e] Eutrop. Goltz. Gruter. &c. [f] Plin. panegyr. [g] Idem, ibid. [h] Spanh. l. vii. p. 851. [i] Dio, l. lxvii. p. 765. Spartian. p. 1, 8. Plin. panegyr.

thought worthy mentioning, since he only says, that while he governed Germany, he gained the affections of the soldiery, but, notwithstanding their inviolable attachment, never entertained the least thought of revolting from the worst of princes, to whom he had sworn allegiance, and seizing, as he might, the empire for himself [k]. He was still governor of Germany, when Nerva adopted him for his son, appointed him his successor, and took him for his partner in the empire, as we have related above. To this choice Nerva was directed by the extraordinary merit of Trajan, and a sincere desire of continuing to all the nations subject to the empire, that happiness which they enjoyed in his reign. And truly Trajan possessed in an eminent degree all those qualities which form a great, and excellent prince. He was, when preferred to the empire, in the forty-second, or, as some will have it, the forty-fifth, year of his age, and consequently neither subject to the vices of youth, rashness, and precipitation, nor to the weakness and indolence attending old age. His body was robust and inured to fatigue; his countenance comely and majestic; his stature regular and tall; and his behaviour extremely engaging [l]. He was not himself a man of learning, having from his childhood been brought up in the camp; but favoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himself wanted. As to military affairs, he was, without dispute, the best commander of his age, and equal to the greatest generals of antiquity. In every duty of war he was indefatigable; he marched always on foot at the head of the army, even after he was emperor, and crossed immense countries without ever once mounting on horse-back, or suffering himself to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot or litter. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and general dress he little varied from a common soldier. Upon consultations and dispatches he bestowed nights and days. He never retired to his tent till he had visited the whole camp, and was always the first in the field when the usual exercises were to be performed. He was acquainted with all the old soldiers, called them by their names, remembered their exploits, and familiarly conversed with them; but at the same time knew how to keep them to their duty [m]. He was great in

Is adopted by Nerva.

Trajan an excellent commander.

[k] Idem, ibid. [l] Plin. ibid. [m] Plin. ibid. Dio. l lxviii. p. 772.

in war, and equally great in peace. When he firſt aſſumed the ſovereign power, he publicly profeſſed, that he did not think himſelf in that high ſtation more exempt from the obſervance of the laws, than the meaneſt of the populace; and accordingly took an oath to obey them, which he religiouſly obſerved; and thence Pliny ſays, that all the emperors before him had made the ſame profeſſions, but their profeſſions were not believed. What they had promiſed to be, Trajan was; for he poſſeſſed the place of a lawful prince, only to prevent the exerciſe of lawleſs power [n]. He delighted to ſee his people happy, and had nothing ſo much at heart as to make them ſo. To accompliſh this, he chearfully leſſened his revenue, leſſened his authority, and reſtrained his prerogative, where it ſeemed in the leaſt to interfere with the intereſt and happineſs of his people. He was aware, that over-bearing pride was not the means to win affection or eſteem, and that condeſcenſion in a prince is not irreconcileable with his dignity, but rather a ſure way to raiſe it: he therefore lived with his people rather like a father with his children, than a prince with his ſubjects [o]. He advanced none but the moſt virtuous and worthy; and ſuch as were otherwiſe, he choſe to reform and reclaim rather with gentleneſs and clemency, than with rigor and ſeverity. On his taking upon him the empire, he declared in full ſenate, that no good man ſhould ever be put to death by his orders, which he confirmed by a ſolemn oath, and religiouſly obſerved it. He ſuffered but few ſtatues to be erected to him, checked ſuch as offered to flatter him, and would not allow any extraordinary honours to be conferred upon him. His palace was conſtantly open to perſons of all ranks, whom he received with extraordinary kindneſs, heard with great patience, and ſtrove, as far as in him lay, to diſmiſs none from his preſence diſſatisfied; looking upon himſelf as raiſed to that high poſt, not for his own advantage, but for that of others. To his other great qualities, he added that of veracity, acting in council, in public negotiations, and with private men, without thoſe little artifices which wiſe men deſpiſe, and none but the apes of wiſe men practiſe. He would never ſuffer any one to be condemned upon ſuſpicions, however ſtrong and well-grounded, ſaying, it was better a thouſand criminals ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, than one

His moderation, affability, generoſity and other virtues.

[n] Plin. ibid. [o] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 773. Vict. in epit.

one innocent perſon be condemned [p]. When he appointed Suburanus captain of his guards, in preſenting him, according to cuſtom, with a drawn ſword, the badge of his office, he uſed theſe memorable words; "Pro me; ſi merear, in me: Employ this ſword for me; but turn it, if I deſerve it, againſt me [q]." He allowed none of his freedmen any ſhare in the adminiſtration, telling them, that he, and not they, was inveſted with the ſovereign power, and therefore warning them not to aſſume any authority inconſiſtent with their rank. Some perſons having a ſuit with one of them, by name Eurythmus, and ſeeming to fear the imperial freedman, Trajan aſſured them, that the cauſe ſhould be heard, diſcuſſed, and decided according to the ſtricteſt laws of juſtice; adding, "For neither is he Polycletus, nor I Nero." Polycletus, of whom we ſpoke in the reign of Nero, was that prince's favourite freed-man. Trajan is ſaid to have excelled even Nerva himſelf in generoſity, and all the preceding princes in the largeſſes with which he relieved, not only the citizens of Rome, but the indigent people in all the provinces of the empire: whence he was by all nations looked upon as a common father, and as ſuch loved and revered [r]. However, he was not without ſome faults: he was adicted to wine. This fault Dion Caſſius owns, but adds, that he never drank to exceſs [s]. On the other hand, Aurelius Victor aſſures us, that he enjoined all his officers not to put in execution ſuch orders as he ſhould give at, or after, his banquets [t]; and Julian, ſurnamed the apoſtate, writes, that Trajan had a talent for eloquence, and would have applied himſelf with ſucceſs to that ſtudy, had he not by immoderate drinking impaired his natural capacity [u]. Pliny extols his chaſtity [w], but Dion owns, that he abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous and unnatural practices [x]; and agrees therein both with Spartian [y], and the emperor Julian [z], who likewiſe charges him with lazineſs, for ſuffering Sura to write moſt of his letters [a]. He loved gay amuſements and diverſions; but from hence aroſe no neglect or relaxation in his conducting public affairs. He was ſomewhat ambitious, and more

His faults.

[p] Plin. pan. Vict. epit. Dio, p. 771. [q] Dio, p. 778. Aur. Victor. [r] Dio, & Plin. ibid. [s] Dio, p. 772. [t] Aur. Vict. in Adrian, p. 2. [u] Julian. Cæſar, p. 30. [w] Plin. pan. p. 36. [x] Dio, ibid. [y] Spart. in Adrian. [z] Julian. ibid. p. 12. [a] Idem, p. 38.

more deſirous of extending the confines of his empire, than was conſiſtent with juſtice. When he affirmed any thing for certain, he uſed to add; "So may I ſee Dacia reduced to a province, and paſs the Euphrates and the Danube on bridges built by myſelf [b]." He ſuffered his name to be placed on the buildings which he had only repaired, as if they had been founded by him. Whence he was nick-named parietarius, which name is common to all plants growing on walls [c]. How his lenity, mildneſs, and good-nature, ſo much cried up by the antients, were conſiſtent with his perſecuting the chriſtians, is what we cannot eaſily conceive. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſtyled lord, as appears from Pliny's epiſtles to him; a title, which other good emperors, and Auguſtus himſelf, had conſtantly refuſed, and he ſeems at firſt to have declined [d]. He likewiſe allowed ſacrifices to be offered to his ſtatues, and people to ſwear by his life and eternity, as moſt ſacred things [e]. We ſhall now purſue the hiſtory of his reign, according to the order of time.

TRAJAN commanded, as we have related above, a powerful army in Lower Germany, when he was adopted by Nerva and declared his ſucceſſor, which happened about the latter end of the year 97. He declined at firſt accepting that high poſt, but was ſoon prevailed upon by the officers of his own army, and the deputies diſpatched to him from the armies in Upper Germany and in Mæſia, to yield, and aſſume the title of Cæſar. He did not ſeem in the leaſt elated with his new dignity, chuſing rather to be looked upon by his ſoldiers as their general, than their emperor [f]. Nerva dying ſoon after, that is, on the twenty-firſt or twenty-ſeventh of January of the following year, tidings of his death were firſt brought to him by Adrian his couſin. Hereupon Trajan, who was then at Cologn, immediately aſſumed the title of Auguſtus, and was acknowledged as ſuch by the armies in Germany and Mæſia, who with great joy ſwore allegiance to him [g]. He had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he wrote to the ſenate, aſſuring them upon his oath, that no man of probity ſhould ever by his orders either be put to death or injured in his fortune [h]. He did not immediately leave Germany, but continued there all this and

He accepts the title of Cæſar, and the empire.

[b] Ammian. l. xxiv. [c] Idem. l. xxvii. [d] Plin. panegyr. p. 4, & 106. [e] Plin. l. x. epiſt. 102, & 89. [f] Plin. pan. [g] Idem, l. x. epiſt. 53. [h] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771.

and part of the following year; for the time of his conſulſhip was expired, as Pliny informs us [i], before he ſet out for Rome. All the German nations ſent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his acceſſion to the empire; and the barbarians, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and uſed, during the winter, to paſs that river on the ice, and commit great devaſtations on the Roman territories, hearing that Trajan was created emperor, refrained from all hoſtilities, not daring to provoke ſo great a commander, now at liberty to chaſtiſe them [k]. Tacitus the hiſtorian, in his book of the cuſtoms of the Germans, marks the years to the ſecond conſulate of Trajan; whence ſome have concluded, that the ſaid book was compoſed this year, Trajan being now conſul the ſecond time. He ſpeaks there of the expulſion of the Bructerians by the Chamavians and Angrivarians, as a thing lately happened; and adds, that the gods vouchſafed to gratify the Romans with the ſight of a battle fought by the barbarians, in which, ſays our hiſtorian, there fell above ſixty thouſand ſouls, without a blow ſtruck by us; and, what is a circumſtance ſtill more glorious, they fell to furniſh us with a ſpectacle of joy and recreation. May the gods, concludes Tacitus, perpetuate amongſt theſe nations, if not love for us, yet by all means hatred towards each other, ſince they cannot more ſignally befriend us, than by ſowing diviſions amongſt our foes [l]! the Bructerians, who were thus expulſed, and, as Tacitus writes, utterly extirpated, are thought to have inhabited the country about Rees and Emmerik in the dutchy of Cleves [m]. However, the Bructerians were not utterly exterminated, as Tacitus ſeems to ſuppoſe; but being driven with great ſlaughter from their antient habitations, they ſettled in the preſent country of Naſſau, where they gave the Romans no ſmall trouble, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory. Pliny tells us, that Trajan cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to Veſtricius Spurinna for having conſtrained the Bructerians, notwithſtanding their fierceneſs and arrogance, to receive their king [n], whom, it ſeems, they had driven out. But this muſt have happened before the battle and defeat mentioned by Tacitus.

The Barbarians awed by his preſence.

The Bructerians driven out by other German nations.

THE

[i] Plin. pan. 37. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Tacit. de Ger. c. [m] Buch. Belg. l. v. c. 1. [n] Plin. l. ii. epiſt. 7.

THE next conſuls were Aulus Cornelius Palma and Caius Soſius Senecio, to whom Plutarch inſcribed ſeveral of the lives he wrote, and ſome of his moral works. The ſenate had offered the conſulate to Trajan; but he declining it, tho' all the emperors, ever ſince the time of Claudius, had aſſumed that dignity the year after their acceſſion to the empire, Palma and Senecio, his two chief favourites, were appointed in his room [o]. This year Trajan left Germany and ſet out for Rome: his march proved no-ways burthenſome to the provinces through which he paſſed, no man being injured either in his perſon or fortune, by the emperor or his numerous attendance. He cauſed the expences of his march, and that of Domitian when he went into Gaul, to be computed and inſerted in the public regiſters, that his ſucceſſors might thence learn how to conduct themſelves on the like occaſion [p]. He entered Rome on foot, and was there received by perſons of all ranks with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, the people of Rome promiſing themſelves complete happineſs under ſo good and ſo great a prince. He tenderly embraced his old friends, who came to meet him, and would not be treated by them as their ſovereign, but as a friend, aſſuring them that ſuch they ſhould find him on all occaſions. He went ſtrait to the capitol, attended by the ſenate and the whole city, and thence to the palace [q]. His wife Pompeia Plotina, who accompanied him, turning to the people as ſhe mounted the ſteps of the palace, I hope, ſaid ſhe, to come out the ſame as I go in: and truly, during the whole time of her huſband's reign, her conduct was without reproach; nay, ſhe acquainted the emperor with ſeveral diſorders, occaſioned by his too great indulgence; and by that means put a ſtop to them [r]. She is mightily cried up by Pliny on account of her modeſt behaviour and extraordinary kindneſs to the emperor's ſiſter [s], by name Marciana, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [t]. The ſenate offered to both the title of Auguſta, which they declined, ſo long as Trajan refuſed that

Trajan ſets out for Rome.

How received there.

His wife Pompeia Plotina.

of

[o] Plin. pan. p. 110——115.
[p] Idem ibid. p. 37.
[q] Idem ibid. p. 38, 39.
[r] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771. Vict. epit. vit. Conſtant.
[s] Plin. ibid. p. 150, 151.
[t] Birag. numiſm. p. 166.

of the father of his country, which he ſeems to have accepted towards the end of this year, the ſecond of his reign. Plotina proved always very favourable to Adrian; for, by her means and at her recommendation, he was adopted by Trajan [u]. In an inſcription of the year 116, which was the nineteenth of Trajan's reign, Marciana is ſtyled goddeſs; whence it is evident, that ſhe was then dead [w]. From her the metropolis of Lower Mœſia took the name of Marcianopolis. She had a daughter, named Matidies, mother to another Matidies, and to Julia Sabina, the wife of the emperor Adrian. Pliny obſerves that Silius Italicus, who had withdrawn into Campania, did not quit his retirement to come to Rome, and congratulate the emperor upon his arrival; which, ſays that writer, greatly redounded to the glory of both, of Trajan for granting him that liberty, of Silius for daring to demand it [x]. The ſenate decreed the emperor ſoon after his arrival the title of Optimus, which he willingly accepted, and ſeemed to value above all thoſe which were afterwards conferred upon him on account of his victories [y]. However, we do not find it in any inſcription amongſt his other titles, till the year 110, the thirteenth of his reign [z]. This year he paid part of the donative, which he had promiſed according to cuſtom, to the ſoldiery, and made large diſtributions both of money and corn amongſt the Roman people, extending his generoſity to ſuch as were abſent, and even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any ſhare in ſuch largeſſes till eleven years old [a]. By means of theſe largeſſes, which he frequently renewed, he is ſaid to have ſupported near two millions of ſouls [b]. He did not confine the effects of his good-nature to Rome alone, but appointed very conſiderable ſums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer for the maintenance of children, whom their indigent parents could not without great difficulty bring up and ſupport. To this unbounded generoſity allude, no doubt, ſeveral medals ſtruck this or the following year, which repreſent Trajan diſtributing corn to children with the following legend, He nouriſhes Italy [c].

The title of Optimus decreed to the empeſor.

His largeſſes.

He

[u] Spart. in vit. Adrian. [w] Velſarii monum. Auguſtina. lapide 35. [x] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 7. [y] Dio, p. 781. [z] Vide Fabretti de column. Trajan. c. 9. [a] Plin. pan. p. 44. Birag. p. 149. Spart. p. 16. [b] Vide Spart. not. Caſaubon. p. 122. [c] Occonis. numiſm. p. 202, 205.

He took great care that Rome ſhould be ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, eſpecially with corn, which during the whole time of his reign, was ſold at a very low rate: he exhibited ſeveral ſhews and a combat of gladiators, to ſatisfie the populace, fond of ſuch diverſions; but drove out of Rome the players, who had been baniſhed by Domitian, but, at the requeſt of the people, recalled by Nerva. He publiſhed ſeveral laws againſt informers, and confined to the iſlands, ſuch of that tribe as had been ſpared by Nerva, utterly aboliſhing the ſo much hated law of majeſty. He repaired, at a vaſt charge, ſeveral old buildings, and enlarged the circus; but would not ſuffer the people to return him thanks for his public works; nay, he iſſued an edict, forbidding his name to be mentioned either in the circus or the theatre, which, till then, had reſounded, ſays Pliny, with the praiſes of wicked princes [c]. All theſe things are related by Pliny as happening in the ſecond year of Trajan's reign, before the time appointed for the electing of conſuls. The people had, it ſeems, recovered their antient privilege of creating magiſtrates; for Trajan, whom the ſenate had preſſed to accept a third conſulſhip, appeared amongſt the other candidates, begging like a private citizen the ſuffrages of the tribes [d]. He choſe for his collegue Fronto, according to ſome; Frontinus, according to others; for both M. Julius Fronto and Sextus Julius Frontinus, who wrote a treatiſe on aqueducts, lived at this time. In the ſame aſſembly, Pliny and Tertullus Cornutus were appointed to ſucceed Trajan and Fronto or Frontinus, and others to ſucceed them; for at this time few conſuls held that dignity above three months. In the beginning of the year, Trajan had no ſooner aſſumed the faſces, than he aſcended the roſtra, and in preſence of the people, bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to obſerve the laws, declaring that what was forbidden to private citizens was equally forbidden to good princes, who, as they are not above the laws, are no leſs bound than the meaneſt of the populace to conform to them: hence to the public vows, which were in the beginning of each year offered for the health and proſperity of the emperor, he added theſe conditions; If he obſerves the laws; if he governs the republic as he ought; if he procures the happineſs of his people [e]. Before Trajan reſigned the faſces, the

Is an enemy to informers.

His modeſty.

Binds himſelf by a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws.

[c] Plin. pan. p. 74. & l. x. epiſt. 88. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 709. [d] Plin. ibid. p. 120. [e] Plin. ibid. p. 1[illegible]

the cauſe of Marius Priſcus, accuſed, by a city of Africa and by ſeveral particular perſons, of extortion during his proconſulate, was heard by the emperor and ſenate. Pliny and Tacitus the hiſtorian pleaded for the Africans; and the trial laſted three days, the emperor hearkening the whole time with great attention to the reaſons alledged on both ſides, without ever betraying the leaſt biaſs to either. In the end Priſcus was degraded from the rank of ſenator and baniſhed Italy: at the ſame time Hoſtilius Firminus, his lieutenant and accomplice, was declared incapable of holding any employment in the empire [f]. This is, no doubt, the Marius, who, in ſpiteofthe angry gods, enjoyed, as we read in Juvenal [g], even in exile, the immenſe wealth which he had accumulated by the moſt wicked means; while Africa bewailed, without redreſs, the loſſes it had ſuſtained by his avarice: hence the poet calls his condemnation an empty judgment.

Marius Priſcus tried and condemned.

The condemnation of Marius Priſcus was followed by that of Claſſicus, proconſul of Bœtica, or rather of his accomplices; for Claſſicus, finding himſelf accuſed of extortion by the whole province, laid violent hands on himſelf before the time appointed for his trial. However, the province purſued their action againſt his accomplices, who had ſhared in his rapines, and they were by means of Pliny, who pleaded in behalf of the province, all condemned. The eſtate, which Claſſicus poſſeſſed before he was ſent into Spain, was adjudged to his daughter; but the reſt was diſtributed amongſt thoſe whom he had plundered during his adminiſtration: Bæbius Probus and Fabius Hiſpanus, the miniſters of his rapines, were baniſhed for five years, tho' they alledged in their defence, that they were obliged blindly to obey the orders of the proconſul. Stillonius Priſcus, who had commanded a cohort under Claſſicus, was baniſhed Italy for two years: the daughter of Claſſicus was likewiſe accuſed by the province; but Pliny, judging her innocent, declined pleading againſt her; whence the proſecution was dropped [h]. Norbanus Licinianus, who had been lieutenant to Claſſicus, but his declared enemy, was at the ſame time condemned for other crimes, not mentioned by hiſtorians, and confined to one of the iſlands in the Archipelago [i].

The trialof Claſſicus.

For

[f] Plin. l. x. epiſt. 4. l. ii. ep. 11. l. vi. ep. 29. l. iii. ep. 9.
[g] Juvenal. ſat. 1. ver. 49. & ſat. 10. ver. 120.
[h] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 4. & 9.
[i] Idem, l. iii. epiſt. 9.

FOR what we have hitherto related of Trajan's adminiſtration, we are chiefly indebted to Pliny, from whoſe panegyric on that prince, we have copied it. Pliny pronounced his ſpeech in the ſenate, when he entered upon his conſulſhip, having compoſed it before at the requeſt of the ſenators. After he had delivered it in full ſenate, he added, as he himſelf informs us, many things to it, that it might ſerve as a model for other princes. Before he publiſhed it, he rehearſed it before ſome of his friends, who for three days together heard him with great attention; which he aſcribes, not to the elegance or beauties of his performance, but to their being perſuaded, that the praiſes which he beſtowed on Trajan, were a ſincere encomium on that prince, and altogether free from flattery. Pliny himſelf aſſures us, that ſuch paſſages in his diſcourſe, as were the leaſt ſtudied, pleaſed moſt; which gave him no ſmall ſatisfaction: for thence he began to entertain hopes of ſeeing the true taſte revive, and the maſculine eloquence of the antients again admired. He ſent his diſcourſe, which he ſtyles a book, to one of his friends, begging him to mark what he diſliked in it, that he might by that means be ſure he approved of the reſt [k].

Pliny pronounces his panegyric in the ſenate.

About this time, Largius Macedo, who, for his extraordinary parts, had been raiſed from a very mean condition (for he was the ſon of a freed-man) to the prætorian dignity, was inhumanly murdered by his ſlaves, whom, forgetful of his origin, he treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. They fell upon him while he was bathing at one of his country-houſes, and left him for dead; but he afterwards returned to himſelf, and lived a few days, during which he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing all thoſe crucified, who had been any-ways concerned in the attempt [l]. Towards the end of this year Julia Sabina, grand-daughter to Marciana the emperor's ſiſter, was married to Adrian, the ſon of Ælius Adrian Afer, couſin to Trajan. This match, which in the end proved unhappy to both, was concluded by the empreſs Plotina, who had a particular kindneſs for Adrian, the emperor himſelf rather conſenting to it than approving it [m].

Largius Macedo murdered by his ſlaves.

Adrian marries Julia Sabina.

THE following year, Trajan, at the earneſt req[illegible] the ſenate, entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having [illegible] his collegue,

[k] Idem, l. iii. epiſt. 13, 18.
[l] Idem, ibid. epiſt. 14.
[m] Spart. in Adrian.

collegue, according to ſome [n], Sextus Articuleius Pætus, according to others [o], P. Orſitus. The ſame year, Bæbius Macer, Cæpio Hiſpo, Valerius Paulinus, and Caius Cæcilius Strabo were honoured with the conſular dignity [p]. Adrian was this year quæſtor, and charged with the care of the regiſters of the ſenate [q]; which employment he ſoon reſigned, to attend the emperor in the war with the Dacians.

Trajan's firſt war with the Dacians.

Decebalus, king of the Dacians, obliged Domitian, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, to purchaſe a peace with a large ſum; which he engaged to pay yearly to Decebalus. To this tribute Trajan would not ſubmit, alledging, that he had not been conquered by Decebalus. Beſides, the Dacians grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good underſtanding with Pacorus king of the Parthians, whom Decebalus had preſented with one Callidromus, who had been made priſoner in Mœſia by Suzagues, one of his lieutenants, during the war with Domitian. The good underſtanding between thoſe two powers gave Trajan no ſmall jealouſy. Whereupon the Dacians having paſſed the Danube, and committed ſome hoſtilities in the Roman territories, he was glad of that pretence to make war upon them, and humble an enemy, whoſe power he began to fear. Having therefore drawn together a mighty army, he marched with incredible expedition to the banks of the Danube, paſſed that river without oppoſition, Decebalus not being appriſed of his arrival, and entered Dacia, committing every-where dreadful devaſtations. Decebalus, however, was not in the leaſt diſmayed; he armed all the youth of the country, and boldly advanced to meet the Romans, pitching his camp at a ſmall diſtance from their entrenchments. Trajan immediately drew out his men, in order to offer the enemy battle. As he advanced to the place where they lay, a large muſhroom was found, and brought to him, with the following words in Latin cut upon it: Your allies, eſpecially the Byrrhi, adviſe you to conclude a peace with the Dacians, and to retire. Trajan deſpiſing that advice, continued advancing in order of battle, till he diſcovered Decebalus, at the head of a powerful army, coming full march to meet him.

He

[n] Idat. in faſt. epiſt. 3, 12, 17.
[o] Onuph. in faſt.
[p] Plin. l. iv.
[q] Spart. in Adrian.

He then halted to encourage his men, which he did in a few words, and then ordered the trumpets to ſound the charge. All we know of this action is, that great numbers of the enemy fell, and that the Romans gained the victory; which, however, coſt them dear, the wounded on their ſide being ſo numerous, that they wanted linen to bind up their wounds; whereupon Trajan tore his own robes to ſupply that want. Such as fell in the battle, he cauſed to be interred with great ſolemnity, and ordered an altar to be built on the ſpot, and ſacrifices to be yearly offered in honour of the deceaſed [r]. Trajan purſuing the advantage of his victory, followed the enemy cloſe; and, without giving them time to levy new forces, haraſſed them without intermiſſion to ſuch a degree, that Decebalus, reduced almoſt to deſpair, ſent ſome of the chief lords of his court with propoſals of peace. Trajan appointed Licinius Sura and Claudius Libianus, captain of the prætorian guards, to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, Trajan continued his ravages, advancing from one hill to another, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of Zermizegethuſa, the metropolis of Dacia. On the other ſide, Maximus, one of the Roman generals, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, in one of which he took the ſiſter of Decebalus priſoner, and recovered a Roman ſtandard, which had been loſt when Fuſcus was defeated and killed in the reign of Domitian. At length Decebalus, no longer able to withſtand the Romans, and dreading the deſtruction of his capital, which would be attended with the loſs of his whole kingdom, diſpatched anew embaſſadors to Trajan, offering to accept ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to impoſe. Accordingly Trajan granted him a peace upon the following terms: 1. That he ſhould ſurrender the territories which he had unjuſtly taken from the neighbouring nations. 2. That he ſhould deliver up his arms, his warlike engines, and the artificers who made them, with all the Roman deſerters. 3. That, for the future, he ſhould entertain no deſerters, nor take into his ſervice the natives of any country ſubject to Rome. 4. That he ſhould diſmantle all his fortreſſes, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds. And, laſtly, That he ſhould have the ſame friends and

The Dacians defeated.

Trajan's humanity to the wounded.

Decebalus king of the Dacians ſues for peace.

Which is granted him upon hard terms.

[r] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 771.——774.

foes with the people of Rome. With theſe articles Decebalus complied, tho' much againſt his will; and having ſworn to obſerve them, he was introduced to Trajan, before whom he threw himſelf on the ground, acknowledging himſelf his vaſſal. Trajan commanded him to ſend deputies to the ſenate for the ratification of the peace; which he did accordingly. The war being thus ended, Trajan having placed garriſons in moſt of the cities of Dacia, returned to Rome which he entered in triumph, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, and took the ſurname of Dacicus, being the firſt Roman who had triumphed over that nation [s]. His triumph was followed by a combat of gladiators and the diverſions of the ſtage, in which one Pylades gained the applauſe of the people, and the emperor's favour. Trajan had but two years before driven all the players out of Rome; but, as he took great pleaſure in ſuch entertainments, he recalled them on this occaſion, tho' he did not abandon himſelf to theſe amuſements in ſuch manner as to neglect the diſpatch of buſineſs; for he diſcharged with great care and application all the duties of a prince, was aſſiduous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and aſſiſted in perſon at all the cauſes of any importance, that were pleaded either in the ſenate or forum [t]. This year Julius Baſſus, who had been accuſed under Trajan, and, after a long trial, declared innocent, was again accuſed of extortion by the Bithynians; for he had been by Nerva appointed pro-conſul of Bithynia. Pliny, who pleaded in his behalf, owns, that he failed rather through imprudence than avarice, in accepting ſome preſents, which was, by ſome late laws, forbidden to all governors of provinces, under ſevere penalties. However, Pliny prevailed upon the ſenate, inclined to condemn him as guilty of extortion, to be ſatisfied with obliging him to reſtore the value of the preſents to thoſe, of whom he had imprudently accepted them [u].

Trajan the firſt who triumphed over the Dacians.

'The following year, one Suranus, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory, and L. Licinius Sura, or, as ſome ſtyle him, Suras, were choſen conſuls. Sura was Trajan's favourite, and had employed all his intereſt with Nerva

Licinius Sura the emperor's chief favourite.

[s] Dio, p. 710. Spart. in Adrian. Goltz. p. 646. Euſeb. in chron. p. 341. [t] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 774. [u] Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 9. l. vi. epiſt. 29. & l. x. epiſt. 14.

Nerva in his behalf; whence to him chiefly, after Nerva, Trajan acknowledged himſelf indebted for his adoption and preferment [w]. He was, as Gruter conjectures from ſeveral antient inſcriptions [x], a native of Spain, born either in Tarragon or Barcelona, extremely rich, and thence envied by many even of Trajan's friends, who by falſe inſinuations, ſtrove to eſtrange the prince's mind from him, as if he harboured evil deſigns. But Trajan, who repoſed an entire confidence in him, inſtead of hearkening to his enemies, went one night to ſup with him, without being invited; and, diſmiſſing his guards, ordered Sura's ſurgeon to apply a remedy to his eyes; truſted himſelf to his barber, who ſhaved him; then bathed, and ſupped with Sura, without ever betraying the leaſt diffidence or fear. The next morning, he told thoſe about him, who were always ſuggeſting ſomething againſt Sura, If he entertained any evil deſigns againſt me, he would have put them in execution laſt night [y]. Sura was ſtill alive in the year 109, the twefth of Trajan's reign, when Adrian, whom he had always favoured, was conſul; but died ſoon after, having aſſured Adrian before he died, that Trajan would in the end adopt him [z]. Trajan cauſed his funeral to be performed with the utmoſt magnificence, erected a ſtatue to him, and called ſeveral ſplendid baths, which he built, after his name. This year Trajan, at the requeſt of the ſenate and at the motion of Nigrinus, tribune of the people, publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting ſuch pleaders as received fees from their clients, to the penalties of the law againſt extortion; and Licinius Nepos, prætor, upon his taking poſſeſſion of that office, procured a decree from the ſenate, commanding the parties, before their cauſe began to be tried, to ſwear, that they had neither given nor promiſed any fee, preſent, or reward to thoſe who were to plead in their behalf. Pliny takes notice of this law, and declares, that he was pleaſed to ſee that forbidden to others, which he had never practiſed himſelf [a]. Towards the end of the year, Trajan aſſumed twice the title of emperor [b], for victories which were gained by ſome of his lieutenants, (for he himſelf continued the whole year at Rome) but are not mentioned by any hiſtorian.

Pleaders forbidden to receive fees.

THE next conſuls were Trajan, the fifth time, and Lucius Appius Maximus, who had ſignalized himſelf in the Dacian

[w] Vict. in epit. [x] Gruter. p. 249. [y] Dio, ibid. p. 777 [z] Spart. in Adrian. [a] Plin. l. v. epiſt. 14. [b] Goltz. p. 64.

The port of Centumcellæ.

Dacian war. This year Trajan began, and finiſhed two years after, a magnificent and convenient harbour at Centumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia, which he called after his own name, the harbour of Trajan [c]. It is mentioned by Ptolemy, and deſcribed by Rutilius in his poem [d].

Pliny appointed governor of Pontus and Bithynia.

Pliny was this year ſent to govern Pontus and Bithynia, not in quality of proconſul, as others had been, but of lieutenant and proprætor, with conſular authority; that is, he was not appointed governor of that province by the ſenate, but by the emperor, tho' the province of Pontus and Bithynia belonged to the ſenate. As there were many abuſes in that province to reform, the emperor ſent Pliny thither with an extraordinary authority as his lieutenant; but afterwards allowed the ſenate to appoint the governors as formerly, Adrian being the firſt who took the province of Pontus and Bithynia from the ſenate, and gave them Pamphylia in the room of it [e]. Pliny was particularly commiſſioned to examine the revenues and expences of the cities within his juriſdiction, and to retrench all unneceſſary charges [f]; but the emperor would not empower him to recall ſuch as had been baniſhed by other governors [g], nor even thoſe whom he himſelf ſhould think fit to baniſh [h]. Pliny wrote an account of his journey to the emperor, whence it appears, that he arrived in Bithynia on the ſeventeenth of September, and Servilius Pudens his lieutenant on the twenty-fourth of November [i].

The following year, L. Licinius Sura and M. Marcellus being conſuls, Sauromates, king of Boſphorus, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Trajan, and entered into an alliance with him and the Roman people [k].

Decebalus violates the articles of the treaty.

Soon after, Decebalus king of the Dacians, not able to live in ſubjection and ſervitude, (for ſo he called the peace which Trajan had granted him) began, contrary to the late treaty, to raiſe men, provide arms, entertain deſerters, fortify his caſtles, and invite the neighbouring nations to join him againſt the Romans as a common enemy. The Scythians hearkened to his ſolicitations; but the Iazyges refuſing to bear arms againſt Rome, he invaded their country, and ſeized that part of it which bordered on the Danube. Hereupon Decebalus was by the ſenate declared an enemy; and Trajan, not caring

[c] Plin. l. vi. epiſt. 31. Occo. numiſm. p. 212. [d] Rutil
p. 132. [e] Dio, in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 714. [f] Plin
l. x. epiſt. 19. [g] Idem ibid. epiſt. 44. [h] Iden
ibid. epiſt. 57. [i] Idem ibid. epiſt. 17, 18, 26, 34
[k] Idem l. x. epiſt. 68, 69, 73, 74.

caring to commit the management of the war to another, marched againſt him in perſon. Decebalus, not finding himſelf in a condition to withſtand him by open force, had recourſe to deceit and treachery, ſending aſſaſſins, under the name of deſerters, to murder him; but one of theſe, being apprehended upon ſuſpicion and put to the torture, diſcovered the whole plot, and named his accomplices, who were immediately ſeized and executed. Decebalus, failing in this attempt, invited Longinus, one of Trajan's favourites and chief commanders, to a conference, as if he deſigned to put an end to the war, by ſubmitting to the articles of the former treaty, with ſome ſmall alteration. Longinus, not ſuſpecting any treachery, complied with the invitation. But Decebalus immediately ſeized him; and after having attempted in vain to make him diſcover the deſigns of the emperor, he wrote to Trajan, offering to ſet Longinus at liberty, upon condition that he would grant him an honourable peace, reſtore the country bordering on the Danube, and defray all the charges of the war; adding, that if theſe conditions were not complied with, he would inſtantly put Longinus to death. Trajan returned him a judicious anſwer, neither ſeeming to undervalue the life of his favourite, nor yet make ſuch account of it, as to purchaſe it at too high a rate. But while Decebalus was deliberating with himſelf, and in ſuſpenſe about the meaſures he ſhould purſue, Longinus, by a doſe of poiſon, which was privately conveyed to him by a freed-man, put an end to his life. Decebalus immediately diſpatched to Trajan a centurion taken with Longinus, offering him the body of the deceaſed general, with ten captives, provided he would deliver up the freedman, whom Longinus had ſent, before he took the poiſon to the emperor, under colour of negotiating a treaty: but Trajan would neither hearken to the propoſal, nor even ſuffer the centurion to return. In the mean time, Trajan, that his troops might with more eaſe paſs the Danube, built a bridge over that ſpacious river, which, by the antients, is ſtyled the moſt magnificent and wonderful of all his works, and the moſt ſtately fabric of that nature in the univerſe. It was all of ſquare ſtone, and contained twenty arches, each of them one hundred and fifty feet above the foundation, and ſixty feet in breadth, all diſtant from each other one hundred and ſeventy feet. It was built where the river was narroweſt, and conſequently where the ſtream was ſtrongeſt and

His treachery.

Trajan builds a bridge over the Danube.

and moſt rapid; which renders the fabric ſtill more ſtupendous and amazing, on account of the almoſt inſurmountable difficulties they muſt have met with in laying ſo large a foundation [l]. The architect employed on this occaſion was one Apollodorus of Damaſcus, who, it ſeems, left a deſcription of his great work [m]. Trajan ordered two caſtles to be built to guard the bridge, one on the Roman, the other on the Dacian ſide of the river. Pliny mentions this bridge in the ſhort account he gives us of the Dacian war [n]; and ſeveral medals repreſenting it have reached our times [o]. It was built in Upper Mæſia, which, in the time of Aurelian, began to be called Dacia [p]. We are told, that ſome remains of it are ſtill to be ſeen near Zerevin in Lower Hungary [q]. Trajan built it, that the Roman forces might with eaſe and readineſs paſs the Danube, and fall upon the barbarians in their own country; but Adrian, fearing the barbarians might make uſe of it to invade the Roman territories, broke down the arches, but the piers were ſtill ſtanding in Dion Caſſius's time; that is, one hundred and twenty years after, tho' they ſerved then only to ſhew, ſays that writer, the utmoſt extent of human power [r]. When they were by time entirely demoliſhed, the river was ſo choaked with the ruins, that it was not navigable till turned into another channel [s]. This ſtupendous fabric was begun and ended this ſummer; but Trajan, not thinking it adviſeable to enter Dacia upon the approach of winter, contented himſelf with making the neceſſary preparations for vigorouſly attacking the enemy early in the ſpring.

In the mean time, the following conſuls were choſen at Rome, Tiberius Julius Candidus and Aulus Julius Quadratus, both the ſecond time. This year, the eighth of Trajan's reign, a dreadful earthquake overturned in Aſia the cities of Elea, Myrine, Pitame, and Cumæ; and in Greece the cities of Opus and Oritæ [t]. Adrian diſcharged for ſome time the office of tribune of the people, and then went to attend Trajan in the war againſt the Dacians.

Trajan marches againſt the Dacians.

The emperor, early in the ſpring, paſſed the Danube on the

[l] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 776. [m] Procop. de ædificiis Juſtin. l. iv. c. 6. [n] Plin. l. viii. c. 4. [o] Occo, p. 204. Baron. annal. ad ann. 105. [p] Fabretti de colum. Trajan. c. 301 [q] Occo, p. 204. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Procop. ibid [t] Euſeb. chron.

the bridge he had built, and entering the enemy's country, purſued the war with more prudence than expedition, not caring to expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers [u]. He often encamped, ſays Pliny [w], on ſteep and barren mountains; was obliged to divert rivers into new channels, and to attempt and perform things, which, were they not well atteſted, would ſeem altogether fabulous. He gave many ſignal inſtances of his perſonal courage, and the ſoldiers, animated by his example, chearfully underwent all the hardſhips of a laborious warfare [x]. Amongſt the reſt, one of his horſemen being wounded in an engagement, and carried to the camp to have his wound dreſſed, when he there underſtood, that his life was deſpaired of and the wound incurable, he returned to the combat before his ſpirits failed him, performed great feats, and expired fighting with incredible bravery [y]. Several inſcriptions are ſtill to be met with, mentioning perſons whom Trajan rewarded on account of their gallant conduct in the war with the Dacians [z]. In this war Adrian commanded a legion, and, in the many battles that were fought, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; whence the emperor highly pleaſed with his gallant behaviour, preſented him with the diamond, which Nerva had ſent him, as we have related above, when he adopted and named him his ſucceſſor. This preſent Adrian looked upon as a pledge of his future adoption [a]. Some inſcriptions have reached our times, in which Dacia is ſaid to have been added to the empire by the courage and valour of Adrian [b]. At length Trajan made himſelf maſter of the capital of Dacia, and almoſt of the whole country; inſomuch, that Decebalus, ſeeing himſelf ſtripped of his dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, choſe rather to put an end to his life, than to live in ſubjection, or acknowledge himſelf overcome. His head was immediately brought to Trajan, and by him ſent to Rome. He had concealed his treaſures in a deep pit, which he cauſed to be dug in the bed of the river Sargetia, now Iſtrig, having for that purpoſe turned the ſtream into another channel, and afterwards brought it to its former courſe. As for his rich moveables, he ſecured them in deep caves, which he cauſed to

Expoſes himſelf to great dangers.

Makes himſelf maſter of the capital of Dacia, which is reduced to a Roman province.

[u] Dio, ibid. [w] Plin. l. viii. epiſt. 9. [x] Dio, p. 776. [y] Idem, p. 777. [z] Fabr. column. Trajan. c. 8. p. 238, 241. [a] Spart. in Adrian. Dio, lxix. p. 787. [b] Fabr. ibid, p. 242.

to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not diſcover the ſecret; but Bacilis, one of his chief favourites and confidents, being taken in this war, diſcovered the whole to Trajan, who ſeized both the treaſure and precious moveables of the deceaſed prince [c]. We are told, that notwithſtanding this diſcovery, great riches were found in thoſe places many ages after, which had eſcaped Trajan [d]. The famous column of Trajan, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon, is thought to have been raiſed for a laſting monument of the victories gained by that prince over the Dacians and their king; at leaſt many of the remarkable events of this war are expreſſed, as Ciacconius and Fabretti inform us, in the baſſo-relievo of that pillar [e]. Dacia being thus entirely ſubdued, Trajan reduced it to a Roman province, which was according to Eutropius [f], a thouſand miles in compaſs. The Romans held it, as Feſtus informs us [g], to the reign of the emperor Gallienus; during which time it was governed by a Roman magiſtrate, with the title of proprætor, as appears from ſome antient inſcriptions [h]. Trajan built ſeveral caſtles in the country, and placed garriſons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewiſe planted a great number of colonies, diſtributing lands among the poor citizens of Rome and of the other towns of Italy, who were willing to ſettle in Dacia. The Hungarian writers mention ſeveral cities in their country, which were on this occaſion built or peopled by the Romans: but the moſt celebrated of all was Zermizegethuſa, which in ſeveral antient inſcriptions, is ſtyled Colonia Ulpia Trajana, Auguſta Dacia Sarmiz. It was eſtabliſhed by M. Scaurianus proprætor of Dacia, and continued ſubject to the Romans at leaſt to the death of the emperor Severus [i]. At preſent it is but a poor village in Tranſilvania, known by the name of Gradiſch [k]. In Mœſia and Thrace ſeveral cities borrowed their names from Trajan; for we find the city of Trajanapolis in Thrace mentioned by the antients; that of Ulpia in Upper Mœſia, now Servia; the cities of Plotinopolis, which, no doubt, was ſo called from Plotina, Trajan's wife, and Marcianopolis, the capital of Lower Mœſia, which took its name from Marciana, the emperor's ſiſter, and was according to Jornandes, built by Tra-

Many colonies planted in Dacia.

[c] Dio, ibid. [d] Fabr. ibid. [e] Idem, ibid.
[f] Eutrop. p. 236. [g] Ruf. p. 550. [h] Gruter. p. 354.
[i] Idem, p. 63. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 1040. [k] Baude. p. 348.

Trajan I. The ſame writer adds, that upon the banks of the river Iater, or Iatrus, he founded another city, which he called Nicopolis, or the city of victory, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the Sarmatians, or rather Dacians; for Jornandes frequently confounds theſe two nations [m]. This city is by Ammianus Marcellinus called ſometimes Nicopolis, ſometimes Ulpia, and placed not on the Iatrus, but on the Neſſus or Neſtus; and truly from ſeveral inſcriptions produced by the learned Holſtenius [n], it appears to have ſtood near the conflux of the Neſtus and the Danube. We muſt not confound, as ſome writers have done, Nicopolis in Dacia with another of the ſame name upon mount Hæmus in Thrace. Trajan, upon his return to Rome, triumphed over the Dacians a ſecond time; cauſed ſeveral medals to be coined in memory of his victories, many of which are ſtill to be ſeen [o]; entertained the people with public banquets; with ſhews in which ten thouſand gladiators entered the liſts; with combats of wild beaſts, of which above ten thouſand were killed, and all kinds of diverſions, which laſted one hundred and twenty-three days [p]. Canius at the requeſt of Pliny, deſcribed this war in verſe [q]; and Trajan himſelf is ſaid to have written an account of it in ſeveral books [r]. This war broke out in the beginning of the preceding year, but was not ended till the latter end of this; for we are told, that he took for the fifth time, the title of imperator about the latter end of the ninth year of his tribunitial power, which was the eighth of his reign [s]. The ſame year is remarkable for the entire reduction of Arabia Petræa by Aulus Cornelius Palma governor of Syria, after it had been long governed by its own kings [t]. The inhabitants of Petra and Boſtra reckon their time from this year, in which their country was firſt annexed to the Roman empire [u]. Trajan reduced, together with the Dacians, ſeveral nations in alliance with them; ſo that the fame of his conqueſts reaching the moſt diſtant countries, and even India, embaſſadors were ſent from thence to congratulate him upon the ſucceſs which had attended his arms [w].

Trajan's ſecond triumph over the Dacians.

Arabia Petræa entirely reduced.

THE

[l] Jorn. de reb. Goth. c. 16. [m] Idem, ibid. c. 18. [n] Holſt. ad Steph. p. 225. [o] Occo, p. 201. [p] Dio, ibid. p. 777. [q] Plin. l. viii. ep. 14. [r] Voſſ. hiſt. Lat, c. 30. [s] Vide Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 47, 48. [t] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 777. [u] Euſeb. in chron. p. 206. [w] Dio, ibid.

THE next conſuls were Cerealis and L. Ceionus Commodus Verus, the father of L. Ælius Verus, as is commonly ſuppoſed, who was by Adrian created Cæſar [x]. During their adminiſtration, the Capitoline ſports, eſtabliſhed by Domitian, were exhibited the ſixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child thirteen years old, named L. Valerius Pudens [y]. This year Trajan made at a vaſt charge, a road through the Palus Pontina, or Pontine Marſhes, whereof the remains are ſtill to be ſeen [z]; and this, no doubt, is the Via Trajana, or Trajan's Highway, mentioned in ſeveral antient inſcriptions produced by Occo [a] and Gruter [b]. Dion Caſſius adds, that he ordered all the diminiſhed coin to be melted down, and mentions ſeveral magnificent buildings, with which he embelliſhed Rome: but of theſe we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; for Trajan muſt have only begun them this year, ſince he left Rome in the month of October, and was at Antioch in the very beginning of the enſuing year [c]. However, before he ſet out for the eaſt, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by Craſſus and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt quality; but ſeaſonably diſcovered. The conſpirators were tried, not by him (for he declined being judge and at the ſame time a party), but by the ſenate, who, it ſeems, condemned them to baniſhment; for upon the emperor's death, one Craſſus Frugi endeavoured to make his eſcape from an iſland, to which he is ſaid to have been confined for aſpiring at the empire; but was killed by one of Adrian's officers, without the emperor's knowledge, as if he had attempted his eſcape with a deſign to raiſe new diſturbances [d]. The true motive of Trajan's journey into the eaſt was a deſire of glory, as Dion Caſſius informs us [e], which he hoped to reap from a war with the Parthians, who, we may ſay, rivalled the Romans themſelves in power, and had given them ſeveral great overthrows. The pretence he alledged for quarrelling with that nation was, that the king of Armenia, by name Exedares, had received his crown at the hands of the king of Parthia; whereas the Roman emperors claimed a right of diſpoſing of that crown ever ſince the reign of Nero, who in the year ſixty-ſix, the twelfth of his empire, had crowned at Rome Tiridates

A conſpiracy againſt Trajan.

His moderation on that occaſion.

Deſigns to make war upon the Parthians.

[x] Onuph. Idat. in faſt. Spart. in Ælii vit. [y] Onuph. in faſt. p. 216. [z] Dio, ibid. [a] Occo, p. 209. [b] Grut. p. 199. [c] Ignat. acta. p. 2, 3. Uſſer. notæ, p. 35. [d] Dio, ibid. p. 778. [e] Idem, ibid.

ridates king of Armenia. What happened after that time in Armenia we find no-where recorded; we only know, that Tiridates was ſtill on the throne in ſeventy-two, the third of Veſpaſian's reign. As for the affairs of the Parthians, Vologeſes, brother to Tiridates, was in the year eighty ſucceeded by Artabanes, and he by Pacorus the friend of Decebalus [f]. who reigned while Pliny governed Bithynia [g]. Pacorus was father to Parthamaſiris, and probably to Coſrhoes, who reigned at this time in Parthia [h]. Aurelius Victor calls him Coſdroes, and Dion Caſſius Hoſroes. Trajan, who wanted only a pretence to make war upon the Parthians, pretended to be highly affronted at the Parthian king's giving the crown and royal enſigns to Exedares, and demanded ſatisfaction, threatening him with war, if he refuſed to comply with his juſt demands. Coſrhoes deſpiſed his menaces; whereupon Trajan, who had already made the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, immediately left Rome and croſſed over into Greece. When Coſrhoes found he was in earneſt, he began to abate of his pride, and ſent deputies to him with rich preſents, begging that he would not, upon ſuch ſlight motives, engage the two empires in a bloody and deſtructive war; at the ſame time, he acquainted him that Exedares, finding himſelf neither acceptable to the Romans nor to the Parthians, had abdicated the crown, and beſought Trajan to diſpoſe of it in favour of Parthamaſiris. The embaſſadors met Trajan at Athens, and there delivered their meſſage; to which the emperor replied, that friendſhip was ſhewn by actions, and not by words; that he was going into Syria, and that there he ſhould take ſuch reſolutions as he ſhould think proper. He then diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, without deigning to accept any of their preſents [i]. He then purſued his journey through Aſia Minor, Cilicia, and the other provinces, to Seleucia in Syria, and from thence to Antioch, the capital of that province, which he entered crowned with a branch of an olive-tree on a Thurſday, which, that year and the following, happened, and never more during his reign, to be the ſeventh of January [k].

And ſets out for the eaſt.

Embaſſadors ſent to him by the king of the Parthians.

Arrives at Antioch.

[f] Zonar. in vit. Tit. [g] Plin. l. x. epiſt. 8. [h] Dio, p. 779. [i] Idem, p. 778. [k] Uſſer. not. in act. Ignat. p. 35. Lond. ann. 1647.

The following year's conſuls were Lucius Licinius Sura the third time, and Caius Soſius Senecio the ſecond, who reſigned the faſces to Suranus and Servianus [l], in whoſe conſulſhip Adrian was prætor, and exhibited moſt magnificent ſhews [m]; for he did not attend Trajan into the eaſt.

Adrian commands in Lower Pannonia.

When the time of his prætorſhip expired, he was ſent to command the armies in Lower Pannonia, where he maintained with great ſeverity the military diſcipline, and kept in awe the Sarmatians, whom Euſebius and St. Jerom count among the nations ſubdued by Trajan [n]. Servianus, who was conſul with Suranus, is called in ſeveral antient inſcriptions Julius Servilius Urſus Servianus, the ſame, no doubt, who married Paulina, ſiſter to Adrian, and the emperor's couſin [o]. Pliny wrote ſome letters to him as an intimate friend, and by his means obtained ſeveral favours of the emperor [p]. When he ſpeaks of him to others, he calls him a perſon of great accompliſhments [q]. He was governor of Upper Germany in the year 98, the firſt of Trajan's reign, and from thence was ſent into Panonia [r]. Trajan entertained a mighty opinion of his talents, and uſed to ſay, that among the great men who might aſpire at the empire, he was the moſt capable of diſcharging that high truſt with reputation. He was no friend to Adrian, and is ſuppoſed to have oppoſed his adoption; for that prince, a little before he died, in the year 138, ordered Servianus, then ninety years old, to be put to death, that he might not ſurvive him, tho' he had, during the whole courſe of his reign, treated him in a very friendly manner, and preferred him to the firſt employments [s]. He is often called by the Greek writers Severianus inſtead of Servianus [t]. But to return to Trajan: he made his entry into Antioch on the ſeventh of January, as we have related above. During his ſtay in that city, Abgarus, or,

Abgarus king of Edeſſa and other princes ſend preſents to Trajan.

as ſome call him, Augarus, prince of Edeſſa in Meſopotamia, ſent him preſents, and, by his embaſſadors, declared his ſincere deſire of living in friendſhip with him and the people of Rome; but, as he equally feared the Romans and Parthians, and was deſirous to pleaſe both, he declined

[l] Idat. chron. Alexand. Onuph. in faſt. [m] Spart. in Adrian. [n] Hier. in chron. [o] Spart. in Adrian. p. 1, 2.
[p] Plin. l. iii. epiſt. 26, 27. [q] Idem. l. viii. epiſt. 23.
[r] Spart. in Adrian. p. 1. [s] Idem ibid, & Dio, l. lxix. p. 795.
[t] Vide Spart. cum not. Caſaubon.

clined waiting upon him in perſon. The other petty princes in that neighbourhood came perſonally to offer their ſervice to the emperor of Rome, and brought with them, according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern countries, rich preſents. One among the reſt preſented him with a ſtately courſer, who, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down, bowed his head to the ground, and adored him, as he had been taught before-hand. Trajan received all the princes who came to attend him, with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, accepted their preſents, and pretended to repoſe an entire confidence in them. Having made the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition, he left Antioch, bending his march towards Armenia, when Parthamaſiris, who had wrote to him before, and in his letter ſtyled himſelf king of Armenia, ſent him a ſecond letter, (for Trajan had returned no anſwer to the firſt) wherein he omitted the title of king, and deſired, that M. Junius, governor of Cappadocia, might be appointed to treat with him, Trajan ſent only the ſon of Junius, and in the mean time purſued his march, making himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance. At Sata, or rather Satala, a city in Armenia Minor, the emperor was met by Anquialus king of the Heniochi, a people of Circaſſia on the Euxine ſea, and of the Maheloni, of whom we find no further mention in hiſtory. Trajan received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs, and made him rich preſents, in order to attach him to his intereſt. Upon his arrival at Elegia in the Greater Armenia, Parthamaſiris came to wait upon him, and beg of him the crown of Armenia. Trajan received him ſeated upon a throne or tribunal, and attended by the chief officers of his army. As Parthamaſiris approached the throne, he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a ſingle word, not doubting but he would immediately return it to him. In the mean time, the ſoldiers, pleaſed to ſee the king of Armenia, tho' ſupported by the whole power of the Parthian empire, obliged to ſubmit, and reſign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud ſhouts of joy; which ſo terrified Parthamaſiris, that he attempted to withdraw, and return to his metropolis; but finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, he deſired to ſpeak to Trajan in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but Trajan not liking his propoſals, and refuſing to comply with them,

The king of Armenia writes to the emperor, who ſeizes ſeveral places in that kingdom.

The king of Armenia waits upon him in perſon.

he left the tent in a great paſſion, and endeavoured to make his eſcape out of the camp. But Trajan, having ordered him to be ſtopped, and brought back, aſcended his tribunal anew, and deſired the prince to repeat in the hearing of all, the propoſals he had made to him in private, and his anſwers, that perſons, who were ignorant of what had paſſed between them, might not give falſe accounts of it, and miſrepreſent it to the world. Upon this Parthamaſiris, no longer able to contain himſelf, told Trajan, that he had neither been conquered, nor taken priſoner; that he came thither voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he ſhould receive his kingdom of Trajan, as Tiridates had done of Nero. Trajan replied, that Armenia belonged to the Romans, and that it ſhould receive a Roman governor, and be no longer a kingdom; that as for Pathamaſiris, he gave him liberty to retire whither he pleaſed. Accordingly he diſmiſſed him, and the Parthians who came with him, and appointed them a guard, that they might not be inſulted by the ſoldiery, or raiſe diſturbances; the Armenians he detained, as ſubjects of the Roman empire, and ordered them to return to their reſpective dwellings. Parthamaſiris endeavoured to maintain himſelf in his kingdom by force of arms; but loſt his life in the attempt, ſo that Trajan made himſelf maſter of Armenia, which he reduced to a Roman province [u]. As to the other particulars of this war, we find them no-where recorded. Upon the reduction of Armenia, ſeveral princes ſubmitted of their own accord to Trajan, amongſt whom are mentioned the kings of Iberia, Sarmatia, Boſporus, and Colchis [w]. He named a king to rule over the Albanians, and appointed one Julianus prince of the Apſiles, whoſe country bordered on the Euxine ſea, having for its metropolis the city of Dioſcuria, afterwards called Sebaſtapolis. Arrian, who wrote under Adrian, ſpeaks of a camp in the neighbourhood of this city, which he calls the boundary of the Roman empire [x]. The Romans had, before Trajan's time, a garriſon in Melitene or Melitine, a caſtle of Leſſer Armenia, which Trajan made a city, and appointed to be the metropolis of the whole country; whence in proceſs of time it became one of the moſt populous and wealthy cities

Trajan refuſes him the crown of Armenia.

Armenia reduced to a Roman province.

Several kings ſubmit to Trajan.

[u] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 779. Arrian. in perip. pont. Euxin. p. 7. Eutrop. in vit. Trajan. [w] Eutrop. ibid. [x] Arrian. ibid.

cities in the east [y]. The emperor, having left garrisons in all the strong-holds of Armenia, advanced to the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia, where he was received in a very friendly manner by Abgarus king of that district. Abgarus had before sent him several presents; but put off, under various pretences, waiting upon him in person. However, Trajan by the mediation of Abgarus's son, by name Arbandes, a very comely youth, received his excuses, and admitted him to his friendship. Abgarus made a great entertainment for the emperor and the chief officers of his army, at which Arbandes, who was perhaps too much beloved by Trajan, diverted him with dancing after the manner of his country [z]. Manes, the chief of one of the Arabian nations, Sporaces, prince of Anthemusia, a province of Mesopotamia, Mebarsapes, king of Adiabene, and Manisares, king of some district in that neighbourhood, declared, that they were ready to join Trajan; but, in the mean time, delayed meeting him, so that the emperor began to distrust them, especially after the treachery of Mebarsapes; who having demanded and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, against the Parthians, put most of them to the sword, and kept the rest in captivity. Amongst the latter was a centurion, named Sentius, who, as Trajan, highly provoked at this treachery, approached a place of great strength, called Ademysires, where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the assistance of his fellow-captives, killed the governor of the fort, and opened the gates to the Romans [a]. Trajan, now master of so strong and important a place, advanced boldly into Mesopotamia and reduced great part of it by the bare fame of his name. As the greatest part of Adiebene lay beyond the Tigris, Trajan built a bridge over that river, which is represented on several medals that have reached our times [b]. The cities of Nisibe and Batue made a vigorous defence; but in the end were obliged to yield. If the city of Nisibe belonged, as Josephus writes, to the king of Adiabene, it was at this time, as is manifest from Dion Cassius [c], in the hands of the Parthians. As for Cosrhoes, we know not what measures he took, or what attempts he made to stop the progress

Enters Mesopotamia.

The treachery of the king of Adiabene.

Trajan builds a bridge over the Tigris

[y] Procop. de ædific. Justin. l. iii. c. 4. [z] Dio, ibid. p. 780. [a] Idem, p. 781. [b] Occo, p. 205. Birag. p. 157. [c] Dio, ibid.

of Trajan's conquests. In Dion Cassius we read, that Manisares offered to yield to the Romans for ever all Armenia, and that part of Mesopotamia, which they had already conquered. Whence we conjecture, that the name of Manisares has crept into the text instead of Cosrhoes, who alone could make such an offer, and between whom and Trajan a treaty was, it seems, concluded, since Aurelius Victor writes, that the emperor obliged him to deliver hostages. What treaty this was, or on what occasion, or by whom it was violated, (for the war broke out anew) we are no-where told. To this treaty perhaps allude the medals, which were struck about this time, with the following legend, "Peace established; the king of the Parthians restored [n]." The power of the Parthians was, as Dion Cassius informs us [o], greatly weakened at this time by their intestine wars; so that Cosrhoes was perhaps obliged to recur to Trajan, and implore his protection against his own subjects. This is all we know of Trajan's wars in the east, till the year 115, the eighteenth of his reign. We should be able to give a better account of all these transactions, if the Parthian history, composed by Arrian, who flourished at this time, on purpose to set forth the exploits of Trajan, and by him divided into seventeen books, had reached us [p]; but that history being long since lost, and many other histories of these times, (for under no prince there flourished a greater number of celebrated historians than under Trajan) we are with no prince's exploits less acquainted than with Trajan's. Not to mention the many historians who have described the Parthian war, in which Trajan distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, both as a soldier and a general, Marius Maximus, Fabius Marcellinus, Aurelius Verus, Statius Valens, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Dion Cassius, wrote his life, either by itself, or in the body of the Roman history. But none of the works of these authors are now remaining; so that we are obliged to recur to the abridgment of Dion Cassius by Xiphilin, and to the still more compendious and undigested writings of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. We cannot even learn of any writer, whether Trajan ever returned to Rome after he set out from thence

A treaty between Trajan and the king of the Parthians.

[n] Vide Occon. p. 201. [o] Dio, p. 783. [p] Phot. c. 58.

thence to conquer Armenia, However, we cannot perſuade ourſelves that he continued in the eaſt, without once viſiting the metropolis of the empire, for the ſpace of eleven or twelve years: the more, becauſe ſome medals it appears pretty plain, that he returned to Rome before the year 112, the fifteenth of his reign, and that he left it the ſame or following year [q]; which gives a great light to hiſtory, and may ſerve to juſtify the acts of the glorious martyr St. Ignatius. Luſius Quietus diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the commanders employed by Trajan in this war. He was a Moor by nation, and born in a country not ſubject to Rome; but nevertheleſs ſerved in the Roman cavalry, till he was either by Domitian or Nerva for ſome miſdemeanour degraded and diſmiſſed. Trajan, wanting Moors in his wars with the Dacians, took this prince again into the ſervice, with a body of his countrymen and dependents, at the head of whom he performed wonders, both in the firſt and ſecond Dacian war [r]. In the Parthian war he ſerved with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, that Trajan honoured him with the conſulate, and, towards the end of his reign, appointed him governor of Paleſtine, by way of reward for a ſignal victory which he gained over the Jews of Meſopotamia [s]. His reducing the Mardi, a people of Aſia near Armenia, and not far from the Caſpian ſea, is mentioned, as what moſt of all contributed to his glory and preferment [t]. Ammianus Marcellinus extolls him as one of the greateſt captains that ever bore arms for the Romans [u]. We are told, that Trajan had ſuch a kindneſs and eſteem for him, that he had ſome thoughts of naming him for his ſucceſſor, tho' he was not even born a ſubject of the empire [w]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention him again in the following reign. In the ſix following years we find nothing recorded by the compilers of the antients, (for the works of the antients themſelves have been long ſince loſt, as we have hinted above) except the names of the conſuls, the making the high-way by Trajan from Beneventum

Lucius Quietus diſtinguiſhes himſelf in this and Trajan's other wars.

[q] Vide Birag. p. 158. [r] Dio, in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 710. l. lxviii. p. 773. Spart. in Aur. Themiſt. orat. xvi. Mauric. tactic. l. xi. c. 2. [s] Dio, in excerpt. p. 710. Euſeb l. iv. c. 1. [t] Euſeb. ibid. [u] Ammian. l. xxix. [w] Euſeb. & Themiſt. ibid.

ventum to Brunduſium; the burning the pantheon by lightning; the overturning of ſome cities in Galatia by an earthquake; and dedicating of the great ſquare at Rome, which took its name from Trajan. The conſuls (for of theſe magiſtrates we have never yet omitted the names) were Appius Annius Trebonianus Gallus and Marcus Attilius Metellus Bradua; Aulus Cornelius Palma, the ſecond time, and L. Tullus; Priſcinus, or Priſcianus, and Orfitus; Caius Calpurnius Piſo and M. Vettius Bolanus; Trajan, the ſixth time, and Titus Sextius Bolanus; Lucius Publius Celſus, the ſecond time, and Caius Clodius Criſpinus; Quintus Ninnius Hoſta and Publius Manilius Vopiſcus. Theſe were conſuls from the eleventh to the ſeventeenth year of Trajan's reign, incluſively; that is, from the 108th to the 114th of the chriſtian æra. On ſome medals that were coined during Trajan's ſixth conſulſhip, is marked the departure of that prince from

Trajan returns to the eaſt.

Rome [x], no doubt, to return to the eaſt: which we may ſuppoſe to have happened the year he was conſul, the fifteenth of his reign; for in that year Adrian, who commanded under him in the ſecond Parthian war, was created archon, or chief magiſtrate of Athens; which honour was probably conferred upon him, as he paſſed through that city with Trajan [y].

The eighteenth year of Trajan's reign and 115th of the chriſtian æra was remarkable for the victories gained by that great warrior over the Parthians, and for which he aſſumed the title of emperor the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth times [z]. Whatever gave occaſion to this war (for hiſtory is ſilent upon this head), Trajan, before he left Syria, ſent, at the requeſt of his friends, ſome perſons

He conſults the oracle of Heliopolis.

to conſult the oracle of Heliopolis in Phænicia, to know whether he ſhould return from this war to Rome. The oracle returned an anſwer, as uſual, in ambiguous terms, which might be interpreted either way. Trajan, putting the beſt conſtruction upon the dark words of the oracle, early in the ſpring left Syria, and marched againſt the Partians encamped on the other ſide of the Tygris. As the river was not fordable, and the enemy poſſeſſed with a numerous army the oppoſite bank, he ſecretly cauſed a great

[x] Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 72.
[y] Vide Noris. ibid.
[z] Gruter. p. 218. Goltz. p. 65, 66.

great number of boats to be built in the woods of Niſibis, which being conveyed upon carriages to the river-ſide, a bridge was ſuddenly formed with them over the river, which Trajan paſſed in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the enemy, who greatly annoyed him with ſhowers of arrows, till he ſent ſeveral boats againſt them manned with archers and ſlingers, and ordered others to move up and down the river, as if they were trying to land in other places. This ſo diſtracted the Parthians, already diſmayed and ſurpriſed at the ſight of ſo many veſſels in a country quite deſtitute of wood, that they gave way, and ſuffered the Roman army to paſs the river without further moleſtation. Trajan made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Adiabene, which he had reduced in the former war, but perhaps reſtored upon the concluſion of the peace. He likewiſe ſubdued the country, which at that time ſtill retained the name of Aſſyria, and in which ſtood the city of Ninos or Ninive, and Arbela and Gaugamela, two places famous in hiſtory on account of the victories of Alexander the Great. As the Parthians were greatly weakened by their domeſtic wars and ſtill divided among themſelves, Trajan advanced, without oppoſition, to the celebrated city of Babylon, of the power and greatneſs of which we have read ſuch wonders. He entered it, no one offering to withſtand him; and reduced its large territory, where the Roman ſtandards had never before been diſplayed. By this acquiſition, he became maſter of thoſe rich and noble countries, Aſſyria and Chaldæa. There he was led by his curioſity, ſays Dion Caſſius, to viſit the lake of bitumen, which was made uſe of in building the famous walls of Babylon. But that lake is by Rutilius[a], and others, placed in Meſopotamia. Afterwards he began a canal between the Euphrates and the Tigris, in order to convey his veſſels out of the former river into the latter, and with them lay a bridge over the Tigris, being reſolved to beſiege Cteſiphon, which ſtood on that river: but being informed, that the bed of the Euphrates was much higher than that of the Tigris, he abandoned the deſign, fearing the ſtream would become too rapid, and conſequently

He paſſes the Tigris on a bridge of boats.

Reduces Aſſyria.

And arrives at Babylon.

He begins a canal between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but drops that undertaking.

[a] Rut. itiner. p. 32.

consequently unnavigable [b]. However Ammianus Marcellinus assure us, that the emperor Julian, having removed the stones with which the mouth of the canal was stopt, conveyed his vessels through that cut from the Euphrates into the Tigris, a little above Ctesiphon [c]. This canal was called Naarmalca, that is, the river of kings. Trajan, fearing the above-mentioned inconvenience, did not think it advisеable to make use of the canal; but ordered his vessels to be brought upon land-carriages from the Euphrates to the Tigris, these two rivers being in some places at a small distance from each other; and having formed a bridge with them, passed his army over the Tigris, and made himself master of Seleucia, and likewise of the great city of Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian, and afterwards of the Persian empire [d]. Upon his entering that city, he was proclaimed emperor by the army, who with loud shouts of joy confirmed to him the title of Parthicus, which he had first gained by the reduction of Nisibis. At Ctesiphon he took the daughter of Cosrhoes, and seized the throne of the Parthian kings, which was of massy gold [e]. Cosrhoes himself made his escape, and was still living in the reign of Adrian. Trajan acquainted the senate with the success that had attended him in this expedition: whereupon a decree passed, allowing the conqueror of the Parthians to enter Rome in triumph as often as he pleased [f]. The taking of Ctesiphon put him in possession of all the neighbouring countries. Eutropius tells us, that he reduced the Marcomades, the Cardueni, Anthemisia, a large province of Persia, says that writer, and all the countries lying between Babylon and India. At Babylon he visited the house in which Alexander the Great died, and there performed some ceremonies in honour of that famous conqueror [g]. Ammianus Marcellinus writes, that in his time Trajan's tribunal was still to be seen at a city in the neighbourhood of Babylon which he calls Ozogardene [h]. Trajan reduced Assyria to a Roman province, as he had before done Armenia and Mesopotamia; so that the empire now extended to the Tigris, and even beyond that river. How he disposed of the country of the Parthians, we shall relate

Makes himself master of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian empire.

Reduces several countries.

Assyria made a Roman province.

[b] Dio, p. 784. Eutrop. in Trajan.
[c] Ammian. l. xxiv.
[d] Dio, ibid.
[e] Spart. in Adr.
[f] Dio, ibid.
[g] Dio, p. 785.
[h] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 265.

relate anon. He obliged the inhabitants of Meſopotamia, and, no doubt, thoſe likewiſe of the other provinces, to pay him a yearly tribute [h]. The dialogue between Triepho and Critias, which is falſely aſcribed to Lucian, ſeems to have been written about this time; for it ends with the news of the taking of Suſa, formerly the metropolis of Perſia. Mention is likewiſe there made of inroads made by the Scythians, as if they committed great devaſtations in the Roman territories [i]. Towards the end of the autumn, Trajan returned to Antioch, which was that winter almoſt entirely ruined by one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes mentioned in hiſtory. That city was then crouded with troops, and ſtrangers came from all quarters, either out of curioſity, or upon buſineſs, and embaſſies; ſo that there was ſcarce a nation or province but what had a ſhare in the calamity; and all the Roman world, ſays Dion Caſſius [k], ſuffered in one city. The earthquake was preceded by violent claps of thunder, unuſual winds, and a dreadful noiſe under ground: then followed ſo terrible a ſhock, that the earth all trembled, ſeveral houſes were overturned, and others toſſed to and fro like a ſhip in the ſea: the noiſe of the cracking and burſting of the timber, of the falling of the houſes, and a diſmal and loud roaring under ground, drowned the cries of the diſmayed people. Thoſe who happened to be in their houſes, were, for the moſt part, buried under their ruins; ſuch as were walking in the ſtreets and in the ſquares, were by the violence of the ſhock, daſhed againſt one another, and moſt of them either killed or dangerouſly wounded. As the earthquake continued with ſome ſmall intermiſſion, for many days and nights together, many thouſands periſhed by it, and among the reſt the conſul Marcus Pedo Virgilianus, with many other perſons of great diſtinction. The moſt violent ſhock of all was, as we read in the acts of St. Ignatius, on a Sunday, the twenty-third of December. Trajan himſelf was much hurt, but nevertheleſs eſcaped through a window out of the houſe where he was. Dion Caſſius pretends, that he was taken out of the window, and carried away by one, who in tallneſs exceeded the human ſize. The ſame writer adds, that mount Liſon, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from Antioch, bowed with its top, and threatened to fall down upon the city; that other mountains fell; that new rivers appeared; and others, that had

A dreadful earthquake at Antioch.

Trajan himſelf is hurt.

flowed

[h] Eutrop. ibid. Feſt. Ruf. breviar. p. 553. Spart. ibid.
[i] Lucian. in philopatride, dialogo. Et Baron ad ann. 114.
[k] Dio, p. 781.

flowed before, forſook their courſe, and vaniſhed. When the earthquake ceaſed, the voice of a woman was heard crying under the ruins; which being immediately removed, ſhe was found with a ſucking child in her arms, whom ſhe had kept alive, as well as herſelf, with her milk. Search was made for others, but no one beſides was found alive, except a child, that was ſtill ſucking its dead mother [l]. This dreadful earthquake is mentioned by Euſebius, Aurelius Victor, and Evagrias, who all ſpeak of it as the greateſt calamity recorded in hiſtory [m].

THE next conſuls were L. Ælius Lamia and Ælianus Verus. From an inſcription of this year, the nineteenth of Trajan's reign, we learn that the ſenate and people of Rome returned the emperor ſolemn thanks for having facilitated the entry into Italy on the ſide of the Adriatic ſea, by a port made by his orders at Ancona, as he had ſome years before made one on the Mediterranean, at or near Centumcellæ, now Civita-Vecchia. Upon the return of the ſpring, Trajan, leaving Antioch, viſited the conquered countries; and finding them all in a ſtate of tranquility, he made various regulations; and then embarking on board his fleet, ſailed down the Tigris, being deſirous to view the Perſian gulf, which Dion Caſſius calls the Red-Sea, or Mare Erythræum, ſuppoſing it to have taken that name from Erythrus, a prince once very powerful in thoſe parts [n]. The ſtorms, the rapidity of the river, and the tides rendered his navigation both troubleſome and dangerous. However, he made himſelf maſter of Meſene, an iſland formed by the Tigris, and obliged Athambylus, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. He was well received by the inhabitants of Charax Spaſinæ, the metropolis of Athambylus's dominions, which moſt geographers place at the mouth of the Tigris. Dion Caſſius tell us, that Trajan ſailed into the Ocean, meaning perhaps the Perſian gulf; for it is not probable, that, with the ill-built boats, of which his fleet conſiſted, he purſued his courſe beyond Ormuz, where the gulf ends. It was, we conjecture, on this occaſion, that he reduced Arabia Felix. Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria, had ſome years before ſubdued Arabia Petræa, as we have obſerved above, and reduced it to a Roman province. But now Trajan made

The port of Ancona.

Trajan ſails down the Tigris into the Perſian gulf.

He reduces Arabia Felix.

[l] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 781. Ignat. acta, p. 53, 54. [m] Euſeb. chron. p. 208. & l. i. c. 12. [n] Dio, p. 784.

made himſelf maſter, it ſeems, of Arabia Felix; for Arrian, in his book on the navigation of the Red Sea, obſerves, that in the reign of Trajan, there were at Leuca, a borough upon that ſea, a centurion, and ſome troops, with a receiver, who claimed the fourth part of all the goods that were landed there [o]. The ſame writer places on the ſouth coaſt of Arabia, beyond the ſtreights of Bebel Mander, a city called Arabia, and ſurnamed Eudæmon, or the Happy, from its having been formerly enriched by means of the trade that was carried on there; but adds, "A little be-"fore our time it was deſtroyed by Cæſar, and is at pre-"ſent only a village [p]." As he places it in the country of the Homeritæ [q], ſome writers take it, to have ſtood where the preſent city of Aden ſtands. Beſides, it appears from ſeveral medals, or pieces of money, coined after the year 111, the fourteenth of Trajan's reign [r], that he reduced Arabia, not by his lieutenants, but in perſon [s]. Feſtus too mentions the conqueſt of Arabia [t]; and Eutropius ſeems to reckon the reducing of that country to a Roman province amongſt the laſt actions of Trajan [u]. A writer who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about this time, after having ſaid, that the power of the Perſians and Parthians had yielded, adds, that Suſa itſelf was taken, and that all Arabia would ſoon ſubmit to the victorious and invincible prince [w]. This muſt, without all doubt, be underſtood of Arabia Felix, which it is thence plain he did not ſubdue, till after the conqueſt of Aſſyria, that is, before this year, the nineteenth of his reign, and the 116th of the chriſtian æra. Some read in Feſtus [x], that he conquered the country of the Saracens; but as no mention is made of that people by any other writer of thoſe times, we readily fall in with thoſe who, inſtead of Saraceni, read Oſrhoeni, who inhabited one of the provinces of Meſopotamia, called Oſrhoene, from a king of the country named Oſrhoes [y]. Trajan having reached the ocean, as we read in Dion Caſſius, and there diſcovering a ſhip bound to India, wiſhed he was young, that he might extend, as Alexander had done, his conqueſts to that country [z]. Eutropius tells us, that he had a fleet

He envies Alexander, who conquered India.

[o] Arrian. in peripl. Erythyr. p. 6. [p] Idem, p. 8. [q] Idem, p. 46. [r] Birag. p. 116. [s] Occo, p. 215. [t] Feſt. in breviar. p. 551. [u] Eutrop. in Trajan. [w] Lucian. philop. [x] Feſt. p. 551——553. [y] Procop. l. i. Perſ. c. 18. [z] Dio, p. 784.

fleet ready equipped in the Red Sea, with a deſign to invade India; that he informed himſelf of the cuſtoms, ſtrength, and manner of fighting of the Indians; and that he envied the happineſs of Alexander, who had ſubdued them, and extended his conqueſts far beyond the bounds of the Roman empire. The Romans had even the vanity to brag, that they had brought India under ſubjection, as Euſebius obſerves[a]; but by India they perhaps meant Arabia Felix. Trajan wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the ſucceſs of his arms, and naming the ſeveral nations, which he had conquered, and which were utterly unknown. They decreed him extraordinary honours; among the reſt, that he ſhould, upon his return to Rome, triumph over each particular nation, which he had ſubdued; which was decreeing him, not one, but many triumphs: a triumphal arch was built in his own forum, to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts; and the people of Rome made great preparations to receive him with the utmoſt pomp upon his return. But to Rome he never returned; nor was the end of his actions anſwerable to the beginning. For moſt of the nations, which he had conquered, revolted and ſhook off the yoke, after having driven out or maſſacreed the garriſons that had been left amongſt them. The Jews, who had been diſperſed into all parts of the world, fell into a dreadful rebellion in all the provinces of the empire, being prompted thereunto by the abſence of the emperor, and the late terrible earthquake, which as they imagined, portended the ruin and downfal of the Roman empire. They roſe at the ſame time in Alexandria, all over Egypt, and in Libya Cyrenaica, againſt the other inhabitants of thoſe countries, whom hiſtorians call Greeks, and againſt the Romans, who were very numerous in thoſe provinces, which had been long ſubject to Rome. In Egypt, which was then governed by Lupus, they aſſembled in vaſt crowds, committed dreadful diſorders, and falling upon the inhabitants, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs the tumult, defeated them at the very firſt onſet with great ſlaughter. But this advantage coſt them dear; for the Egyptians, who had the good luck to eſcape the general carnage, ſheltering themſelves in Alexandria, ſeized and maſſacred, without diſtinction of ſex or age, all the Jews who dwelt in that city[b]. The Jews indeed ſold their lives dear, but were in the end overpowered, and all to a man cut in pieces[c]. The Jews

Extraordinary honours decreed him by the ſenate.

The Jews revolt in ſeveral places.

[a] Euſeb. chron. p. 206.
[b] Euſeb. l. iv. c. 2.
[c] Oros. l. vii. c. 12.

Jews of Cyrene, who were it ſeems, the ringleaders of the revolt, finding they could not receive the aſſiſtance which they had promiſed themſelves from their brethren in Alexandria, (for they had formed a deſign of ſeizing that city) entered Egypt, committing every where moſt dreadful devaſtations and unheard-of cruelties. They were headed, according to Euſebius[d], by one Lucua, whom he ſtyles king; but, according to Dion Caſſius[e], by one named Andrew, whom they had choſen for their leader. However that be, their rage and fury was ſo great and boundleſs, their barbarities ſo heinous and outrageous, that they are ſcarce to be matched in hiſtory. For, not ſatisfied with inhumanly maſſacring Greeks and Romans of all ranks, ages, and degrees, they devoured their fleſh, waſhed themſelves in their blood, wore their ſkins, and made themſelves garlands with their intrails; ſome they ſawed aſunder; others they threw to wild beaſts, or obliged them to fight till they killed one another, after they had put them to all kinds of torments. Thus they deſtroyed in Libya above two hundred thouſand perſons; an incredible number in Egypt, not ſpecified by hiſtorians; and in the iſland of Cyprus, where they likewiſe roſe, two hundred and fifty thouſand: Salamis, one of the chief and moſt populous cities of that iſland, they laid in aſhes, after having, with that cruelty which was ever peculiar to the Jewiſh nation, murdered all the inhabitants, without ſparing either women or children[f]. By theſe maſſacres, the province of Libya was ſo diſpeopled, that it would have been left quite uninhabited, had not the emperor Adrian ſent thither a few years after ſeveral colonies[g]. Trajan, informed of theſe barbarities, reſolved in a great rage to purſue thoſe impious wretches, not as rebels, but as monſters, and enemies to mankind. Accordingly he diſpatched into Libya, Marcius Turbo, with a ſtrong body of horſe, and foot, and a conſiderable fleet, injoining him to purſue them both by ſea and land with revenge anſwerable to the enormity of their crimes. Turbo defeated them in a pitched battle, and put great numbers of them to the ſword, but not without the loſs of many of his beſt men, the Jews of Cyrene having been joined before the battle by thoſe of Egypt[h]. Neither was the victory compleat, nor the battle deciſive; for the

And commit unheard-of cruelties.

They are defeated in Africa by Turbo.

[d] Euſeb. ibid. [e] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 786. [f] Doi. ibid.
[g] Oros. l. vii. c. 12. Euſeb. in chron. [h] Euſeb. l. iv. c. 2.

the war continued till the reign of Adrian, who ſucceeded Trajan on the eleventh of Auguſt of the year 117. That prince is ſaid by St. Jerom to have conquered the Jews, who had revolted a ſecond time[i]; which Scaliger and others underſtand with reſpect to the firſt revolt under Nero. Beſides, Spartian tells us, that Turbo, having, in the very beginning of Adrian's reign, ended the war with the Jews, was ſent by that prince againſt the Moors, who had begun to make incurſions into the Roman territories before the death of Trajan[k]. In the Iſland of Cyprus, the Jews were, by the Romans and inbabitants, all cut off to a man; and thoſe of that cruel and treacherous nation forbidden, upon pain of death, ever to ſet foot upon that iſland; which prohibition the inhabitants extended even to ſuch as were driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, and whom conſequently they put immediately to death[k]. They revolted likewiſe in Meſopotamia, but were there ſoon quelled by the brave Luſius Quietus, who defeated them in a pitched battle, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the reſt out of the country[l]. The example of the Jews was followed by moſt of the countries which Trajan had conquered, the inhabitants riſing every-where up in arms, and murdering or driving out the Roman gariſons. Againſt them the emperor diſpatched Luſius Quietus and L. Appius Maximus, who were attended with very different ſucceſs; for Maximus was defeated and killed; by whom, hiſtory does not inform us: but Luſius diſtinguiſhed himſelf as uſual, gained great advantages over the enemy, recovered the city of Niſibis, beſieged, ſtormed, and laid in aſhes the city of Edeſſa. On the other hand, Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander, two other commanders of the emperor, retook the city of Seleucia upon the Tigris, and ſeveral others, which had ſhaken off the yoke. Luſius was, for his gallant conduct, rewarded with the government of Paleſtine[m], no doubt, to keep that province in awe, which was chiefly inhabited by Jews, and ſeemed inclined, as Spartian informs us[n], to revolt and raiſe new diſturbances in the empire. For theſe advantages, and the recovery of his conqueſts, Trajan took the tenth and laſt time the title of emperor[o]. During theſe diſturbances, Sambelus

And all cut to pieces in the iſland of Cyprus.

Moſt of the countries conquered by Trajan revolt.

But are again reduced.

[i] Hier. in chron.
[k] Dio. l. lxviii. p. 785. Euſeb. l. iv. c. 2.
[a] Spart. in Adr. p. 6.
[k] Spart. in Adr. p. 3.
[l] Dio, p. 786. Ammian. l. xxix.
[m] Dio, in excerpt. Val, p. 720.
[o] Goltz. p. 86.

Sambelus, king of Meſene, continued faithful to Trajan. Neither did the Parthians make any attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, or rather of their former condition. But Trajan, fearing they would ſoon ſhake off the yoke, thought it adviſeable to oblige them, by giving them, inſtead of a Roman governor, a king of their own nation. With this deſign he repaired to Cteſiphon; and having there aſſembled in a large plain the Romans and Parthians, he aſcended a high throne, and declared one Parthamaſpates king of the Parthians, putting, with great pomp and ſolemnity, the crown upon his head. Parthamaſpates, whom Spartian calls Pſamateſſiris, continued faithful to the Romans; but was deſpiſed by the Parthians as a ſlave to Rome, and had ſcarce any authority over them[p]. In ſeveral coins, which have reached our times, is repreſented a king proſtrate before Trajan, with this legend on ſome, "He gives a king to the Parthians"; and on others the following, "He diſtributes kingdoms[q]".

Trajan gives a king to the Parthians.

The following year, the twentieth and laſt of Trajan's reign, Niger and Apronianus being conſuls[r], the emperor marched into Arabia and there made war upon the Hagareni, or Agareni, who had likewiſe revolted. What part of Arabia they inhabited, we cannot determine, ſince we find no farther mention made of them till the times of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, when the name of Hagareni became common to the Saracens and Arabians in general. The emperor laid ſiege to their city, which by Xiphilin is called Atra. It was neither great nor beautiful, ſays Dion Caſſius[s], but thought to be very rich, by reaſon the ſun was worſhipped there, which drew crouds of people thither with rich preſents from the neighbouring countries[t]. It was ſituated on the top of an high and ſteep mountain, well peopled, and ſurrounded with ſtrong walls[u]. But its chief ſtrength conſiſted in the barrenneſs of the neighbouring country, deſtitute, to a great diſtance, of graſs, wood, and even of water; ſo that a great army could not long ſubſiſt before it; hence it was neither taken now by Trajan, nor afterwards by Severus, tho' they had both made a breach in the wall. Trajan narrowly eſcaped being killed in one of the attacks,

He beſieges Atra.

[p] Dio. p. 786.
[q] Occo, p. 213. Birag. p. 163.
[r] Idat. & Caſſiodor. in Faſt.
[s] Dio, l. lxviii. p. 785.
[t] Idem, l. lxxv. p. 854.
[u] Herodian. l. iii. p. 528.

attacks; for having laid aſide the enſigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in perſon: but the enemy, knowing him, notwithſtanding that diſguiſe, by his grey hairs and majeſtic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horſe, and killed an horſeman by his ſide. Beſides, as often as the Romans advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent ſtorms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flaſhes of lightening. At the ſame time, they were in a ſtrange manner infeſted in their camp by ſwarms of flies: ſo that Trajan was in the end obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire. Soon after, as he was ſtricken in years and worn out with ſo many long marches, he was ſeized with a dropſy and palſy, which he aſcribed to poiſon, but others thought natural. However, he was ſtill for returning into Meſopotamia, to reduce ſome places which had revolted there. But his diſtemper encreaſing, he left the command of the army to Adrian, whom he had appointed governor of Syria, and embarqued for Italy. It was no ſooner known, that he had ſet ſail, than all the countries, which he had conquered at a vaſt charge, and by expoſing himſelf to innumerable dangers, ſhook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in ſpite of the troops which he had left to keep them in ſubjection. The Parthians drove out Parthamaſpates; the Armenians choſe themſelves a king; and the greateſt part of Meſopotamia revolted from Rome, and ſubmitted to the king of the Parthians. Thus all the pains he had taken, all the toils he had undergone, and the immenſe ſums he had expended, proved in the end to no effect. Upon his arrival at Selinus in Cilicia, which was afterwards from him called Trajanopolis, he was ſeized with a flux, which in a very ſhort time put an end to his life. He died in the beginning of Auguſt, after having reigned nineteen years, ſix months, and fifteen days, counting from the death of Nerva to the eleventh of Auguſt, (for we know not the preciſe day on which he died) when Adrian received at Antioch the news of his death, which had been concealed for ſome time, and thereupon cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [w]. Eutropius, and ſuch as have copied him, tell us, that Trajan died at Seleucia in Iſauria. But Seleucia is at a great diſtance from

But raiſes the ſiege.

Is taken ill, and ſets ſail for Italy.

The Parthians drive out their king.

Trajan dies at Selinus in Cilicia.

[w] Dio, p. 786. Aurel. epit. Julian. Cæſar, p. 39.

from the ſea; but moſt writers agree, that he was going to Rome by ſea. Beſides, it appears from ſeveral inſcriptions [x], from the author of the verſes commonly aſcribed to the Sibyls, and from the chronicle of Alexandria, that he died at Selinus. Hence Scaliger and Caſaubon wonder, how any one can call in queſtion a thing ſo well atteſted [y]. His body was burnt at Selinus, and his aſhes carried by his wife Plotina and his niece Matidies, or Matidia, in a golden urn, to Rome, where they were received with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited under the ſtately column, which he had erected, tho' it ſtood within the walls, where no one before him had been buried [z]. Sports, called Parthic Sports, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the eaſt [a]. From an antient inſcription, we learn, that Phidemion, his freedman, his chamberlain, cup-bearer, and ſecretary, died a few days after him, on the twelfth of Auguſt, of grief for the loſs of ſo good a maſter [b]. Trajan left no children [c]; nor are we told that he ever had any. Some write, that he deſigned in imitation of Alexander the Great, to die without naming a ſucceſſor; others tell us, that he intended to name ten perſons to the ſenate, leaving it in their power to chuſe which of them they judged beſt qualified for the ſovereignty [d]. We read in Dion Caſſius [e], that once at a banquet he deſired his friends to name ten perſons, whom they thought capable of, and equal to, the ſupreme power. Both Trajan himſelf and his friends ſeemed, according to Spartian, to judge Neratius Priſcus, who was the greateſt civilian of his time, the beſt qualified for ſucceeding him in the empire [f]. That writer adds, that one day he addreſſed him thus: To you Neratius, I recommend the provinces, in caſe I ſhould die. He had likewiſe ſome thoughts of leaving the empire to Servianus [g], whoſe daughter Adrian had married; and to Luſius Quietus, of whom he deſervedly entertained a mighty opinion [h]. But in the end, Adrian was preferred to

His aſhes are conveyed to Rome, and depoſited under his column.

[x] Vide P. Pagi. ad ann. 117. [y] Vide Caſaubon. in Spart. not. C. p. 10. & Scaliger. in Euſeb. chron. p. 341. [z] Dio, l. lxix. p. 788. Ciaccon. col. Traj. Vict. epit. [a] Dio, ibid. [b] Euſeb. chron. p. 208. [c] Themiſtius, orat. 16. [d] Spart. in Adri. p. 3. [e] Dio, l. lxix. p. 795. [f] Spart. ibid. [g] Dio, p. 795. [h] Themiſt. orat. 16.

all the reſt; which was rather owing to the favour of Plotina, than to any extraordinary kindneſs of Trajan towards him. For though the emperor was nearly related to him, had been his guardian, and given him his niece in marriage, yet he never took great notice of him [i]; nor did Adrian ever ſhew any particular affection for Trajan. Hence it was commonly believed, that Trajan did not adopt him; but that Plotina, who was a great friend to Adrian, introduced, after the death of her huſband, a ſuppoſititious perſon, who, counterfeiting the voice of the dying emperor, declared, that he adopted Adrian. Dion Caſſius tells us in expreſs terms, that Trajan never adopted Adrian; but the whole affair was managed by Plotina and Atianus, or rather Tatianus, who had been jointly, with the emperor, Adrian's guardian; and adds, that for this reaſon the emperor's death was for ſome days concealed. This Dion Caſſius learnt of his father Apronianus, who, as he had been governor of Cilicia, where the emperor died, had thence certain intelligence of what had paſſed at his death. Beſides, the letters written to the ſenate concerning this adoption were not ſigned by Trajan, but by Plotina, who had never before ſigned any of her huſband's diſpatches [k]. A modern writer, of no mean character [l], looks upon what Dion Caſſius relates of the ſuppoſititious adoption of Adrian as an arrant fable; and pretends, that he was adopted by the emperor a whole year before his death; which, if true, would have left no room even for ſuch a fable. What induced him to embrace this opinion is, that Adrian, as we read in moſt authors, and as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, reigned twenty-two years: on the other hand, it is certain, that he died on the tenth of July in 138. He muſt therefore have begun to count the years of his reign from the ninth of Auguſt of the year 116, that is, a year before Trajan's death; for that prince died in the beginning of Auguſt in 117, he thence concludes, that Adrian muſt have been adopted a year before; and from the time of his adoption reckoned the years of his reign. This objection, which we ſhall endeavour to anſwer at the end of Adrian's reign,

Whether he adopted Adrian.

[i] Dio, p. 795, 788. Spart. ibid. [k] Dio, l. lxix. p. 787, 788. [l] Dodwell. in append. ad diſſertat. Cyprianic. Oxon. 1684. p. 67.

reign, as in a more proper place, is not of ſuch weight with us as to make us look upon the account, which Dion Caſſius gives of Adrian's adoption, as an arrant fable. We ſhall cloſe the hiſtory of this great emperor's reign with a ſuccinct account of his noble and uſeful works. Aure- Great works performed by Trajan.
lius Victor will have him to have firſt introduced the uſe of poſt-chaiſes; but that invention is generally aſcribed to Auguſtus [m], and was probably only improved by Trajan, as it was after his time by ſeveral other emperors, as appears from Gothofredus, who treats of this ſubject at length in his comments upon the Theodoſian code [n]. He made at an immenſe charge, a large and convenient road, leading through many barbarous nations, from the moſt diſtant coaſts of the Euxine ſea to thoſe of the Ocean in Gaul [o]. He built ſeveral magnificent libraries in Rome, and a ſtately theatre in the field of Mars [p]. He adorned the city with many magnificent edifices, enlarged the circus, repaired a great number of antient buildings, and ſupplied with plenty of water thoſe quarters of the city, which by other princes had been neglected. But the moſt magni- His ſquare and column.
ficent of all his works was the great ſquare, which he made at Rome, and called from his own name, having for that purpoſe levelled an hill an hundred and forty-four foot high. In the midſt of the ſquare, he erected the famous column, which is ſtill to be ſeen, to ſerve him for a tomb, and at the ſame time to ſhew the height of the hill, which he levelled, as appears from the inſcription on the baſis, dated the ſeventeenth year of his tribunitial power, which was the 114th of the chriſtian æra. The emperor Conſtantius, when he came to Rome in 357, found nothing in that ſtately metropolis which he admired ſo much as Trajan's ſquare [q]. The architect employed by Trajan in this inimitable work, as Conſtantius ſtyled it, was one Apollodorus. Ciacconius tells us, that on the top of the column, which ſtood in the midſt of the ſquare, was placed Trajan's ſtatue, holding a golden apple in its right hand; and adds, that in this apple were depoſited the aſhes of the deceaſed prince [s]. But Eutropius and Victo-

[m] Vide Cod. Theodoſ. tom. ii. p. 510, 511. [n] Goth. in cod. Theodoſ. tom. ii. p. 506, &c. [o] Aur. Vict. [p] Plin. paneg. p. 96. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 778. [q] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 71. [r] Dio, p. 789. [s] Ciacon. de col. Trajan. c. 14.

rinus, whom we have followed, tell us, that he was buried under the column. During this prince's reign, moſt of the provinces of the empire ſuffered greatly by earthquakes, and were grievouſly afflicted with a dreadful plague, with famine, and frequent conflagrations [t]. At Rome the Tiber overflowed its banks with incredible violence, laid great part of the city under water, over-turned many houſes, and greatly damaged the fields; tho' Trajan cauſed a great canal to be dug, in order to drain them, and to convey the water into its natural channel [u]. Phlegon tells us, that in Trajan's time a woman was delivered at Alexandria of five children the ſame day, three males and two females, who were brought up with great care by the emperor. The next year the ſame woman was delivered of three children [w]. We read in Plutarch [x], that in Trajan's reign a veſtal, named Helvetia, going on horſe-back, was ſtruck dead with a flaſh of lightning, and thrown quite naked on one ſide, and her horſe on the other; which the ſoothſayers looked upon as preſaging ſomething highly diſhonourable to the veſtals and the Roman knights. Accordingly, not long after, the ſlave of a knight, named Buteces, came of his own accord, and depoſed, that his maſter and ſeveral others of the equeſtrian order had for ſome time carried on a criminal converſation with three veſtals, Æmilia, Licinia, and Martia, who were immediately puniſhed, and the knights too their accomplices. But the pontiffs, having firſt conſulted the books of the Sibyls, declared, that the crime was to be expiated by burying alive in the forum boarium, or the ox-market, two men and two women, natives of Greece and Gaul; which was done accordingly, tho' they had not long before condemned the ſame crime in others. For the Britons having immolated a human victim to their gods, their magiſtrates had been ordered to puniſh them; though they were afterwards pardoned upon their pleading an antient cuſtom, but at the ſame time commanded, under the ſevereſt penalties, to forbear ſuch ſacrifices for the future [x]. Trajan notwithſtanding his humanity and good-nature, ſuffered the chriſtians to be inhumanly perſecuted in moſt provinces of the empire. As he publiſhed no new edicts againſt the chriſtian religion, he is not as Baronius obſerves [y], reckoned by Tertullian among

Three veſtals puniſhed.

Two men and two women buried alive at Rome.

Trajan ſuffers the chriſtians to be perſecuted.

[t] Vict. epit. [u] Plin. l. viii. ep. 17. [w] Phleg. mir. c. 20. [x] Plut. quæſt. Rom. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Baron. ad ann. 100.

among the perſecutors of the church. But that he was an enemy to the chriſtians, and highly prejudiced againſt them, is manifeſt from Pliny's letter to him [z], and his anſwer to Pliny [a]. This may be aſcribed to his looking upon the chriſtians, who were already very numerous and multiplied daily, with a jealous and ſuſpicious eye, as the underminers of the religion of the empire, and enemies to the gods adored at Rome and in all the Roman provinces. Beſides, he perhaps accounted them eſtabliſhers of heteriæ, or illegal ſocieties, which uſually breed factions and ſeditions; whence all ſocieties, or colleges, not ſettled by an imperial edict, or a decree of the ſenate, were forbidden, and the perſons frequenting them adjudged guilty of treaſon. But after he had been informed by Pliny of their innocence, he could not, nor indeed did he, as appears from his anſwer, entertain any ſiniſter opinion of them. But nevertheleſs, inſtead of putting an immediate ſtop to the perſecution, he ſent directions into Bithynia, where it chiefly raged, repugnant to good ſenſe, and altogether inconſiſtent with his ſo much boaſted juſtice, humanity, and good-nature. For he commanded, that no inquiſition ſhould be made for the chriſtians, but that ſuch as were accuſed ſhould be puniſhed; which was, as Tertullian obſerves in his excellent apology [b], declaring them innocent, and at the ſame time ordering them to be treated as criminals. If they are guilty, ſays that writer, addreſſing himſelf to the emperor, why do you forbid any ſearch to be made after them? If they are innocent, why do you command them to be puniſhed? This ordinance, however iniquitous and abſurd, continued in vigor till the perſecution of Severus, that is, for almoſt a whole century. But for a more particular account of the unjuſt proceedings, even of the beſt emperors, againſt the chriſtians, we refer our readers to Tertullian [c], and Euſebius [d], where they will find, that by ſome emperors it was forbidden, upon pain of death, to accuſe the chriſtians, who nevertheleſs were, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, to be capitally puniſhed, when accuſed or diſcovered [e]. As Trajan was, what every prince ought to be, a generous encourager of learning, under him the efforts of genius and ſtudy

His unjuſt proceedings againſt them

[z] Plin. l. x. ep. 102. [a] Idem ibid. ep. 103. [b] Tertull. apol. c. 2 [c] Tertull in apol. [d] Euſeb. l. v. c. 21. [e] Tertull. apol. c. 5.

began to revive [f]; and his reign became famous for a great number of eminent hiſtorians, poets, orators, and philoſophers, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (A).

[f] Plin. pan. p. 84. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2, 3.

(A) Theſe were Julius Frontinus, Cornelius Tacitus, Pliny the younger, Pompeius Saturninus, Titinius Capito, Claudius Pollio, Verginius Romanus, &c. Sextus Julius Frontinus was prætor in the firſt year of Veſpaſian's reign, but yielded that dignity to Domitian, after having held it but one day, or two at moſt (1). Some years after he commanded in Britain with great reputation and ſucceſs, till the ninth year of Veſpaſian's reign, when he was ſucceeded by the celebrated Agricola. As that command was given to ſuch only as had been conſuls, Frontinus, no doubt, had been honoured with the conſulſhip before he was ſent into Britain. He is thought to have been conſul a ſecond time under Nerva, and a third under Trajan (2). He was likewiſe augur, and ſucceeded in that dignity by Pliny the younger, in the fourth year of Adrian's reign (3); whence we conclude, that he diedthat year, the 100th of the chriſtian æra, the augurate being an employment for life. He was a great civilian, and highly eſteemed by all the men of learning who flouriſhed in his time, eſpecially by Martial, who mentions and commends him in his epigrams. In his laſt will he deſired, that no tomb might be erected to him, ſaying, that without ſuch monuments the world would remember him, if his life had deſerved it (4). Tacitus, ſpeaking of Frontinus, ſays. that he was a man as great and able as he found ſcope and ſafety to be (5). He was one of the greateſt commanders of his time (6), and gave ſignal proofs both of his bravery and conduct, in utterly ſubduing the powerful and warlike nation of the Silures, tho' beſides the courage of the enemy, he was likewiſe obliged to ſtruggle with the difficulties of places and ſituation (7). He wrote four books of ſtratagems, which have reached our times, and are ſuppoſed to have been inſcribed to Trajan. As he flatters Domitian in ſeveral places of his work, we may thence conclude, that it was compoſed in his reign. In the preface, which he prefixed to this work, he tells us, that he had ſtudied the military art with great application; and, beſides the book of

(1) Tacit. l. iv. c. 39. (2) Noris epiſt. conſul. p. 61, 62. (3) Plin. l. iv. epiſt. 8. (4) Plin. l. xix. epiſt. 19. (5) Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 17. (6) Ælian. tact. p. 3. (7) Tacit. ibid.

ſtratagems, written ſome others upon the ſame ſubject. We read likewiſe in Vegetius, that what Frontinus compendiouſly wrote on military diſcipline, and copied in great part from Cato the cenſor, was greatly eſteemed by Trajan (8). Ælian quotes another work done by him, in which he ſeems to have collected what-ever he found in Homer upon the ſubject of war (9). Nerva committed to him the care of the fountains and aqueducts of Rome; on which occaſion he wrote the treatiſe of aqueducts, which has reached us; as have done ſome other ſmall pieces of his, and are to be found in the collection which Scriverius has made of the antients, who have treated of the military art, and publiſhed at Antwerp in 1607. From theſe pieces it appears, that they were written during the war with the Dacians; which ſome underſtand of Domitian's war with that people; others of Trajan's (10). As for the treatiſe of colonies, which Scriverius aſcribes to Frontinus, it either was not done by him, or has been ſince altered; for mention is there made of Adrian, Severus, Antoninus, Commodus, and other emperors, who reigned long after Frontinus's time.

Cornelius Tacitus, the greateſt orator, ſtateſman, and hiſtorian of his time, was, as is commonly ſuppoſed, the ſon of Cornelius Tacitus, a Roman knight, and procurator of Belgic Gaul. His promotion in the ſtate was begun, as he himſelf informs us (11), by Veſpaſian, augmented by Titus, and by Domitian advanced yet higher. He was prætor under Domitian in the year of the Chriſtian æra 88, the ſeventh of that prince's reign, and conſul under Nerva in 97, being ſubſtituted to Verginius Rufus, whoſe panegyric, or funeral oration, he compoſed and pronounced (12). He married in 77, or 78, the daughter of the celebrated Cneius Julius Agricola (13). Lipſius is of opinion, that he left children by her, ſince the emperor Tacitus pretended to be deſcended from him, or to be of the ſame family; for he called the hiſtorian, as Vopiſcus informs us (14), his kinſman; and Sidonius counts him among the anceſtors of Polemus, prefect of Gaul (15). He had been four years abſent from Rome, when Agricola died (16); which has given occaſion to ſome writers to ſuppoſe, without any foundation, that he was baniſhed by Domitian. He pleaded at the bar, even after he had been conſul; and, by his eloquent ſpeeches, gained the reputation of the greateſt orator of his time (17). He was

(8) Veg. l. 1. c. 18. (9) Ælian. tact. c. i. p. 1. (10) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. iii. c. 4. (11) Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 1. (12) Plin. l. ii. ep. 1. (13) Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 9. (14) Vopiſ. in Tacit. (15) Sid. l. iv. epiſt. 4. (16) Tacit, ibid. c. 44 (17) Plin. l. ii. epiſt. 1, 11.

was much admired by Pliny, who lived in cloſe friendſhip with him, and by all men of learning, who reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with a perſon of his extraordinary accompliſhments (18). He ſeems to have publiſhed ſome ſpeeches, and likewiſe verſes (19), which have been long ſince loſt. One of his letters has been conveyed to us amongſt thoſe of Pliny. Tho' he was the greateſt orator of his time, he is now known only by his hiſtorical works, which can never be ſufficiently admired and commended. He ſeems to have written his deſcription of Germany during the ſecond conſulate of Trajan, that is, in 98. His life of Agricola, which Lipſius thinks one of the fineſt pieces in the Latin tongue, was, as we conjecture from the preface, one of the firſt pieces he compoſed, and probably publiſhed in the very beginning of Trajan's reign. The work which compriſes the lives of the emperors, from the death of Galba to that of Domitian, ought to be placed next; for in his annals he refers the reader to his account of the reign of Domitian (20). That work, which is by Tertullian (21) and other antients called the hiſtory of Tacitus, compriſed the tranſactions of the Romans, both at home and abroad, from the year 69, to the year 96, of the chriſtian æra; but only his account of the year 69, and part of the year 70, have reached our times. Having ended his hiſtory, he began his annals, (for ſo he himſelf ſtyles them) from the death of Auguſtus to the reign of Galba, in which there are many lamentable chaſms, as we have already obſerved. He had reſerved, as he himſelf tells us (22), for the ſtudy and employment of his old age, the reigns of Nerva and Trajan; but that work, it ſeems, he never undertook, no mention being made of it by any of the antients. He likewiſe propoſed writing the hiſtory of Auguſtus's reign; but St. Jerom knew of no other hiſtorical works of Tacitus, except his hiſtory and annals, which were in all thirty books (23). Of theſe are now remaining, not without many chaſms, only twelve books of his annals, and five of his hiſtory. As to his ſtyle, it is ſublime and expreſſive; his thoughts are great, his phraſe elevated, and his words few. He ſhews himſelf, throughout his whole work, an upright patriot, zealous for public liberty and the welfare of his country; a declared enemy to tyrants, and to the tools of tyranny; a lover of human kind, a man of virtue, who adores liberty and truth, and every-where recommends them. As no man had ſeen more, and few thought ſo much, he draws events from

(18) Idem, l. iv. epiſt. 13, 15. l. ix. epiſt. 10 (19) Plin. l. ix. epiſt. 10. (20) Tacit. annal. c. 11. (21) Tertull. ap. c. 16 & lib. de ſpectac. (22) Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 1. (23) Hier. in Zac.

from their firſt ſources, takes off every diſguiſe, and penetrates every artifice. He ſaw every thing in a true and uncommon light; whence his reflections are maſterly and profound, like mirrors, where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper ſize and colours. His ſtyle is a kind of language peculiar to himſelf, weighty, grave, and well-adapted to his ſubject. The older he grew, the more he curtailed his ſtyle; for his hiſtory is much more copious and flowing than his annals; ſo that what has by ſome been reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. His Latin is pure and claſſical; he has few or no words which had not been uſed by ſome approved writers; nor does he often give new ideas to old words. However, as he is ſparing of his words, and, after having ſtarted the idea, leaves the reader to purſue it, he is thence charged by the moderns with obſcurity. The emperor Tacitus directed his books to be placed in all the libraries; and, for their better preſervation, ordered ten copies of them to be tranſcribed every year at the public expence (24). But notwithſtanding this care, many of them have been long ſince loſt, as we have obſerved above. As for the dialogue on the decay of eloquence, which is by ſome aſcribed to Tacitus, by others to Quintilian, and was written in the ſixth year of the reign of Veſpaſian, Lipſius, from the ſtyle, is more inclined to adjudge it to Quintilian than to Tacitus. But of that piece we have ſpoken already in this volume (25). The unjuſt cenſure of Mr. Bayle and others upon Tacitus, as if he had derived the actions of his princes, even the moſt innocent, from wicked counſels and deſigns, is fully confuted by Mr. Gordon in the diſcourſes which he has prefixed to his excellent tranſlation of that hiſtorian (26); a tranſlation which has been of great uſe to us in compiling ſeveral parts of this hiſtory.

Pliny was a native of Comum, now Como, the ſon of L. Cæcilius, by the ſiſter of Pliny the elder, by whom he was adopted, and thence took the name of C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus (27). He was born in the eighth year of Nero's reign the 61ſt of the chriſtian æra, and ſtudied eloquence under Quintilian (28) with ſuch ſucceſs, that he and Tacitus were reckoned the two greateſt orators of their time. In his youth he followed the profeſſion of arms (29), was prætor under Domitian, and under Trajan conſul, augur and governor of Pontus and Bithynia. But his chief employment was to plead cauſes, which he did with great eloquence, and equal diſintereſtedneſs, not accepting of his clients fees or preſents of any kind, even before the law forbidding them paſſed in the ſenate,

(24) Vopiſc. in Tacit. (25) Vol. xiv. p. 572. (26) Gord. p. 18—23. (27) Plin. prol. & l. v. ep. 8. (28) Idem, l. ii. ep. 14. (29) Idem, l. i. ep. 10.

nate. He publiſhed ſeveral harangues or ſpeeches, none of which have reached our times except his panegyric upon the emperor Trajan. An inſcription, quoted by Voſſius (30), aſcribes to him ſome hiſtorical pieces; but of theſe no mention is made by any antient writer: nay, Apollinaris Sidonius tells us, that Tacitus did not apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory, till he had in vain endeavoured to engage Pliny in that province (31). The letter in which Pliny excuſes himſelf from that taſk, is ſtill extant (32), but inſcribed to one Capito; perhaps in the time of Sidonius, that is, in the fifth century, it paſſed for a letter written to Tacitus. Some make Pliny author of the lives of illuſtrious men, which by ſome critic is aſcribed to Cornelius Nepos, but by Voſſius to Aurelius Victor (33). Pliny often mentions his own verſes; but, as they have been long ſince loſt, we can give no account of them. He himſelf made and publiſhed a collection of ſuch of his letters as he thought the moſt diverting and inſtructive (34); and of theſe are ſtill extant ten books, which have been of ſignal uſe to us in deſcribing the reign of Trajan. He was, as appears from his letters, a man of great honour, probity, diſintereſtedneſs, and good-nature; of which we find innumerable inſtances in his letters. He preſented the city of Comum, where he was born, with a valuable and numerous collection of books, which he bought at a great rate, and allotted a large fund to be employed, partly in purchaſing other books, and partly in maintaining and bringing up the children of his poor countrymen (35). As the citizens of Comum uſed, for want of proper maſters at home, to ſend their children to be educated at Mediolanum, now Milan, he prevailed upon them to contribute towards the hiring and maintaining of profeſſors in all arts and ſciences, and was himſelf at the third part of the charge; he would have willingly paid the whole, had he not believed, that the parents of the children, by being obliged to diſburſe two thirds of the requiſite ſum, would be thence more effectually induced to chuſe profeſſors well qualified for that truſt, than if the whole charge were borne by him; in which caſe, favour, he apprehended, might prevail over merit (36). Beſides his countrymen, he preſented others with conſiderable ſums, namely, Quintilian, on occaſion of the marriage of his daughter (37); the poet Martial, when he left Rome, to return to Spain, his native country (38); and one Romanus Firmius,

(30 Voſſ. hiſt. lat. l. i. c. 30 (31) Sidon. l. iv. ep. 23.
(32) Plin. l. v. ep. 8. (33) Voſſ. ibid. (34) Plin. l. i. ep. 1.
(35) Idem. l. i. ep. 8. l. vii. ep. 18. (36) Idem, l. iv. ep. 13.
(37) Idem, l. vi. ep. 32. (38) Idem, l. iii. ep. 21.

to make up the ſum that was requiſite for his being raiſed to the equeſtrian order (39). He was not himſelf poſſeſſed of a large eſtate; but by beſtowing little upon himſelf, he could afford beſtowing a great deal upon his friends, as he had no children (40) A lady of merit, named Corellia, for whom Pliny had a particular value, having betrayed to him a deſire of having lands on the lake of Como, he generouſly offered her a ſmall eſtate, lately fallen to him, which bordered on that lake. Corellia refuſed the preſent, and deſired to know the value of it; when one of Pliny's freedmen no doubt by private orders from his maſter, undervalued it, and ſold it to her at a very low rate; which Corellia afterwards knew, but Pliny could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the full value of the land (41.) He at once diſcharged all the debts of one of his friends, ſubſtituting himſelf in the room of all his other creditors, who had brought him into great trouble. When his friend died, his daughter Calvina was for renouncing the inheritance; but Pliny to ſave the reputation of the deceaſed, generouſly forgave her what ſhe owed him, tho' he had contributed a conſiderable ſum towards her fortune, when ſhe was married (42). The reader will find in Pliny's letters innumerable other inſtances of his generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and good-nature, which the brevity we have propoſed to ourſelves will not allow us to relate in this place.

Pompeius Saturninus flouriſhed under Trajan, and is highly commended by Pliny, with whom he lived in great friendſhip, as an excellent orator, poet, and hiſtorian (43). Pliny publiſhed nothing without ſubmitting it firſt to the judgment of Saturninus (44). This is perhaps the ſame Saturninus who died in the fifth year of Trajan's reign, and bequeathed part of his eſtate to Pliny (45). His works have been long ſince loſt. Titinius Capito is likewiſe mentioned by Pliny as a writer of no mean character. He deſcribed the deaths of illuſtrious men, amongſt whom were ſome of his cotemporaries, condemned, no doubt, by Domitian (46). Pliny tells us elſewhere (47), that with excellent verſes he celebrated the actions of great men; and adds, that he prevailed upon the emperor, Nerva or Trajan, to erect a ſtatue in the forum to L. Silanus, who was by Nero's orders put to death in the year 65, the eleventh of that prince's reign. Cataneus, in his notes upon Pliny

(39) Idem, l. ep. 19. (40) Idem, l. ii. ep. 4. (41) Idem, l. vii. ep. 11. & 14.
(42) Idem, l. ii. ep. 4.
(43) Idem, l. vii. ep. 16.
(44) Idem, ibid. ep. 8.
(45) Idem, l. v. ep. 7.
(46) Idem, l. viii. ep. 12.
(47) Idem, l. i. ep. 17.

Pliny (48), tells us that Lactantius quotes a book upon public ſhews, written by Titinius Capito. Claudius Pollio, who is likewiſe greatly commended by Pliny (49), wrote the life of Muſonius Baſſus, his benefactor. Suidas ſpeaks of one Aſinius Pollio, who was a native of Tralles in Aſia, and a celebrated ſophiſt and philoſopher, and aſcribes to him ſeveral pieces; amongſt the reſt, one giving an account of the memorable actions and ſayings of the philoſopher Muſonius; but he adds, that Muſonius taught at Rome, in the time of Pompey the great (50); but is commonly thought to have been therein guilty of a great overſight (51). Pliny likewiſe mentions and commends one Verginius Romanus, who wrote comedies and other poetical pieces (52). Under Trajan flouriſhed, according to Voſſius (53), two Greek poets, Serapio, an Athenian, Plutarch's friend, and Rufus, an Epheſian, author of the ſix books upon ſimples, known to Galen and other phyſicians. Pliny ſeems to have entertained a mighty opinion of the ſophiſt Iſæus, who came to Rome, when he was about ſixty (54), and there gained, as appears from Juvenal (55), the reputation of an eloquent orator. He was native of Aſſyria, and in his youth had led a moſt debauched life; but afterwards changing his conduct, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence (56). He ſeems to have left no other works behind him, except his declamations. Of Plutarch, Suetonius, Epictetus, and ſeveral other writers, who lived under Trajan, but died after him, we ſhall ſpeak anon.

(48) Plin. l. i. ep. 17. (49) Idem, l. vii. ep. 31.
(50) Suidas, p. 579. (51) Vide Jonſ. l. iii. c. 7.
(52) Plin. l. vi. ep. 31. (53) Voſſ. poet. Græc. p. 73. (54) Plin. l. i. ep. 3. (55) Juv. ſat. iii. ver. 74. (56) Philoſtr. ſoph. c. 20. Suidas, p. 1274.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

The hiſtory of Rome, from the death of Trajan, to the death of Marcus Aurelius, when the power of the Roman empire began to decline.

Adrian. ADRIAN, who ſucceeded Trajan in the empire, was the ſon of Ælius Adrianus Afer, couſin-german to that prince, and of Domitia Paulina, ſprung from an illuſtrious family in Cadiz. His family came originally from Italica in Spain, the native city of Trajan, whither Adrian, in the account he wrote of his own life, pretended, that his anceſtors had removed ſome ages before, from the city of Adria in the country of the Picentes, now the dukedom of Atri in Abruzzo. Marullinus, his great-great-grandfather, was the firſt Roman ſenator of the family [h]. He was born, according to Spartan, in Rome, on the twenty-fourth of January, in the year ſeventy-ſix of the chriſtian æra, while Veſpaſian was conſul the ſeventh time and Titus the fifth [i]. Eutropius writes, that he was born in Italica; but Caſaubon thinks he was therein miſtaken [k]. He was named P. Ælius Adrianus, or Hadrianus, to which names he added, after his acceſſion to the empire, that of Trajan [l]. His father dying when he was about ten years old, left him under the guardianſhip of Trajan and Cælius Tatianus, or Attianus, as Salmaſius calls him, a Roman knight [m]. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, and was, at the age of fifteen, ſo thoroughly acquainted with that language, that he was commonly ſurnamed the Young Grecian. He then went to ſerve in Spain, and ſtaid there till he was recalled by Trajan, with whom he lived as his ſon. He was ſoon after appointed by Domitian one of the decemvirs, and thence raiſed

His extraction, employments, &c.

[h] Spart. in Adrian. p. 1—3. Pariſ. 1620. Pagi. p. 30.
[i] Idem ibid. & P. Ixviii. p. 786.
[k] Caſaub. in not. ad Spart.
[l] Dio, l.
[m] Spart. ibid.

raiſed to the command of the ſecond auxiliary legion, with which he was ſent into Mœſia about the latter end of that prince's reign. We are told that in Mœſia an aſtrologer aſſured him, that the ſovereign power was by the fates deſtined to him; which was confirming what his great-uncle Ælius Adrianus, who was likewiſe ſkilled in aſtrology, had foretold many years before [n]. When Trajan was adopted by Nerva, he was ſent to him with the congratulations of the army upon that occaſion, and ſoon after removed by Nerva from Mœſia into Upper Germany; whence he haſtened upon the death of that prince, which happened ſoon after, to carry the firſt tidings of it to Trajan. Servianus, who commanded in Upper Germany, and was no friend to Adrian, tho' he had married his ſiſter Paulina, detained him, till he had diſpatched an expreſs to Trajan with the news of Nerva's death, and afterwards ſupplied him with an old chariot, which broke down by the way, that he might not ingratiate himſelf with the new emperor, by firſt informing him of his acceſſion to the empire. But nevertheleſs Adrian purſued his journey on foot with ſuch expedition, that he arrived in Lower Germany, where Trajan then was, before the expreſs [o]. Trajan kept him with him; but tho' he was his kinſman, his guardian, tho' he gave him afterwards his ſiſter's grand-daughter, Sabina, in marriage, yet he never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him. In his youth he had ſquandered away his eſtate, and contracted great debts; which, with his other vices, Servianus took care to exaggerate to the emperor, in order to eſtrange his mind from him, and prevent his adopting him; for Servianus entertained a very indifferent opinion of Adrian, and believed, that Rome could never be happy under ſuch a prince [p]; and truly he was a perſon of moſt extraordinary parts, and had ſome great virtues, but allayed with no leſs vices. He was endowed with a memory almoſt beyond belief; he could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and intricate the ſubject of it was, after having once peruſed it; he knew the name of every ſoldier in the army, and remembered the names of all the old ſoldiers, who had once ſerved under him, tho' they had been long diſbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was without compariſon the beſt orator, poet, grammarian, philoſopher, and mathematician of his time; thoroughly ſkilled in phyſic;

Trajan conferred no extraordinary honours upon him.

His extraordinary memory, learning, &c.

[n] Idem. ibid. [o] Idem, p. 4. [p] Idem, p. 8.

public; well acquainted with the virtues and properties of moſt herbs and minerals; in drawing and painting he was equal to the greateſt maſters; ſung, and played upon all kinds of inſtruments, ſo as to be reckoned the moſt ſkilful muſician of the age he lived in. He even applied himſelf to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology and magic. He uſed at the ſame time to write, dictate to ſeveral ſecretaries, give audience to his miniſters, and diſcourſe with them about affairs of the greateſt importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domeſtic affairs, than he with thoſe of the whole empire. His court was conſtantly crouded with philoſophers, orators, poets, mathematicians, &c. for whom he always ſhewed a particular eſteem, and took great pleaſure in diſputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verſes, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted againſt an expreſſion uſed by Favorinus, that philoſopher modeſtly yielded, tho' he might have produced out of good authors ſufficient authority for his expreſſion; which ſeeming ſtrange to his friends, Do you think, ſaid pleaſantly Favorinus, that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his beck? In the beginning of his reign, he gave many inſtances of his clemency and good-nature; but afterwards cauſed ſeveral perſons to be unjuſtly put to death: whence ſome writers cry him up as a moſt merciful prince, while others repreſent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often forgiving injuries, through fear of undergoing the fate of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian [q]. In the very beginning of his reign, Tatianus adviſed him to put three perſons to death, who, he ſaid, would not fail to raiſe diſturbances, viz. Bæbius Macer, governor of Rome, Laberius Maximus, and Craſſus Frugi, of whom the two latter had conſpired againſt Trajan, and were then in baniſhment; but the emperor would not hearken to any ſuggeſtions againſt them, ſaying, It would be highly unjuſt and tyrannical to puniſh any one for a crime, which he was only likely to commit [r]. Spartian writes, that he freely forgave all thoſe who had any ways injured him while he was a private perſon; and that one day meeting one of them after he was emperor, he told him that he had eſcaped by his promotion to the empire.

Favours the learned.

Inſtances of his clemency.

[q] Idem ibid. Ammian. l. xxx. Dio, l. lxiv. p. 790. [r] Spart. p. 10.

Remembers and punishes some injuries done him in Trajan's time.

empire[s]. On the other hand Dion Cassius tells us, that he remembered, and punished with great severity, some injuries done him in Trajan's time; and that he never forgave the famous architect Apollodorus, who had spoken contemptuously of him before that prince[t]. He allowed every one free access to him, and seemed never better pleased than when they spoke to him with liberty, or admonished him of his faults. Of this we read the following instance: A woman having one day applied to him on occasion of a troublesome law-suit, the emperor told her, That he was not then at leisure to hear her. The woman not satisfied with this answer, cried out to him aloud, To what purpose then are you emperor? With which frankness Adrian was so well pleased, that postponing all other affairs, he heard her with great patience, and dismissed her fully satisfied[u]. The Roman people demanding one day with great noise in the theatre some-

Bears to be admonished.

thing, which Adrian was no-ways inclined to grant them, he ordered the public crier to command silence with the imperious word Tacete, Be silent, used by Domitian on the like occasion; but the crier, instead of obeying him, said only, The emperor begs you would be silent; which Adrian was so far from resenting, that he commended his prudence, and amply rewarded it[w]. He was courteous and affable towards persons of all ranks, conversed familiarly with his friends and visited them, nay, and his freed men, when indisposed, twice or thrice a day, comforting them in their sickness, and assisting them with his counsels, he frequently entertained them at his table, and honoured them with his company at their houses, without being invited, conversing with them more like a private person than a prince. He refused them nothing which he thought reasonable to grant them, and enriched some who had never asked him the least favour[x]; but at the same time gave ear to slanderers, and believed every tale that was whispered against them; whence all those whom he had most favoured and raised to the highest honours, were in the end disgraced, treated by him as enemies, and either put to death or banished[y]. His liberality knew no bounds; he allotted large sums for the maintenance of poor children of both sexes, and in that excelled even Trajan. Upon such of the senators as were, by misfortunes, reduced

Kind to his friends.

But gives ear to slanderers.

His liberality.

[s] Idem, p. 8. [t] Dio, l. lxix. p. 789. [u] Idem, p. 790.
[w] Idem, ibid. [x] Idem. p. 7. Dio. p. 791. [y] Spart. & Dio, ibid.

duced to poverty, he ſettled penſions ſuitable to their rank, and the number of their children. Among the populace he diſtributed yearly an immenſe quantity of corn, made large preſents to ſuch of the knights as were not able to ſupport their dignity, and ſupplied all thoſe whom he appointed governors of provinces, or commanders of armies, with horſes, mules, cloaths, and money to defray the charges of their journey. During the feaſt of Saturn, he uſed to ſend preſents to his friends, laying hold of that opportunity to reward them for their fidelity and attatchment to his perſon. His preſents to kings and princes always exceeded thoſe which they had ſent him. Such of the public profeſſors, as were no longer able to diſcharge their office as they ought, he diſmiſſed with marks of honour and handſome allowances. As he ſpent moſt part of his reign in viſiting the provinces of the empire, he left every where marks of a magnificence truly great and princely [z]. He is ſaid never to have ſeized unjuſtly any man's property [a]; neither would he ever receive legacies left him by perſons who were not known to him, or by ſuch of his friends as had children [b]. He ſhewed on all occaſions a high reſpect for the ſenate, conſuls, and other magiſtrates, tranſacting nothing without their advice. He ſcarce ever failed aſſiſting at their aſſemblies, when he was either at or near Rome, and uſually waited on the conſuls to their houſes. He would not ſuffer the Roman knights to ſit as judges in the cauſe of a ſenator, tho' that had been cuſtomary when the cauſe was pleaded before the emperor in perſon; neither would he allow of any appeals from the ſenate to him [c]. He adminiſtered juſtice with great impartiality, following therein the advice of P. Jubentius Celſus, Salvius Julianus, and Neratius Priſcus, all three men of great probity, and the beſt civilians in Rome. He narrowly enquired into the conduct and behaviour of his miniſters, diſcharging them when guilty of the leaſt injuſtice or miſdemeanour. He allowed his freed-men no power; and ſuch as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means credit or wealth, he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity: Obſerving one day from his window one of his freed-men walking between two ſenators, he ſent one of his attendants to give him a box on the ear, and tell him, that it did not become

Reſpects the ſenate.

Is impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

Allows no power to his freed-men.

[z] part. p. 10. Dio p. 790, Philoſt. ſoph. c. 27. [a] Dio, ibid. [b] Spart. p. 9. [c] Idem, p. 17.

come him to walk between two perſons, to whom he might one day be a ſlave [d]. He was an enemy to all pomp and parade; whence he would never ſuffer the ſenators to attend him but upon buſineſs. He uſually returned from the ſenate in a ſedan, that the ſenators might be diſpenſed from accompanying him to the palace. His medals are all very plain, without the uſual titles of emperor, high pontiff, father of his country, &c. He would not ſuffer his name to be put upon any of the ſtately buildings which he erected, except upon the temple he built in honour of Trajan; but at the ſame time was pleaſed that ſeveral aqueducts and cities ſhould bear his name [e]. Out of Rome he laid quite aſide the port and majeſty of an emperor; in his garb and dreſs he little varied from a common ſolder; his diet was ſuch as chance preſented; he uſually marched on foot, with his head bare, making no diſtinction between the frozen mountains of the Alps, and the ſcorching deſerts of Africa; he viſited the ſoldiers in perſon when ſick, took particular care of their proviſions, made them preſents, &c. but at the ſame time put down the uſe of arbours, ſhady walks, bowers, &c. baniſhing from the camp whatever ſeemed in the leaſt to encourage luxury and idleneſs. He was acquainted with every ſoldier in the army, knew his age, remembered his exploits, if he had performed any, &c. He preferred none but men of courage, ſtrength and good characters, ſaying, Such as the officers are, ſuch will the ſoldiers ſoon be. By this means he revived and reſtored the antient military diſcipline, which, by the negligence of many princes had been decaying ever ſince the time of Auguſtus [f]. He is generally blamed by the antients as too inquiſitive, and prying into every one's ſecrets, tho' they no-ways concerned him; as addicted to the moſt infamous pleaſures, and abandoned to all manner of ſuperſtition; which was the chief cauſe of his perſecuting the chriſtians, whom he looked upon as enemies to the idolatrous worſhip of his gods [g]. He took great delight in hunting, and is ſaid to have killed bears, lions, and other wild beaſts, with his own hand. He founded a town in Mœſia, which he called Adrianotheræ, that is, Adrian's chace, becauſe he had killed a bear there. He loved

He revives the antient military diſcipline.

His vices.

[d] Idem, p. 10. [e] Idem, p. 9, 10. [f] Idem, p. 5. Dio, p. 790.—792. [g] Dio, & Spart, ibid. Ammian. l. xxv. Hier. chron. Tertul. apol. c. 5.

loved his hunting-horſes and dogs to ſuch a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himſelf their epitaphs [h]. He was the firſt emperor, as Spartian obſerves [i], who let his beard grow, to cover ſome ſcars, which disfigured that part of his face. He married, as we have related above, Julia Sabina, grand-daughter to Marciana, Trajan's ſiſter; but treated her more like a ſlave than a wife, and often declared, that, had he been a private perſon, he would have divorced her. However, he ſuffered her to be honoured with the title of Auguſta, when he took that of the "father of his country [k]." He is thought in the end to have poiſoned her, being no longer able to bear with her haughty and imperious temper. She ſeems to have been a woman of a very indifferent character; for ſhe is ſaid to have publicly bragged of her having prevented Adrian from having any children by her, and by that means ſaved the world from utter deſtruction [l]. Having thus premiſed a ſuccinct account of the virtues and vices of Adrian, we ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of his reign, according to the order of time. Having cauſed himſelf to be declared emperor on the eleventh of Auguſt of the year 117, he immediately wrote to the ſenate, excuſing his having aſſumed that title without their conſent and authority, alledging, that he had been forced to it by the ſoldiery. He begged they would confirm the title, without conferring other honours upon him till he deſerved them. In the ſame letter he ſolemnly promiſed never to put any ſenator to death, nor to tranſact any affair of conſequence without their counſel and advice [m]. He doubled the donative given by other emperors to the ſoldiery, and appointed Tatianus, or Attianus, formerly his guardian, with Similis, captains of the prætorian guards. Similis was a man of great probity, moderation, and prudence, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in quality of centurion under Trajan, who had a particular value for him. As it was much againſt his will that he accepted the command conferred upon him by Adrian, he reſigned it three years after, withdrew into the country, and there ſpent in retirement the ſeven remaining years of his life. A little before he died, he

Diſlikes his wife Julia Sabina.

The characters of Similis and Tatianus captains of the prætorian guards.

[h] Spart. p. 12, 13. Dio, p. 792. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Euſeb. chron. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 13. [l] Vict. epit. [m] Dio, l. lxix. p. 788.

compoſed his own epitaph, importing, that he had been ſeventy-ſix years upon the earth, but lived only ſeven[n]. Tatianus was a man of a quite different character; for he adviſed Adrian, upon his acceſſion to the empire, to put ſeveral perſons to death, and was thought to have been the chief author of the murders, which that prince committed about two years after[o]. Adrian had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the empire, than he deprived the brave Luſius Quietus, who had ſerved with great credit under Trajan, of the command of his countrymen the Moors, ſuſpecting him as if he aſpired at the empire. As to the conqueſts made by his predeceſſor, he reſolved to abandon them all; and accordingly withdrew his troops from Armenia, Meſopotamia and Aſſyria; ſo that the Euphrates became anew the boundary of the Roman empire. He allowed the Armenians to chuſe themſelves a king; and as the Parthians were diſſatisfied with Parthamaſpates, whom Trajan had raiſed to the throne, he appointed him king of ſome neighbouring nation, and ſuffered the Parthians to recall Coſrhoes, whom Trajan had driven out two years before[p]. He was likewiſe determined to abandon Dacia; but his friends prevailed upon him to keep a province, in which ſuch numbers of Roman citizens had ſettled. However, he ordered the arches of the famous bridge built by Trajan over the Danube to be broken down, fearing the barbarians might make themſelves maſters of it, and invade the Roman territories[q]. Adrian, having given the neceſſary orders for maintaining the tranquillity of the eaſt, and appointed Catilius Severus governor of Syria, left Antioch, and ſet out for Rome, which he did not reach till the next year[r]. Epiphanius tells us, that before he left the eaſt, he went into Egypt; and that paſſing by Jeruſalem forty-ſeven years after it had been taken by Titus, on that occaſion he reſolved to rebuild it; which deſign, however, he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign[s].

Adrian abandons the countries conquered by Trajan.

THE following year, Adrian entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having been named to that dignity by Trajan before

[n] Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 19. Dio, p. 796. [o] Spart. & Dio, ibid. [p] Spart. p. 10. Dio, l. lxviii. p. 776. [q] Eutrop. in Adrian. & Dio, ibid. [r] Spart. p. 3. [s] Epiphan. menſ. c. 14.

before he died, together with Fuscus Salinator, and who had married the daughter of Servianus, Adrian's niece [t].

This year Adrian returned to Rome, where he was received by all ranks of men with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; but he could by no means be prevailed upon to accept the triumph, which had been prepared for Trajan, and was by the senate decreed for him. At his motion that honour was conferred upon the image of Trajan, which Adrian himself seems to have carried [u]. Soon after his entrance into the city, he remitted to the inhabitants of Rome and Italy all debts, without restriction, due from them to the exchequer, and to particular persons in the provinces what was owing by them for the last sixteen years, burning in Trajan's new square all the bonds and registers relating to those debts, in order to secure every one against such claims. The sum, which he forgave on this occasion, amounted to seven millions of our money and upwards. No wonder therefore, that such a generous action is so much extolled by the historians of those times, and mentioned in most of the inscriptions and medals of this and the following year. On one of the medals which has reached our times, Adrian is represented with a torch in his hand, setting fire to the bonds, with this legend, "He enriches the whole world [w]." Besides, he lessened the taxes both at Rome and in the provinces, and eased the cities of the great burden which had been laid upon them by Trajan, of supplying such as travelled for the service of the public with horses, chariots, and carriages, which was thenceforth done at the charge of the emperor [x].

He arrives at Rome; but refuses the triumph decreed him by the senate.

Remarkable instances of his generosity.

The Third Consulship of Adrian. A.D. 119.

The Sarmatians and Roxolani defeated.

The following year, Adrian was consul the third time; but resigned the fasces after four months, and never after resumed them. He had for his collegue one Rusticus, of whom we find no further mention. This year the Sarmatians and the Roxolani, whose country bordered on the Palus Mæotis, invaded Illyricum; which obliged Adrian to leave Rome and hasten into Mœsia, where he defeated the barbarians upon their return from Illyricum. Those who escaped saved themselves by swimming cross the Danube, and soon after sent embassadors to Adrian, who granted them honourable terms, and by

[t] Idat. Cassiodor. Onuph. in fast. Spart. p. 3.
[u] Spanh. l. ix. p. 811, 815. [x] Spart. p. 17.

that means put a ſpeedy end to the war. They afterwards quarrelled with one another, and choſe Adrian for their umpire, who compoſed their differences to the general ſatisfaction of both parties. Having thus both terrified the barbarians and at the ſame time gained their affections, he appointed Martius Turbo, whom he had recalled from Mauritania, governor of Pannonia and Dacia, and led his army into Illyricum; whence he wrote to the ſenate, complaining of Cornelius Palma, L. Publius Celſus, Domitius Nigrinus, and Luſius Quietus, as if they had formed a conſpiracy againſt him. They were all conſulars, men of extraordinary parts, and had been greatly eſteemed and beloved by Trajan; but nevertheleſs the ſenate, out of complaiſance to the emperor, ordered them to be immediately put to death, without ſo much as acquainting them that they had been accuſed. As no one believed them guilty of the crime laid to their charge, their death drew upon the emperor the public hatred, who thereupon left Illyricum and haſtened back to Rome, where he publicly declared upon his oath, that they had been executed againſt his will and without his knowledge; but was not believed, ſays Dion Caſſius, by thoſe who knew, that Palma and Celſus had been always his enemies, and that he was jealous of Nigrinus and Quietus, who were equally beloloved and eſteemed by the Roman people[y]. Beſides theſe four excellent men, as Dion Caſſius ſtyles them, ſeveral other perſons of great merit and diſtinction were accuſed and condemned, as privy to the ſuppoſed conſpiracy; which filled the city with dread and terror. But Adrian himſelf, having got rid of thoſe whom he chiefly feared, put a ſtop to the cruel and unjuſt proceedings of the ſenate, by an edict, forbidding any one to be accuſed or tried upon the law of majeſty. He was deſirous of having Tatianus, formerly his guardian, and now captain of the prætorian guards, put to death; for he was a man of a haughty and imperious temper, and aſſumed greater power and authority, than the emperor was willing to grant him; but nevertheleſs Adrian, not thinking it adviſeable to ſpill more blood, diſſembled his hatred for the preſent, and prevailed upon Tatianus to reſign his command, by offering him a place in the ſenate, and the conſular

Four conſulars put to death.

[y] Dio, l. lxix. p. 788.

ſular ornaments, which he readily accepted. Martius Turbo, governor of Pannonia and Dacia, and one of the beſt officers of his age, was put in his room, as was Septicius Clarus in the room of Similis, who this year reſigned of his own accord, and retired from the city [z]. Towards the end of the year the emperor went into Campania, where he relieved with great generoſity the poor inhabitants of all the cities through which he paſſed.

THE next conſuls were L. Catilius Severus, whom Adrian had appointed governor of Syria three years before, and Titus Aurelius Fulvius, who ſucceeded Adrian in the empire, and is commonly known by the name of Antonius Pius [a]. This year Adrian, who uſed to ſay, that an emperor ought to imitate the ſun, who illuminates not one place, but all the corners and regions of the earth, began his progreſs, with a deſign to viſit in perſon all the provinces of the empire, and examine the ſtate of each country ſubject to Rome, that he might not be obliged to depend entirely upon the accounts tranſmitted to him by his miniſters and governors. Thus he employed almoſt the whole remainder of his reign, that is, near ſeventeen years. From ſeveral antient coins we learn, that he viſited the following countries, Gaul, Spain, Germany, Mauritania, Africa, Libya, Sicily, Achaia, or Greece, Eubœa, Macedonia, Egypt, and the city of Alexandria, Paleſtine, Arabia, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Aſia, Bithynia, Thrace, Mœſia, and Dalmatia [b]. No mention is made on any of the medals, which have reached us, of Britain, Armenia, or Dacia; which provinces, it is certain, he viſited, as we ſhall relate anon. He began his progreſs with Gaul, where he viewed all the chief cities and Roman forts, and ſignalized himſelf by extraordinary bounties, relieving with great generoſity the poor inhabitants in all the places through which he paſſed. From Gaul he went into Germany, where lay the flower of the Roman troops; and therefore he ſpent ſome time there, in order to revive and eſtabliſh among them the antient military diſcipline; for he did not leave Germany till the beginning of the following year, when Annius Verus, grandfather

Adrian reſolves to viſit all the provinces of the empire.

He goes into Gaul, and thence into Germany.

[z] Idem, p. 795, 796. Spart. p. 7.

[a] Onuph. in faſt. P. 220.

[b] Birag. p. 175. 177.

grandfather to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, and Augur, or, as he is called in the Alexandrian chronicle, Augurinus, were conſuls. During their conſulate, Adrian, leaving Germany, returned to Gaul, and from thence paſſed over into Britain, where he is ſaid to have reformed many abuſes [c]. The greateſt part of the iſland was, when he arrived in Britain, ſubject to Rome; but the northern nations had, upon the departure of Agricola, revolted, and recovered their antient liberty. Adrian did not think it adviſeable, nor worth his while, to make war upon them, and reduce them anew; but, in order to ſecure the countries belonging to the Romans againſt the incurſions of the warlike Caledonians, he cauſed a mighty wall to be built, extending from the river Eden in Cumberland to the Tine in Northumberland, eighty miles in length [d]. In other countries too, where the barbarians were not ſeparated from the Romans by rivers, he ordered walls to be made of earth, ſays Spartian [e], which were ſtrengthened with ſharp ſtakes driven deep into the ground. In Britain he diſgraced and diſcharged his ſecretary Suetonius Tranquillus, no doubt the hiſtorian, and Septicius Clarus, captain of the prætorian guards, for their diſreſpectful behaviour towards the empreſs Sabina [f]. Having ſettled the affairs of Britain, he returned to Gaul, and built at Niſme a magnificent palace, in honour of Plotina, Trajan's widow. No remains of this ſtately edifice, or baſilic, as Spartian calls it, are now to be ſeen; but the antiquaries take the magnificent amphitheatre, which the inhabitants calls les Aredes, or Point du gard, and ſeveral other antient buildings, which are ſtill to be ſeen in that city, to have been raiſed by Adrian, or by his ſucceſſor Antoninus [g]. From Gaul Adrian went into Spain, and paſſed the winter at Tarraco, now Tarragona, where he rebuilt the temple of Auguſtus founded by Tiberius, and held a general aſſembly of the ſtates of Spain, in order to compoſe the differences which reigned amongſt them, about the raiſing of levies to recruit the Roman armies. At Tarraco he narrowly eſcaped being killed by a ſlave, who, while the emperor was walking in his maſter's garden,

Croſſes over into Britain.

His wall there.

He returns to Gaul.

And thence goes into Spain.

Where he is in danger of being aſſaſſinated.

[c] Spart. p. 6. [d] Idem, ibid. Uſſer. Britan. eccleſ. antiq. p. 1024. Dublin, 1635. [e] Idem, ibid. [f] Idem, ibid. [g] Vide Salmaſ. in Spart. p. 23.

garden, aſſaulted him with a drawn ſword. Adrian, cloſing with him, ſeized him, and delivered him to the guards, who were haſtening to his aſſiſtance; but afterwards, finding the ſlave was diſtracted in his ſenſes, he committed him to the care of the phyſicians, and took no farther notice of the attempt. Adrian did not viſit the city of Italica, whence his family originally came; but diſtinguiſhed it with many privileges [h]. Gellius quotes a diſcourſe made by the emperor in the ſenate in favour of Italica, Utica, and other free cities, demanding the rights and privileges of colonies, tho' Adrian himſelf thought the condition of free cities preferable to that of the colonies [i]. From Spain the emperor returned to Rome in the month of April, as appears from an antient inſcription, Acilius Aviola and Cornelius Panſa being then conſuls; but he did not ſtay there long; for either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, when Quintus Arrius Pætinus and Caius Ventidius Apronianus were conſuls, he was, according to St. Jerom and Euſebius [k], at Athens. During his ſtay in that city, the Cephiſus happening to break over its banks, and lay under water great part of the city of Eleuſina, he cauſed a bridge to be built over that river, and provided againſt its overflowing for the future [u]. From Athens he paſſed into the eaſt, where he apprehended a war with the Parthians; but prevented it by a conference, with whom hiſtory does not inform us; but it was in all likelihood with Coſrhoes king of the Parthians. The following year, Manius Acilius Glabrio and Caius Bellicius Torquatus being conſuls, Adrian returned from the eaſt through Aſia, and viſited Cilicia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Phrygia, ordering temples, ſquares, and other edifices to be built at his expence in moſt of the chief cities of thoſe provinces, eſpecially in Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Cyzicus. He likewiſe viſited the iſlands of the Archipelago, and arrived in the beginning of the following year, P. Cornelius Scipio Aſiaticus and Vettius Aquilinus being conſuls, in Achaia, and paſſed the remaining part of the winter at Athens, where he was initiated in the rites of Ceres and Proſerpine, called the Eleuſinian myſteries, following therein

Returns to Rome.

Goes to Athens, and from thence into the eaſt.

Viſits ſeveral provinces, and paſſes the winter at Athens.

[h] Idem, p. 6. & Dio, p. 792.
[i] Aul. Gell. l. xvi. c. 13.
[k] Euſeb. chron. p. 211.
[u] Hier. in chron.

therein the example of Hercules and Philip king of Macedon. From Athens, after he had presided there at the public games, and bestowed innumerable favours upon the Athenians, he sailed to Sicily, where he was led by his curiosity to visit the top of mount Ætna, in order to view from thence the rising sun, believed to exhibit there all the colours of the rain-bow. From Sicily he returned to Rome in the beginning of the following year, when Annius Verus, grandfather to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, was the third time consul, with L. Varius Ambibulus [w]. The two next years, the eleventh and twelfth of Adrian's reign, and 127th and 128th of the christian æra, are quite barren of events. The consuls were Titianus and Gallicanus, Torquatus Asprenas and Annius Libo [x]. The following year, P. Juventius Celsus and Q. Julius Balbus Marcellus being consuls, the cities of Nicomedia, Cæsarea, and Nicæa in Bithynia were almost entirely overturned by an earthquake; but rebuilt at the expence of the emperor, who was thence styled the Restorer of Bithynia, as appears from some medals [y]. In the beginning of this year, Adrian was still at Rome; for on the third of March he proposed some difficulties touching inheritances, which were resolved by a decree of the senate, dated the fourteenth of the same month [z]. But soon after he set out again on a new progress, passing first into Africa; where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five years drought, which together with the many favours he bestowed upon the inhabitants of that province, (for he left every-where signal marks of his liberality and good-nature) gained him the affections of all ranks of men. From Africa he returned to Rome, and there caused the obsequies of Plotina, to whom he was indebted for the empire, to be performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence. She died either while Adrian was in Africa, or soon after his return from thence. He bewailed her with many tears, appeared for nine days in deep mourning, composed verses in her praise, and caused her to be ranked among the gods [a].

Visits Sicily, and returns to Rome.

Rebuilds several cities at his own expence.

Crosses over into Africa, whence he returns to Rome.

Plotina dies, and is ranked among the gods.

THE

[w] Noris. epist. consul. p. 78. Dio, l. lxix. p. 797.
[x] Idat. Onuph. &c. in fast. Birag. p. 123.
[y] Eusеb. in chron. p. 211.
[z] Digest. v. c. 3. l. xx. Noris. epist. consul. p. 421.
[a] Dio, p. 792.

THE next conſuls were Q. Fabius Catullinus and M. Flavius Aper, during whoſe adminiſtration a temple was built at Rome, in honour of that city and of the goddeſs Venus, who was called the Temple of Rome, and the Temple of the fortune of Rome [b]. On account of this temple Adrian changed the antient name of the feaſt, which was yearly kept on the twenty-firſt of April for the foundation of Rome, calling it Romana, inſtead of Palilia [c]. This temple was one of the wonders which the emperor Conſtantius chiefly admired when he came to Rome [d]. It was afterwards conſumed by accidental fire, and rebuilt by Maxentius [e]. When the fabric was ended, Adrian ſent the plan of it to the famous architect Apollodorus; which was tacitly telling him, that he was not the only great architect in the world: and this was what the emperor meant by ſending the plan after the building was accompliſhed; for tho' he himſelf had employed him, yet he bore him a private grudge, on account of his having checked him with great acrimony, for pretending, in Trajan's time, to give his opinion concerning certain buildings. Apollodorus, who was no flatterer, after having viewed the plan, deſired thoſe who brought it to tell the emperor from him, that the fabric was too low for the place in which it ſtood; and, on the contrary, the ſtatues of Rome and Venus too tall: the architect, added he pleaſantly, has taken care, that the goddeſſes ſhall not riſe, nor walk out. Adrian was ſo offended at the freedom of this anſwer, that though he had deſired Apollodorus to acquaint him with his ſentiments concerning the building, yet he baniſhed him, and ſoon after, under ſome pretence or other, cauſed him to be put to death [f]. In the beginning of the ſummer, Adrian ſet out from Rome, with a deſign to viſit anew the provinces of the eaſt; and, paſſing through Athens purſued his journey to Aſia, where he conſecrated ſeveral temples. In Cappadocia he purchaſed a great number of ſlaves for the ſervile offices of the camp. To Coſrhoes he ſent back his daughter, who had been taken priſoner by Trajan, and promiſed to reſtore to him his golden throne; but never performed his promiſe. He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and many of them complied

The temple of Venus and Rome.

Apollodorus finds fault with it, which coſts him his life.

Adrian returns to Aſia.

And there confers with the eaſtern kings.

[b] Ammian. l. xvi. [c] Athen. l. viii. [d] Ammian. ibid. [e] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [f] Dio, p. 789.

complied with the invitation, viz. Malaſſes king of the Lazi, Reſmagas king of the Abaſgi, Spadages king of the Sauni or Sauniges, Staquimfan king of the Zydretæ. The territories of theſe princes lay partly eaſt, partly north, of the Euxine ſea. Beſides theſe, ſeveral other petty kings came to wait upon Adrian, and were by him entertained with great pomp and magnificence, and loaded with rich preſents upon their departure. The Bactrian princes did not come, but ſent embaſſadors to conclude an alliance with the people of Rome. The kings of Albania and Iberia neither ſent embaſſadors, nor came in perſon; which they repented when they underſtood how the others had been received and entertained [f]. In Syria he went up to the top of mount Caſſius in the neighbourhood of Antioch, to obſerve from thence the riſing ſun, and offer a ſacrifice to Jupiter, who was worſhipped upon that mountain; but he was there overtaken by a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which fell both upon the prieſt and the victim [g]. From Syria he paſſed into Paleſtine and Arabia, and from thence into Egypt [h]. It is obſerved in the Alexandrian chronicle, that the famous coloſſus of Rhodes ſhook this year, the fourteenth of Adrian's reign, for the firſt time [i].

He viſits Paleſtine, Arabia, and Egypt.

THE next year, Servius Octavius Lænus Pontianus and M. Antoninus Rufinus were conſuls. During their adminiſtration, Salvius Julianus, one of the moſt learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, the perpetual edict, containing all the laws which had been yearly publiſhed by the prætors in their edicts. This collection was called the edictum perpetuum, becauſe it was to continue in force for ever, to be as a body of ſtanding laws to prevent the great confuſion occaſioned by the new edicts, and to ſerve as a guide and rule in the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the whole empire [k]. Adrian continued in Egypt, all this and the following year, when Augurinus and Sergianus were conſuls. At Peluſium he viſited the tomb of Pompey the Great; and finding it almoſt entirely demoliſhed, he ordered it to be repaired at his own expence [l], and performed the uſual ceremonies in honour of the deceaſed hero.

The edictum perpetuum.

[f] Spart. p. 27. Arrian. in perip. Pont. p. 7. [g] Spart. p. 7. [h] Dio, p. 792. [i] Chron. Alexand. p. 598.
[k] Vide Voburg. hiſt Roman. Germanic. tit. i. p. 401. Francofurt. 1645. [l] Dio, p. 792. Spart. 7.

He diſliked the fickle, turbulent, and ſatirical temper of the Egyptians, eſpecially of the Alexandrians. In a letter which he wrote to Servianus his brother-in-law, he tells him, that the Chriſtians, Sarmatians, and Jews of that country were always ready to change their religion, becauſe they all adored one and the ſame god, their own intereſt; and adds, that they all ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved the motion and aſpects of the ſtars, and pretended to be ſkilled in divination [m]. He ſpeaks of a patriarch, who now-and-then viſited Egypt, meaning no doubt, the patriarch of the Jews [n]. He concludes with this obſervation, that at Alexandria no one was ſuffered to be idle; inſomuch, that even thoſe who were blind followed ſome profeſſion [o]. That city had, it ſeems, forfeited many of its antient privileges, probably on account of ſome ſedition; for St. Jerom tells us, that it was almoſt entirely ruined by the Romans [p]; but Adrian not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and reſtored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon them; for which they returned him ſolemn thanks, and conferred upon him what honours they could. But this ſenſe of gratitude was not in them long-lived; for he no ſooner left their city, than they publiſhed moſt bitter and virulent lampoons againſt him and his favourites. In the palace at Alexandria, which took up the third part of the city, one quarter was conſecrated to the muſes and ſciences, and thence called the Muſeum. There were lodged and entertained at the expence of the public men of learning, divided into ſeveral companies or colleges, according to the different ſciences and ſects which they profeſſed. They were all under one head, who was named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of pontiff. This inſtitution is generally aſcribed to Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, who placed there his famous library. The emperor Claudius to the antient muſeum added a new one, with large revenues. In the muſeum were always perſons eminent in all the branches of literature, and it was by the learned deemed a great honour to be admitted into this ſociety, or, as it is ſometimes expreſſed, to this table. This diſtinction Adrian granted to Dionyſius the ſophiſt, whom he greatly eſteemed,

He diſlikes the ſatirical temper of the Alexandrians

He repairs the city of Alexandria, and reſtores to the Alexandrians their antient privileges.

[m] Vopiſc. vit. Sat. p. 245. [n] Vide Pears. de Ignat. c. 2. & Vopiſc. ibid. [o] Hier. chron.

He viſits the muſeum.

eſteemed, and to an Egyptian poet, named Pancrates [q]. Adrian did not fail viſiting this place, and converſing with the moſt eminent men of that learned ſociety: he examined them, and ſuffered himſelf to be by them examined, aſking them many queſtions, and anſwering thoſe which they propoſed to him [r]. The emperor Caracalla ſuppreſſed this ſociety in the year 216 [s]; but it was afterwards re-eſtabliſhed, and ſubſiſted till the civil wars in the time of Aurelian, when that quarter, named Bruchium, was utterly demoliſhed [t]; inſomuch, that about the latter end of the fourth century, it was quite deſerted, and at ſome diſtance from the city [u].

He paſſes into Libya Cyrenaica.

Adrian from Egypt paſſed into Libya Cyrenaica, where he killed (for he took great pleaſure in hunting) a lion of a monſtrous ſize, which had committed great ravages in that country, and even unpeopled ſome parts of it [w].

The death of Antinous, ſuppoſed to have been ſacrificed by him.

What moſt of all rendered Adrian's journey into Egypt remarkable, was the death of Antinous, a beautiful youth, greatly beloved by a prince addicted to the moſt unatural pleaſures. He fell accidentally into the Nile, as he was ſailing on that river with the emperor, and was drowned. This is the account which Adrian himſelf gave of his death. But Dion Caſſius aſſures us, that the emperor, who had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of magic, being, by the falſe and execrable principles of that art, miſled into a belief, that he ſhould prolong his life by ſacrificing a human victim to the infernal gods, was obliged to accept of the tender which Antinous made him of his life, all the reſt preferring their own ſafety to the emperor's. Adrian would by choice have rather ſacrificed his deareſt friends, than his beloved catamite; but as no conſtraint was to be uſed, and none of them cared to prolong the emperor's life at the expence of their own, the offer of Antinous was accepted, and he ſacrificed [x]. Be that as it will, the emperor bewailed him, ſays Spartian [y], with all the tenderneſs and weakneſs of a woman lamenting the death of her huſband. To allay in ſome meaſure his grief, he deſired the Greeks to rank him amongſt the gods; which they did accordingly: ſo that in a ſhort

He is ranked among the gods.

[q] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793, 794. Ammian. l. xxii. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 873. Athen. l. vi. &. xxvi. [r] Spart. p. 10. [s] Dio, ibid. p. 873. [t] Ammian. l. xxii. [u] Vide Caſaub. in Span. p. 36. [w] Athen. l. xv. p. 677. [x] Dio, l. lxix. p. 793. [y] Spart. p. 7.

a short time all the eastern provinces were filled with statues, temples and chapels consecrated to this new divinity. At Mantinea in Arcadia a magnificent temple was erected to him by Adrian, solemn sports instituted, and priests appointed to offer victims in honour of the deified pathic [z]. It was even pretended, that he uttered oracles; but his answers were commonly thought to have been composed by Adrian [a]. The astrologers, having discovered, or pretended to discover, a new star, gave out that it was Antinous [b]. The deifying of Antinous, and the sacrilegious worship paid him, was made use of by the christian writers as an argument to impugn the divinity of the other gods, who were more antient, but had no better claim to their godhead, than the infamous Antinous, and to expose the pagan religion. This argument we find wonderfully handled by Justin the Martyr, who was converted about this time to the christian religion, and likewise by Hegesippus, Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Adrian caused the body of Antinous to be buried with the utmost magnificence, built a city in that place, and changed his tomb into a temple, where he was said to work miracles [c]; which we find exposed and ridiculed by the pagans themselves.

THE following year, when Hiberus and Sisenna were consuls, Adrian left Egypt, and returned to Syria, where he passed this and the following year, and honoured Servianus his brother-in-law with a third consulship, and gave him C. Vibius Juventius Varus for his collegue. While Servianus was consul, the emperor wrote a letter to him, giving him an account of the state of Egypt, and of Alexandria its metropolis [d]. At the same time, he sent some presents, both to him and his wife Paulina, the emperor's sister, who died soon after. As Adrian conferred no extraordinary honours upon her after her death, the Roman senate and people were the more displeased with those he had bestowed upon Antinous [e]. Early in the spring, he left Syria, in order to return to Italy; but made a long stay at Athens, after having visited Thrace and Macedon. During his stay at Athens, the Jews revolted, provoked chiefly, says Dion

Adrian returns to Syria.

Visits Thrace and Macedon and returns to Athens.

[z] Dio, ibid. Spart. p. 8. Spanh. l. vii. p. 652——657.
[a] Spart. p. 7. Dio, ibid. [b] Dio, ibid. [c] Origen. in Celf. l. iii. p. 132. [d] Vopisc. vit. Sat. p. 245. [e] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 714.

Dion Caſſius [f], at Adrian's ſending a Roman colony to Jeruſalem; at his calling that city, after the name of his family, Ælia Capitolina, and his erecting a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in the place were the antient temple ſtood. Spartian tells us, that Adrian publiſhed an edict, forbidding them to be circumciſed; which prompted them to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty. Be that as it will, Adrian had no ſooner

The Jews revolt.

left Syria, than they openly revolted, under the conduct of one Barcoquebas, whom St. Jerom calls Coquebas and Coquibus [g]; but his true name was, as Scaliger informs us, upon the authority of the rabbies [h], Cozeb, that is, Liar, or Barcozebas, that is, the ſon of a lye; but being aſhamed of that name, he called himſelf Coquebas, which imports a ſtar, or Barcoquebas, ſignifying the ſon of a ſtar; for to himſelf he applied the prophecy of the ſtar which was to go forth out of Jacob, and pretended to be the promiſed Meſſiah [i]. The Jews flocked to him from all parts, appointed him their king, and looked upon him as the deliverer and reſtorer of their nation [k]. He overran all Judæa and Syria, committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages, and exerting his cruelty chiefly againſt the chriſtians, whom he put to moſt exquiſite torments, in order to make them blaſpheme Chriſt, and join him againſt the Romans [l]. Tinius, or Tinnius Rufus, who had been formerly governor of Thrace, as appears from ſome medals [m], and commanded at that time in Judæa, being reinforced with ſome troops, which Adrian ſent him upon the firſt notice of the revolt, fell upon the rebellious Jews, and, without diſtinction of ſex or age, put all to the ſword who fell into his hands. The Jews at firſt durſt not appear in the open field; but either kept within the ſtrong-holds which they had ſeized, or concealed themſelves in caves, which for that purpoſe they had dug to an incredible depth, ſallying from thence, and often ſurpriſing the Romans with great ſlaughter. However, Adrian ſeemed to deſpiſe them, till being joined by an infinite number of Jews from moſt provinces of the empire, and by many others who were not of that religion, but hoped to enrich themſelves with plunder, they became formidable. Then

And commit dreadful ravages.

the

[f] Dio, l. lxix. p. 793. [g] Hier. in Dan. [h] Scalig. in chron. Euſeb. [i] Euſeb. l. ix. c. 6. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Juſt. apol. ii. p. 72. Sulp. l. ii. p. 148. [m] Noris epiſt. conſul. p. 399.

the emperor, fearing a general insurrection, dispatched an express to Julius Severus, governor of Britain, and the greatest commander of his time, ordering him to leave that island, and hasten to Palestine, to take upon him the command of the Roman army there. Severus, upon his arrival, did not think it adviseable to venture an engagement, the Jews being very numerous, and fighting, as he observed in some skirmishes, like men in despair. He therefore contented himself with intercepting their provisions, streightening their quarters, and cutting off the parties which they sent out to forage. By this means he did not doubt, but he would reduce them at last to submit, without any considerable loss on his side [n]. Tinnius Rufus commanded under him; for to him chiefly is ascribed, by St. Jerom and Eusebius, the glory of having entirely reduced the rebels [o]. The Jews made themselves masters of Jerusalem, after having driven out, or rather massacred, the Romans who had settled there by the emperor's orders. But Severus besieged it anew, took the place, and laid it in ashes, as we read in St. Jerom [p], Eusebius [q], Chrysostom [r], and Appian [s], who lived at this time. If credit is to be given to the tradition of the Jews, Turanus Rufus, or rather Tinnius Rufus, caused the ground where the temple stood to be ploughed up; which, among the Romans, was a mark of the greatest ignominy, and utter desolation, no one being, according to their laws, allowed to build, without an express decree of the senate, in places where that inauspicious ceremony had been performed [t]. The taking and razing of Jerusalem under Adrian happened, according to St. Jerom [u], in the month of August, the twentieth year of that prince's reign, and 136th of the christian æra. The Romans were more vigorously opposed by the Jews in Bitther or Bether, a strong city at a small distance from Jerusalem, than in any other place. As great numbers of Jews had retired to that place, and the siege lasted a long time, the besieged were reduced to the utmost extremity, for want of provisions. At length, most of them

Julius Severus, governor of Britain, sent against them.

The Jews make themselves masters of Jerusalem, which is besieged anew, taken, and laid in ashes.

[n] Dio, p. 793, 794. [o] Hier. in Dan. Eusеb. in chron. [p] Hier. in chron. ann. 124. in Joel i. p. 55. in Jer. xxxi. p. 342. in Dan. ix. p. 595. in Ez. v. 390. [q] Eusеb. l. i. c. 38. l. iii. c. 5. l. vi. c. 18. [r] Chrys. c. 1. hom. 3. [s] Appian. Syr. p. 83. [t] Vide Scal. isag. l. iii. [u] Hier. in Zach. viii. p 262.

Bether taken

being ſtarved to death, and the reſt no longer able to manage their arms, the place was taken, ſays St. Jerom, the ſame day on which Jeruſalem had been reduced by Nebuchadonoſor, and the temple burnt by Titus ſixty-five years before [w]. The reduction of Bether did not put an end to the war, which was, according to Dion Caſſius, long and troubleſome [x]. It laſted, according to the Jewiſh tradition, three years and a half [y], according to St. Jerom [z], two or three years, and was ended by a complete victory, which the Romans gained over the Jews, Barcoquebas their leader being taken priſoner [a], and, no doubt, puniſhed according to his deſerts. In the courſe of this war the Romans demoliſhed fifty caſtles of great ſtrength, nine hundred and eighty-five towns, and killed in battles, ſkirmiſhes, and ſieges, five hundred and eighty thouſand men; for thoſe who periſhed by famine, fire, and diſtempers, are almoſt without number [b]. The Romans too loſt many of their beſt troops, notwithſtanding the great caution uſed by Severus and the other generals; inſomuch, that Adrian, in the letter which he wrote to the ſenate acquainting them with the laſt victory, omitted the expreſſion uſed by other emperors and commanders, "If you and your children are well, I and the army are well [c]." Of the Jews who outlived this ſecond general maſſacre of their nation, incredible numbers were ſold at the ſame price as horſes in a famous fair called the fair of Terebinthus, or of the Turpentine-tree [d]; which was on that account ever after abhorred by the Jews [e]. St. Jerom tells us, that a great fair was yearly held at the tent of Abraham [f], which ſome writers take to be the fair mentioned here; for in the valley of Mamre near Hebron, where that patriarch pitched his tent, and received the three angels, there was in the fourth century, as Euſebius informs us [g], a turpentine-tree, which the natives of the place pretended to have ſtood there from the beginning of the world. The Jews, who were not ſold at the fair of Terebinthus, were carried to Gaza, and there expoſed to ſale at another fair eſtabliſhed by Adrian, and thence

The Jews utterly defeated.

The Jews who outlived the ſlaughter ſold for ſlaves

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Dio, p. 793. [y] Vide Scalig. ibid. [z] Hier. in Dan. v. p. 592. [a] Euſeb. l. iv. c. 6. [b] Dio, p. 794. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Hier. in Jer. xxxi. p. 342. Chron. Alexan. p. 596. [e] Hier. in Zac. xi. p. 272. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Euſeb. chron. p. 209. & demonſtr. evang. l. v. c. 9.

thence called after his name [h]. Such as were not disposed of in Palestine, were transported to Egypt, where they perished either by famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants, who, as we have often observed, bore them an irreconcileable hatred [i]. The Jews were by several presages forewarned of this dreadful calamity, among which the most remarkable was the falling of the sepulchre of Solomon, which was held by them in great veneration, and fell a little before the war broke out [k]. When the war was ended, Adrian published an edict, which was confirmed by the senate, and hung up in all public places, forbidding the Jews, on pain of death, to set foot in Jerusalem, to approach that city, or any place whence it could be seen [l]. St. Jerom [m] and Tertullian [n] extend this decree to all Judæa; which seems to have been the opinion of the Jews themselves, for in their calendar is marked a fast, instituted, as is said there, on account of the decree, by which their forefathers were forbidden to set foot in the land of Judæa [o]. This fast is marked on the ninth of their fifth month, called by them Ab, and answering part of our August. But, on the other hand, Clement of Alexandria tells us, that he studied in Palestine under one who was of Jewish extraction [p]; and it is manifest from Origen [q], that in the third century there were Jews in Palestine; and from Epiphanius, that, in the reign of Constantine, their patriarch resided at Tiberias [r]. St. Austin [s] likewise and St. Hilarius [t] tell us, that they were excluded from Jerusalem, but not from the other cities of Palestine. Julian the apostate, out of hatred to the christians, countenanced the Jews; whence in his reign they undertook the rebuilding of their temple. But the succeeding emperors renewed the prohibition of Adrian, allowing, however, the Jews, upon their paying a considerable sum, to enter, or rather approach, the city once a year; that is, on the day in which it had been destroyed and laid in ashes by the Romans [u]. They

All Jews forbidden, on pain of death to set foot in Jerusalem.

They are afterwards allowed to visit Jerusalem once a year.

[h] Chron. Alexan. p. 596. [i] Dio, l. lxix. p. 794. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. Hier. in Is. vi. p. 36. Just. apol. ii. p. 84. Tertul. apol. c. 21. [m] Hier. in Dan. ix. p. 595. [n] Tertul. ibid. [o] Scalig. isag. l. i. c. 6. [p] Clem. strom. 1. [q] Orig. ad Afric. p. 244. [r] Epiphan. l. xxxii. c. 4. [s] Aug. civit. Dei. l. xvi. c. 21. [t] Hilar. in psal. xlviii. [u] Orig. in Josuah. xvii. Nazian. orat. xii. Hier. in soph. i.

were then ſuffered to bewail their misfortunes, and to be eye-witneſſes, ſays St. Jerom [w], of the accompliſhment of the prophecies. From the Itinerarium Burdigalenſe, which is ſuppoſed to have been written before the time of Julian the apoſtate, about the year 333, we learn, that on this occaſion they aſſembled chiefly in the place where the temple had formerly ſtood, and there performed certain ceremonies altogether idolatrous [x]. Thus all the attempts of that perfidious nation, towards the recovery of their former condition, ſerved only to heighten and aggravate thoſe calamities, with which they had been ſo often threatened by the prophets, and to reduce them to the deplorable ſtate in which we now ſee them, being a crew of contemptible vagabonds diſperſed all over the world, without king, temple, or pontiff; driven from their own country, and not daring to ſet foot in it even as paſſengers and ſtrangers. The edict of Adrian, excluding all Jews from Jeruſalem, extended to ſuch of them as had embraced the chriſtian religion; ſo that they too being obliged to quit that city, the church was by that means delivered from the ſervitude of the law; for, till that time, not only the biſhops of Jeruſalem had been choſen from among the circumciſed chriſtians, but all the converted Jews joined to the obſervance of the goſpel that of the law. When the Jews were baniſhed Jeruſalem, the church began to be compoſed only of converted Gentiles; and before the death of Adrian, which happened in 138, St. Mark, who was one of them, was appointed biſhop of that city, and ſucceeded by Caſſianus, in the nineteenth year of Antoninus's reign, and 156th of the chriſtian æra [b]. The Jews being thus driven out of Jeruſulem, that city began to be peopled only by Gentiles, and by another Roman colony, which Adrian ſent thither after the war. Upon the ruins and aſhes of that antient city, the emperor built a new one, giving it, as we have obſerved above, the name of Ælia Capitolina [c]; by which means the antient name of Jeruſalem was for ſome ages ſo entirely forgotten, that a martyr ſaying, when he was examined at Cæſarea in Paleſtine, that he was a native of Jeruſalem,

Jeruſalem rebuilt by Adrian, and named Ælia Capitolina.

[w] Hier. ibid. [x] Itin. Burdig. p. 43. [b] Euſeb. l. iv. c. 6. & l. v. c. 12. [c] Dio, l. lx. p. 793. Euſeb. l. iv. c. 6.

Jeruſalem, neither the governor of the province, nor any who were preſent, could conceive what city he meant [d]. Euſebius, Athanaſius, Hilarius, and other fathers, tell us, that Jeruſalem was no more; and truly that which Adrian built, was quite different from the antient city, as to its inhabitants and buildings, and in ſome meaſure as to its ſituation; for it extended more to the north, and took in mount Calvary and our Saviour's ſepulchre; and leſs to the ſouth; for about the middle of the fourth century, the celebrated mount Sion, formerly the place where the prieſts reſided and the doctors of the law, was quite uninhabited, cultivated like an open field, and planted with citruls, (as had been in expreſs terms foretold by Iſaiah) and other greens [e]. The temple lay in ruins, and the place where it ſtood was covered with a wood. The other quarters of Jeruſalem, which Adrian had not compriſed within the precincts of his new city, were filled with ruins; and thence were taken ſtones and other materials both for public and private buildings. At the ſight of theſe ruins, infinite numbers of perſons of all ranks, ſays Euſebius, embraced the chriſtian religion, ſeeing evidently fulfilled in them our Saviour's predictions touching Jeruſalem [f]. The name of Ælia ſtill obtained in the time of St. Chryſoſtom, and long after, in public acts and regiſters; but, by the chriſtians the city was ſtill named Jeruſalem, eſpecially after Conſtantine's time. Adrian in his new city erected a theatre and ſeveral temples, employing for that purpoſe the ſtones of the temple and ſanctuary of the Jews. Two ſtatues of the emperor, and others of the gods, were erected in the place where the temple had ſtood, and over the gate which led to Bethleem, one of marble, repreſenting a hog, to ſignify the utter reduction and ſervitude of the Jewiſh nation [g].

A theatre and ſeveral temples erected in the new city.

Dion Cassius, after having deſcribed the war which Adrian waged with the Jews, ſpeaks of another which broke out about the ſame time with the Alani or Maſſagetæ, a people of Sarmatia, who, under the conduct of Pharaſmanes their king, committed dreadful ravages in Media, entered Armenia, and penetrated into Cappadocia; but

The Alani invade the provinces of the empire.

[d] Euſeb. de pal. c. 11. [e] Euſeb. dem. evang. l. vi. c. 13. & l. viii. c. 3. Cyr. cat xvi. Iter. Burdig. [f] Euſeb. dem. evang l. viii. c. 3. [g] Chron. Alexand. p. 598. Euſeb. ibid. Iter. Burdig. p. 43.

ſoon withdrew from thence, not caring to encounter Flavius Arrianus governor of that province, who was preparing to meet them [h]. The inſtructions given by Arrian concerning the march of the Roman army againſt the Alani, and the order to be obſerved in the battle, which, it was thought, would enſue, have reached our times [i]. The Roman army conſiſted, as appears from theſe inſtructions, of troops from various nations, commanded by one Xenophon, who, no doubt, ſerved under Arrian governor of the province, ſince Arrian directs him how he is to conduct himſelf both in the march and battle. We have a deſcription of the Euxine ſea by Arrian, probably the governor of Cappadocia, addreſſed by way of a letter to Adrian. The author begins his relation with his arrival at Trebizond, where, by the emperor's orders, a temple was then building in honour of Mercury. He embarqued at Trebizond, in order to view the eaſtern coaſts of the Euxine ſea; which he did accordingly, viſiting every-where the Roman garriſons; obliging the ſoldiers to perform their military exerciſes before him; paying them their arrears, &c. and acquainting the emperor with the ſtate of each garriſon *. He ſailed by the mouth of the Phaſis, the waters of which river he obſerved ſwimming a long time, on account of their lightneſs, upon thoſe of the ſea. At the mouth of the Phaſis ſtood a caſtle garriſoned by four hundred Roman ſoldiers, and a town inhabited by ſome veterans and ſea-faring men; which, for the better ſecurity of the place, he ſtrengthened with a new ditch. He ended his voyage at Sebaſtopolis, the moſt diſtant city garriſoned by the Romans. Of all the barbarous nations, along whoſe coaſts he ſailed, the Sanni, called by Xenophon the Drilli, were the moſt fierce and warlike. They had then no king; and as they had formerly paid tribute to the Romans, Arrian, in his letter to the emperor, offers either to reduce them anew, or to extirpate the whole nation [k]. We are ſure he did not extirpate them; for we find them mentioned many ages after; neither are we told that he reduced them. To the account of his voyage along the coaſts of the

Arrian's deſcription of the Euxine ſea,

[h] Dio, l. lxix. p. 794. [i] Arrian. mandat. in Alan. Upſaliæ, ann. 1664. * Arrian. perip. pont. Euxin. p. 1, 2, 3. [k] Idem, p. 4——7.

he Euxine ſea, he adds the deſcription of the coaſts of ſia, from Byzantium to Trebizond, and another of the ountry, from Sebaſtopolis to the Boſphorus Cimmerius, nd from thence to Byzantium, that the emperor might ake what meaſures he thought proper, in caſe he deigned to concern himſelf with the affairs of Boſphorus, the king of that country, by name Cotys, being juſt then dead. From this relation it appears that at this time a port was forming by the emperor's orders at Trebizond [l].

ADRIAN, in the mean time, continued at Athens, being mightily taken with the cuſtoms and learning of the Athenians. He was there admitted to the great myſteries of Eleuſina, different from thoſe in which he had been initiated ſome years before, and celebrated, according to Euſebius [m], the ſecond year of each olympiad; that is, every fourth year. He therefore had not left Athens in the beginning of the nineteenth year of his reign, which was the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the chriſtian æra, and the ſecond of the two hundred and twenty-eighth olympiad. As he had been created archon of Athens before he was emperor, he aſſumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magiſtrates, celebrated the great feſtival of Bacchus, diſtributing on that occaſion, large ſums and an immenſe quantity of corn among the populace [n]. Dion Caſſius tells us, that he ſubjected to Athens, the whole iſland of Cephalenia [o]; but in an inſcription addreſſed to Adrian Olympicus, as he is there called, the city of Pale in that iſland ſtyles herſelf autonomos, that is, free, and governed by her own laws [p]. He embelliſhed the city of Athens with many ſtately buildings, eſpecially with a library of marvellous ſtructure. Theſe edifices had been by his orders begun before, but were finiſhed this year, and conſecrated by the emperor himſelf [q]. He likewiſe finiſhed the magnificent temple of Jupiter Olympius [r], begun, according to Philoſtratus [s], five hundred and ſixty years before. In this

Adrian's generoſity to the Athenians.

His buildings there.

[l] Idem, p. 7——10.
[n] Dio, p. 795. Spart. p. 9. Rein. inſcript. p. 335.
[o] Idem, ibid.
[p] Vide Wheler's travels, p. 437. Spart. p. 7. ſop. xxv.
[m] Euſeb. chron. p. 214.
[q] Hier. chron.
[r] Dio, ibid.
[s] Philoſ.

this temple he consecrated an altar to himself, and suffered the Greeks to build and consecrate a temple to him, which they called Panellenion [t], instituting on this occasion annual sports. In short, he embellished Athens with so many noble buildings, that he was looked upon as the second founder of that city; whence one quarter of it was from him called Adrianopolis. Many monuments of his generosity towards the Athenians are still to be seen [u]. From a decree of this prince concerning the sale of oil, produced by Wheler, it appears, that at this time all controversies were determined at Athens by the senate and people assembled by the magistrates, with an appeal to the pro-consul, or to the emperor [w]. The Athenians employed part of the money, with which he presented them, in building a city in the island of Delos, which they called Adrian's new Athens, and Olympia. The Athenians of Delos are mentioned in an inscription still to be seen at Venice [x]; but now remain only some ruins of this city, as well as of the many magnificent buildings, which by the superstitious pagans were erected in that island [z].

Adrian returns at length to Rome.

THIS year, the nineteenth of Adrian's reign and the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the christian æra, the emperor left Athens, and returned at length to Rome, Lupercus Pontianus and Rufus Atilianus being consuls [a]. Dion Cassius tells us, that in the shews which he exhibited soon after his arrival, the people pressing him to declare free one of the charioteers of the circus, who belonged to a private person, he returned the following answer; It does not become the Roman people to beg of their emperor the liberty of one who does not belong to him, nor the emperor to oblige the person to whom he belongs to grant him it [b]. He had not been long in Rome, when embassadors arrived from Volageses, probably king of Armenia, with complaints against Pharasmanes king of Iberia, and from the Iazyges, a people of Sarmatia, who were desirous to have their antient treaties with the people of Rome confirmed by the emperor. Adrian received them in a very obliging

[t] Spart. cum. not. Casaub. p. 26. [u] Vide Wheler, p. 421——471. [w] Idem, p. 470. [x] Euseb. chron. p. 215. [y] Grut. p. 405. [z] Wheler, p. 93, &c. [a] Noris. epist. conf. [b] Dio, p. 795.

bliging manner, conducted them to the senate, and there ead to them an answer, which, at the request of the enate, he had composed before-hand. Pharasmanes came o Rome in person, with his wife and his son, to an- swer the complaints of Vologeses, bringing with him rich presents for Adrian, who repaid them with others far more valuable, and besides presented him with fifty elephants and five hundred chosen men, to serve him as a guard; enlarged his dominions; suffered him to sacrifice in the capitol; caused an equestrian statue to be erected to him; and assisted in person at a military exercise performed by him, his son, and the chief men of his court[c]. Nevertheless, by a strange whim, as we may call it, after so many presents and such extraordinary honours, he introduced into the amphitheatre three hundred criminals to be devoured by the wild beasts, or to fight as gladiators, in the embroidered tunics with which Pharasmanes had presented him, as if they had been fit only for such uses[d]. But this, no doubt, happened after the departure of the Iberian prince. After Adrian had travelled, we may say, all over the known world, he fell into a lingering disease, attended with a frequent bleeding at the nose, which the physicians of those days ascribed to his going constantly with his head uncovered in the greatest colds, heats, showers, &c. The loss of blood, as he was stricken in years, was followed by a dropsy, from which, as he entettained no hopes of ever recovering, he began to think of a successor; when several persons of great merit occurred to him, namely, Servianus, who had married his sister, and was now in the ninetieth year of his age; Fuscus the grandson of Servianus, and his own great-nephew; Pletorius Nepos, his antient and intimate friend; and Terentius Gentianus, a man greatly beloved and esteemed by the senate. These he judged, among the great men of Rome, the most capable of the supreme power; but nevertheless neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irreconcileable hatred to them, for no other reason but because they were equal to the empire, contrary to the expectation of all, and the advice of his friends, he made choice of L. Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus, for he is called by all these names, and Adrian added those of Ælius and Cæsar. He was sprung from an illustrious family, of which we shall

Where he receives Pharasmanes king of Iberia.

He falls into a lingering disease,

Begins to think of a successor.

He adopts Commodus Verus.

His character.

[c] Idem, p. 794. [d] Spart. p. 9.

ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; was endowed with many good qualities; had the port and air of a prince was well verſed in moſt branches of learning, eſpecially in poetry; and thought rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. He was of a very weak and infirm conſtitution, and at the ſame time entirely addicted to lewdneſs and debauchery; nay, it was commonly thought, that his beauty chiefly recommended him to Adrian, who is ſaid to have adopted him upon condition, that he ſhould conſent to his ſatisfying the paſſion which he had conceived for him. But what paſſed between them on this occaſion was never well known, ſays Spartian [e], both Adrian and Verus having bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to keep it ſecret. The adoption of Verus occaſioned great rejoicings in Rome. Adrian gave a largeſs to the people; diſtributed three thouſand ſeſterces amongſt the ſoldiery; exhibited games in the circus, combats of gladiators, &c. But as the new Cæſar's weakneſs daily encreaſed, and he began to vomit blood, Adrian ſoon repented his choice, telling the captain of his guards, That he had placed his hopes and ſupport in a falling wall; that he had loſt the four thouſand ſeſterces which he had diſtributed amongſt the people and ſoldiery; and adopted not a ſon, but a god, alluding to the cuſtom which obtained among the Romans of deifying their emperors and Cæſars. Theſe words being told by the captain of the guards to others, came at length to the ears of Verus, and ſo ſenſibly affected him, that they are thought to have greatly contributed to his death, which happened in the beginning of the following year, as we ſhall relate anon. The captain of the guards was immediately diſcharged and baniſhed the court. Verus, a few days after his adoption, was created prætor, and ſent to govern the province of Pannonia; in which employment he acquitted himſelf with reputation, and ſhewed himſelf well qualified for the command of an army. In an inſcription of the following year, the twenty-firſt of Adrian's reign he is ſtyled imperator [f]; whence we may conclude, if there is not ſome miſtake in the inſcription, as father Pagi pretends [g], that he waged war in thoſe parts; of which, however, no mention is made by hiſtorians.

Adrian repents his choice.

Verus is ſent into Pannonia.

The

[e] Spart. in Æl. Ver. p. 14.
[f] Gruter. p. 23.
[g] Pagi, p. 137.

The following year Adrian raiſed to the conſulſhip his adopted ſon Verus, and gave him for his collegue Sex. Vetulenus Civica Pompeianus, whoſe ſiſter Verus had married [h]. This year Adrian retired to Tibur, now Tivoli, where he employed his time in building a magnificent villa [i], the ſtately ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen in the poſſeſſion of the Roman jeſuits at a ſmall diſtance from Tivoli. Aurelius Victor tells us, that in his retreat he abandoned himſelf, as Tiberius had done formerly at Capreæ, to all manner of lewdneſs; but he was ſoon ſeized with a bloody flux, which reduced him to a miſerable condition. In that ſtate, abandoning himſelf to his natural cruelty, which till then he had reſtrained, he ordered many illuſtrious perſons, under various pretences to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered. Among the former were Servianus, his brother-in-law and his great-nephew Fuſcus, who, he pretended, had formed a deſign of ſeizing the empire. Fuſcus was but eighteen, and Servianus ninety. We are told, that the latter, before he was executed, called the gods to witneſs his innocence, and begged of them that they would puniſh the cruelty and injuſtice of Adrian, by reducing him to ſuch a ſtate, that he ſhould wiſh for death, and not have it in his power to die; which happened accordingly, as we ſhall relate anon [k]. To palliate his cruelty, to which he had, ſays Spartian, a great biaſs, he uſed to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, whoſe lives, he ſaid, were never thought to have been in danger till they were killed [l]. But for this ſaying, which we do not ever find to have been uſed by any good prince, he was indebted to Domitian. The following year, Ælius Verus Cæſar was conſul the ſecond time, with P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius, who had been raiſed by Adrian to the rank of a patrician, and was one of the anceſtors of Cælius Balbinus, whom we ſhall ſee preferred to the empire in the year 237, that is, an hundred years after [m]. This year, the Jewiſh war being ended, Julius Severus, who had utterly reduced that rebellious nation, was appointed governour of Bithynia, where he behaved with ſuch juſtice and moderation, having nothing in view but the welfare and happineſs of the people committed to his charge,

Adrian retires to Tivoli.

Abandons himſelf to cruelty, ordering ſeveral illuſtrious perſons to be put to death.

[h] Noris. epiſt. conſ. p. 98. p. 795. Spart. p. 12. Idat. &c. Gruter. p. 293.

[i] Spart. p. 13.

[l] Spart. ibid.

[k] Dio.

[m] Onuph.

charge, that his name was famous in that province an hundred years after and upwards [n]. The next consuls were Camerinus and Niger [o]. In the beginning of this year Verus, who had spent part of the preceding year in Pannonia, being returned to Rome, and finding himself greatly indisposed, took a medicine, which proving too strong for him, he fell into a sleep, and died the very day in which he was to return thanks to the emperor for the honour he had done him. The speech which he had prepared for this purpose is commended by Spartian, in whose time it was still extant [p]. Dion Cassius tells us, that he was carried off by a violent voiding of blood [q]. His funeral was performed with the utmost pomp and grandeur, and his ashes deposited in the stately mausoleum, which Adrian had begun for himself. The emperor caused him to be ranked among the gods, and in several cities ordered temples to be built and statues erected to him [r].

Verus dies, and is ranked among the gods.

He was, as we have hinted above, extremely addicted to luxury and voluptuousness, and passed most of his time in the company of lewd women; which his wife resenting, he used to tell her, that wife was a name of honour, not of pleasure. He had always in his hands, and even in bed with him, Ovid's book of love, together with Martial the epigrammatist, whom he used to call his Virgil. When he travelled, he was attended by a great many domesticks, who ran by his chariot, with wings to their clothes, attired like so many Cupids, and called by the name of the winds, Boreas, Notus, Aquilo, Circius, &c. He had married the daughter of Nigrinus, whom Adrian put to death in the beginning of his reign, as we have related above, and had by her a son named L. Verus, whom we shall soon see raised to the throne with Marcus Aurelius, and several daughters of whom one was by Adrian betrothed to Marcus Aurelius, who nevertheless did not marry her. This daughter is thought to be that Fabia, who is but too famous in history. Verus being dead, Adrian was some time in suspense whom he should chuse in his room [s]; but at length seeing himself despised, says Aurelius Victor [t], on account of the weakness both of his body and mind, he declared his intention of adopting Titus Antoninus, upon condition, that he should adopt

His debaucheries.

Adrian adopts Titus Antoninus.

[n] Dio, p. 793. [o] Idat. Prosper, &c. [p] Spart. p. 11. [q] Dio, p. 796. [r] Spart. in Vero. [s] Spart. Ver. p. 16. [t] Adrian. vit. p. 11.

adopt M. Annius Verus, called afterwards M. Aurelius and L. Verus, the ſon of the deceaſed prince of that name. Antoninus having taken ſome time to deliberate, whether he ſhould accept of the adoption upon the terms propoſed by the emperor, in the end conſented to it; and was accordingly adopted with the uſual ceremonies, on the twenty-fifth of February of this year, the 137th of the chriſtian æra, and at the ſame time inveſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power [u]. Many were diſpleaſed with this adoption; but no one more than Catilius Severus, governor of Rome, who aſpired at the empire himſelf, and began privately to pave himſelf a way to it; but being diſcovered, he was deprived of his place, which was an employment for life. The empreſs Sabina died, it ſeems, after the adoption of Antoninus; for in an antient inſcription he ſtyles her his mother [v]. She is thought either to have been poiſoned by Adrian [x], or ſo ill uſed, that ſhe choſe to lay violent hands on herſelf [y]. Adrian cauſed her to be ranked among the gods [z], not caring whether ſhe was in the ſupernal or infernal regions, provided he was no longer troubled with her bad humour, or pleaſed his own.

Sabina Auguſta dies.

ADRIAN bore his diſtemper a long time with firmneſs and patience; but being in the end tormented with violent pains in each joint of his body, he had recourſe to magic, ſays Dion Caſſius [a], and by that means once diſcharged his body of the watry humour with which it was filled. But the humour being ſoon recruited, and his pains encreaſing daily, he became in a manner furious, put ſeveral ſenators to death, and ordered Antoninus to take care, that ſeveral others, whom he named, were executed. But that good-natured prince warned them of their danger, and adviſed them to keep themſelves concealed; which they did accordingly, and were ſaved [b]. In the mean time, the emperor, deſirous to end his inſufferable pains with his life, often called for a dagger, and for poiſon, promiſing impunity, and a great reward, to ſuch as ſhould bring him either. But no one could, by any promiſes, be prevailed upon to contribute to his death.

Adrian's impatience in his ſickneſs.

Having

[u] Julius Capitol. in vit. Antonin. p. 18. [w] Onuph. p. 223. [x] Spart. p. 11. [y] Vict. epitome. [z] Birag. p. 185. [a] Dio, p. 797. [b] Aur. Vict. in Adri. p. 13. Antonin. vita, p. 17.

Attempts to lay violent hands on himself.

Having one day by chance found a dagger, he would have ſtabbed himſelf with it, had it not by one of his domeſtics been wreſted out of his hand. He then commanded his chief phyſician to give him poiſon: but he choſe rather to kill himſelf in his preſence, than obey his command [c]. He often conjured his moſt faithful freed-men to diſpatch him, and conſtrained a Jazygian, by name Maſtor, to promiſe it; but Maſtor fled, and never appeared till the emperor was dead. Another, whom he had obliged to make the ſame promiſe, haſtened to Antoninus, and acquainted him with it, who thereupon flew to the emperor's room attended by the captains of the guards, and beſought him to bear his illneſs, ſince it was unavoidable, with more patience and conſtancy; which ſo provoked him, that he commanded the perſon, who had diſcovered his deſign, to be put to death: but Antoninus ſaved him, and thenceforth narrowly watched the emperor night and day, ſaying, he ſhould think himſelf a parricide, if he neglected to preſerve his life as long as he could [d]. Spartian writes, that two blind perſons were reſtored to their ſight by Adrian, while in this condition; but at the ſame time owns, that Marius Maximus, who flouriſhed before him, looked upon the whole as a fiction and contrivance of Antoninus, to perſuade Adrian, that he would recover, and by that means divert him from laying violent hands on himſelf. One of theſe blind perſons was a woman, who, as ſhe gave out, had been admoniſhed in a dream to forbid Adrian to kill himſelf, becauſe he would one day recover; which ſhe neglecting to do, had been ſtruck blind, and ordered to return upon the ſame errand, having been firſt aſſured, that when ſhe had done it, and kiſſed Adrian's feet, ſhe ſhould receive her ſight again. The woman complied with the heavenly admonition, and was accordingly cured, after having waſhed her eyes in the water of the temple of the place from whence ſhe came. The other was a blind man, who coming out of Pannonia, touched Adrian, and that inſtant received his ſight. The emperor was then in a violent fever, which is ſaid to have immediately abated [e].

Two ſuppoſed miracles.

Adrian removes to Baiæ.

From Rome, Adrian removed to Baiæ in Campania; and there neglecting the advice of his phyſicians, and often ſaying,

[c] Spart p. 12. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid.

saying, that a multitude of physicians serves only to dispatch the sooner a patient, he lived without any rule, chose what food and drink he liked best, and by that means hastened his death. He was convinced of the immortality of the soul, and seemed apprehensive of its future state, as appears from the celebrated verses (B) which he composed and uttered a little before he expired, inquiring of his soul, whither it designed to go? He died at Baiæ on the tenth of July, after having lived sixty-two years, five months, and seventeen days, and reigned twenty years and eleven months, wanting one day [f] (C). Antoninus, whom he His death.

[f] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 797. Eutrop.

(B) The verses were;

Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca.
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

Spartian seems to despise them, which shews that he understood as little of poetry, as he did of history.

(C) Most writers agree, that Adrian began his reign on the eleventh of *August* 117, and that he died on the tenth of July 138, and consequently reigned twenty years, and eleven months, wanting one day. But on the other hand, in some ancient inscriptions is marked the twenty-second year of his tribunitial power; which induced the learned Dodwell to maintain, as we have observed above, that Adrian was adopted by Trajan a year before that prince's death; and consequently, that the account given by Dion Cassius of his adoption ought to be looked upon as a mere fable. But cardinal Noris (57), Petavius (58). and F. Pagi (59), observe, that these inscriptions were made in distant provinces, where the death of the emperor might not have been known a month after it had happened. Besides, as only one month was wanting to the twenty-second year of the emperor's tribunitial power, the author of the inscription probably looked upon it as begun; whereof there are not wanting instances both in antient times and our own. Cardinal Noris, misled, as he himself owns, by these inscriptions,

(57) Nor. de cenotaph. Pisan. c. 3. p. 86. (58) Petav. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 23. (59) Pagi, p. 35.

he had left at Rome, and sent for when he found himself at the point of death, arrived according to Spartian [g], just before, according to others, soon after, he expired. His body was burnt at Puteoli, and his ashes conveyed by Antoninus, to Rome, where they were exposed in the gardens of Domitia, and afterwards deposited in the magnificent mausoleum, which Adrian had built for himself near the Tiber, that of Augustus being quite full [h]. Adrian had, by the cruelties committed in the beginning and the end of his reign, provoked the public hatred to such a degree, that the senate were for annulling all his acts, and calling several persons to an account, who had raised themselves by abusing the interest they had with him. They therefore at first unanimously opposed Antoninus, demanding for him the same honours which had been decreed to other emperors [i]. But Antoninus remonstrating with great modesty, that they could not condemn the memory of Adrian without annulling his own adoption, and degrading him from the empire, the respect and veneration they all had for that prince, who added tears to his intreaties, inclined them at last to comply with his demands, especially when they saw a great number of persons appear, who were thought to have been murdered by Adrian, but had been saved and carefully concealed by Antoninus [k]. The senate dreaded likewise the soldiery, who were greatly attached to Adrian [l]. And thus a prince, abhorred by all as a cruel and bloody tyrant, was ranked among the gods, and divine worship decreed him. Antoninus built a temple as Puteoli, and instituted annual sports to

The senate are for annulling his acts.

But deify him, at the request of Antoninus.

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Jul. Capit. in Anton. Dio, ibid. [i] Eutrop. Antonin. vit. p. 18. [k] Aur. Vict. in Heliog. p. 103. [l] Dio, p. 799.

ons, maintained, that Adrian died in 139, but afterwards finding the arguments proving his death to have happened in 138, unanswerable, he changed his opinion, and rejected the inscriptions as faulty (60). Dodwell owns, that Adrian died in 138, but will have him to have been invested with the tribunitial power, a year before the death of Trajan, contradicting therein all the ancients, who tell us, that he was adopted by that prince not long before he expired.

(60) Noris. ep. con. p. 85.

to his honour, with prieſts, fraternities, victims, &c [m]. But what gave Antoninus a far better claim to the title of pious, was his interceding with the ſenate in behalf of thoſe who had been baniſhed by Adrian, and whom that prince, ſaid he, would have recalled, had he lived longer [n].

No prince, perhaps, ever raiſed ſo many public and private edifices as Adrian; for he built in moſt cities of any note, eſpecially at Athens; and Greece, as appears from Pauſanias, was full of his edifices, bridges, and aqueducts. In an antient inſcription, mention is made of a famous aqueduct begun by him in New Athens, and ended by Antoninus in the third year of his reign and 140. of the chriſtian æra. By New Athens ſome underſtand a city of Liguria, others New Athens in the iſland of Delos [o]. At Rome he rebuilt the Pantheon, the temple of Neptune, the ſquare of Auguſtus, the baths of Agrippa, and an infinite number of other public edifices, conſecrating them anew, but leaving them the names of their firſt founders [*]. His houſe at Tivoli was an extraordinary ſtructure, and adorned with fine paintings, repreſenting in one apartment the infernal regions. This palace he ſtyled his Lycæum, Academia, Prytanæum, Canopus, Pœcile, and Tempe, names of the moſt celebrated places abroad, and gave to the ſeveral apartments of it the names of the different provinces [p]. He built a new bridge over the Tiber, now known by the name of Ponte Sant Angelo, and near it his own mauſoleum [q], which from the deſcription Procopius gives us of it [r], appears to have been rather a caſtle than a tomb. In the time of the emperor Juſtinian it was made uſe of as a caſtle, and is at preſent the chief, we may ſay the only, fortreſs of Rome, called by the preſent Romans Caſtel Sant Angelo. Spartian, to give us ſome idea of the height of this lofty building, tell us, that the chariot placed on the top of it, ſeemed very ſmall to thoſe who ſtood on the ground; but nevertheleſs was of ſo large a ſize, that a corpulent man could with great eaſe paſs through the openings which repreſented

Adrian's public works.

His houſe at Tivoli.

His bridge on the Tiber, and mauſoleum.

[m] Spart. p. 17. [n] Anton. in vit. p. 19. [o] Vide Salmas. in Spart. p. 53. [*] Spart. p. 8. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Dio, p. 797. [r] Procop. de bell. Goth. l. i. c. 22.

Many cities called by his name.

the eyes of the horſes [s]. Many cities, either built, repaired, or peopled by Adrian with colonies, bore for ſome time his name, or that of his family, which was Ælia, viz. Carthage, Jeruſalem, two cities in Spain; Murſa, now Eſſek, in Pannonia; Stratonice in Macedon, Palmyra in Syria, Neoceſaræa in Pontus; Adrianopolis in Thrace, which ſtill retains it; Adriane, or Adrianopolis, in Libya Cyrenaica; Antinopolis in Egypt; called alſo Adrianopolis; Adrianothera in Myſia, which ſtill retained that name in the fifth century; and Adriane, in the ſame province, the birth-place of Ariſtides the ſophiſt, which, however, ſome writers will have to be the ſame city with Adrianothera [t].

His military inſtitutions.

The regulations which Adrian eſtabliſhed for the preſervation of the diſcipline among the troops, were afterwards obſerved as the military laws of the Romans, and are often quoted by Vegetius. Voſſius is of opinion, that the books of Mauritius, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter, are a collection of the military conſtitutions of Trajan and Adrian [u]. Adrian was the firſt who appointed, that each cohort ſhould have its proper maſons, architects, and ſuch artificers as were employed in raiſing buildings, and adorning them [w]. The regulations which he introduced, with reſpect to the army, to the court, and to the tribunals of juſtice, were ſtill obſerved in the end of the fourth century [x]. He was the firſt who employed Roman knights in quality of ſecretaries, and committed to them the care of his domeſtic affairs, other emperors having employed in ſuch offices only their freed-men [y].

His laws.

Gothofredus ſuppoſes Adrian to have been the author of a new juriſprudence, eſpecially by his perpetual edict, which he ſtyles the fountain of all laws in force among the Romans, at leaſt till the publication of the code by Theodoſius the younger [z]. Spartian mentions ſome of the laws publiſhed by Adrian, namely, that the children of preſcribed perſons ſhould enjoy the twelfth part of their fathers eſtates; that if any one found a treaſure in his own grounds, it ſhould be entirely his; if in thoſe of another, the owner of the ground

[s] Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 51. [t] Vide Salmas. ibid. [u] Voſſii epiſt. additæ ad Pearſon. Ignatiana, p. 234. [w] Victor. epit. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Spart. p. 11. [z] Gothofred. cod. Theodoſ. prol. p. 283.

round ſhall have the moiety of it; if in any public place, it ſhall be equally ſhared with the exchequer: that ſuch as had ſquandered away their eſtates, ſhould be publicly whipt in the amphitheatre, and baniſhed the city: that men and women ſhould uſe ſeparate and diſtinct baths: that if a maſter ſhould be found killed in his houſe, not all his ſlaves ſhould be put to death; nay, that thoſe only ſhould be put to the queſtion who were near enough to have prevented the murder: that maſters ſhould no longer have power of live and death over their ſlaves, but that ſuch ſlaves as deſerved to be capitally puniſhed, ſhould be tried and condemned by the magiſtrates [a]. Porphyrius informs us, upon the authority of Pallas, who wrote before his time, that Adrian publiſhed an edict prohibiting all human ſacrifices, which were ſtill offered in ſeveral provinces of the empire [b]. However, this execrable cuſtom was afterwards revived, and obtained in Africa, where children continued to be immolated to Saturn till the time of the proconſul Tiberius, who cauſed the inhuman prieſts of that deity to be crucified on the trees, which formed the grove round his temple. Thoſe who executed the ſentence of the proconſul were ſtill living in the beginning of the third century, as we read in Tertullian [c]; whence it is manifeſt, that Tiberius did not, as ſome have imagined, govern Africa in Adrian's time. It appears from the antient writers, that human ſacrifices were, notwithſtanding Adrian's prohibition, immolated to Diana in the neighbourhood of Rome, and even in Rome, during the ſolemn myſteries, till the time of Conſtantine, or rather of Gratian, who utterly aboliſhed that execrable practice [d]. The Romans had on their eſtates what they called manufacturies, or work-houſes where they kept great numbers of people, eſpecially ſlaves at work. Theſe houſes were like ſo many priſons, whither maſters ſent ſuch of their ſlaves as had diſobliged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being liſted, or puniſhed for crimes they had committed, fled to theſe work-houſes, and were there kept concealed. Beſides, the owners of theſe manufacturies were thought to ſeize

He forbids human ſacrifices.

[a] Spart. cum not. Salmaſ. p. 52. [b] Porphyr. apud Euſeb. in triennal. Conſtantin. c. 16. [c] Tertull. ap. c. 9. [d] Lact. inſt. l. i. c. 21. Euſeb. ibid. Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 217. Tatian. p. 164.

passengers and strangers, whether slaves or freed-men, to shut them up in these houses, and oblige them to work, without their ever being afterwards heard of. Adrian therefore, to obviate such inconveniences and disorders, put down all the work-houses, except those which belonged to the emperor or to the public [e]. Onuphrius [f] supposes Adrian to have made a new division of the provinces of the empire, and is therein followed by the learned Pietro Giannone in his excellent history of the kingdom of Naples [g]; but the antients only tell us, that Adrian divided all Italy into four districts, which were by his appointment governed by four consulars, that is, senators who had been consuls [h]. The division of the provinces, which Onuphrius ascribes to Adrian, was by him copied from Festus, who wrote in the time of Valentinian I. and none of the antients speak of any change made in the provinces, by Adrian, except that which we have just now mentioned. That which Onuphrius supposes to be Trajan's ought, in our opinion, to be rather ascribed to Diocletian, who divided the empire, as we read in Lactantius [i], into innumerable provinces, in order to multiply offices and officers, and by that means keep the people in awe and terror. Aulus Gellius tells us [k], that in Adrian's time, a woman of known modesty and unblemished character, was brought to bed eleven months after her husband's death. The legitimacy of the child being questioned by the heirs of the deceased, the cause was tried before the emperor, who after having examined a great many unexceptionable witnesses concerning the character of the woman, and with great care and attention consulted the books of the antient philosophers and physicians, declared by a special decree, that a child might be born eleven months after its conception. Aulus Gellius assures us, that he himself had read this decree. In Adrian's time a violent persecution was raised against the christians, which Sulpicius Verus accounts the fourth persecution; but it is not generally reckoned so by the fathers of the church, since no new edicts were issued against the professors of the christian religion, but only the laws still in force put in execution, Adrian being prompted by his superstition, (for he was initiated in all the idolatrous ceremonies of the Greeks) to countenance the persecutors of those

He abolishes all private work-houses

Adrian's edict in favour of a woman brought to bed eleven months after her husband's death.

Adrian first suffers the christians to be persecuted and then puts a stop to the persecution.

[e] Vide Salmas. in Spart. p. 49. [f] Onuph. de rep. Rom. comment. [g] Giann. hist. civil. l. i. c. 5. p. 25. [h] Spart. p. 11. [i] Lact. de pers. p. 6. [k] Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 16.

thoſe who were declared enemies of all ſuperſtition [l]. But after the perſecution had raged for ſome time with great violence, Adrian himſelf put a ſtop to it, being, upon the peruſal of the apologies preſented to him by Quadratus and Ariſtides, fully convinced of the innocence of the chriſtians, and the purity of their morals [m]; nay, he was even thought, if Lampridius is to be credited [n], to have had a deſign of cauſing our Saviour to be acknowledged as God, and to erect temples to his honour; but was diverted from it by ſome perſons who, conſulting the oracles, had received this anſwer, That if he ſuffered the God of the chriſtians to have temples, thoſe of the other gods would be ſoon abandoned. Under Adrian flouriſhed many perſons eminent in moſt branches of literature, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in our notes (D).

The

[l] Sulp. Sever. l. ii. c. 45. Hier. ep. 84. Euſeb. l. iv. c. 26. Tertull. apol. c. 5. [m] Euſeb. l. iv. c. 3. Hier. de vir. illuſtr. c. 19, &c. [n] Lamprid. in vit. Alexandr.

(D) Adrian himſelf ought to be ranked amongſt the writers who flouriſhed at this time; for he publiſhed ſeveral works both in proſe and verſe upon various ſubjects; and among the reſt, a Greek poem intituled the Alexandriad, of which we find the ſeventh book quoted by ſome of the antients (61). Spartian ſpeaks of certain books compoſed by him, and publiſhed under the title of Catacriani: wherein he pretended to imitate Antimachus, whom he preferred to Homer. Theſe, ſays the above-mentioned writer, were very obſcure pieces (62); and truly, from the title, they appear to have been ſuch as Spartian deſcribes them. Froben printed in 1551. a dialogue between Adrian and Epictetus, wherein the emperor propoſes ſeveral queſtions, which are anſwered by the philoſopher (63). Some of his Greek and Latin verſes have reached our times, beſides thoſe which we read in his life by Spartian (64), who ſpeaks of them with great contempt. But his judgment is of no weight with us, who find them mightily cried up by the beſt writers of thoſe times (65) Photius, who had peruſed his declamations, commends both his ſtyle and thoughts (66). We find the firſt book of his diſcourſe is quoted by the ancients, and the quotation relates to ſome remarks on the Latin grammar (67). Beſides his military inſtitutions, ſome writers aſcribe to him a treatiſe concerning the manner of drawing

(61) Vide Voſſ. hiſt Græc. l. ii. c. 11. Dio. l. lxix. p. 788. (62) Spart. in Adr. (63) Geſner. epit. p. 2. (64) Voſſ. ibid. (65) Vide Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 51. Et Salmaſ. in Spart. (66) Phot. c. 100. (67) Vide Salmaſ. ibid. Et Aul. Gell. l. x. c. 13.

Antoninus furnamed the pious.

The emperor Titus Antoninus derived his origin, on the father's ſide, from the city of Nemauſus, now Niſme, in Languedoc [o]. His anceſtors are ſaid by Aurelius Victor to ing up an army in battalia, which was long unknown, and firſt diſcovered in the reign of the emperor Anaſtaſius, about the latter end of the fifth century, and publiſhed with ſome additions by Mauricius, or Urbicus, then conſul (68). In the year 16 4. was printed at Upſal in Sweden, a treatiſe on the military art and ſtratagems, aſcribed to Mauricius, but that piece was done long after the time of Mauricius the conſul, ſince mention is there made of the French, Turks, Sclavonians, &c. (69). Adrian was, according to Dion Caſſius and Spartian, ſo fond of glory, that he wrote his own life in ſeveral books, but cauſed them to be publiſhed under the names of ſuch of his freedmen as were perſons of learning (70). Among theſe was Phlegon, a native of Tralles in Aſſia, who wrote a treatiſe on the long-lived, and another on wonderful things. Some fragments of theſe works are ſtill extant (71); and from a paſſage in the former it appears that he had not put the laſt hand to that piece in the nineteenth year of Antoninus's reign, the 156th of the chriſtian æra. Suidas aſcribes to Phlegon a deſcription of Sicily, three books of Faſti, an account of the famous places in Rome, and their names, and ſixteen books of the olympiads, to the 229th, begun in the year 137. of the chriſtian æra. This piece contained an account of the moſt remarkable things that in each olympiad, had happened in any part of the world. From the 177th olympiad, which has been conveyed to us by Photius, that work ſeems to have been exceeding well digeſted: had it reached our times, it would have cleared up ſeveral obſcure paſſages in hiſtory. Photius finds fault with the author for the trifling accounts he gives of all thoſe who gained prizes in the Olympic games, and inſerting in his work all ſorts of oracles. He likewiſe cenſures his ſtyle, as not quite pure and altogether Attic. In Photius's time only the five firſt books were extant which ended with the 177th olympiad, but the author had carried his hiſtory down to Adrian's time. It was addreſſed to one Alcibiades, belonging to that prince's life guard (72). In the thirteenth book of this work he is thought to have mentioned the darkneſs which happened at our Saviour's death (73): He ſpeaks of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, concerning which Photius quotes a long paſſage out of his fourteenth book (74). He is

[o] Jul. Cap. in Antonin. cum not. Salmaſ. Pariſ. 1620.

(68) Voſſ. epiſt. additæ ad Pearſ. Ignatiana. (69) Maur. tactic. p. 253. 364, 384. (70) Dio, p. 793. Spart. p. 6. (71) Phot. p. 256. Suid. p. 1071. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 11. (72) Photius, c. 97. (73) Hier. chron. p. 158. Orig. in Mathæum, p. 438. (74) Phot. p. 167.

to have lived at Lanuvium, or rather Lavinium in the neighbourhood of Rome; perhaps they ſettled there, after having

is frequently quoted by Stephanus the geographer. Suidas tells us, that Phlegon made an epitome of his ſixteen books of the olympiads, which epitome conſiſted of eight books; and that he likewiſe abridged the hiſtory of the victors in the Olympic games; and adds, that he publiſhed other works, which he does not mention (75). Phlegon, in his book of wonderful things, deſcribes a hippocentaur, taken on a mountain of Arabia, and ſent by the king of that country to the emperor, without doubt, Adrian, while he was in Egypt. The monſter died, but was embalmed by the governor, conveyed to Rome, and there placed in the imperial palace; where thoſe may ſee it, concludes Phlegon who queſtion the truth of my relation (76). St. Jerom tells us, that Antony, the famous anchoret, was met in the deſert by a hippocentaur, who ſpoke to him, and directed him what way he was to keep (77). Phlegon relates another hiſtory no leſs ſurpriſing of a young woman, who about ſix months after her death appeared again, walked, converſed, eat, and drank as ſhe had done formerly; which coming to the ears of her parents, they flew to ſee her, and, accordingly, had that ſatisfaction. But the young woman told them, that their curioſity would prove fatal to her, and put an end to her ſecond life; which words ſhe had ſcarce uttered, when ſhe fell dead at their feet. Such a ſurpriſing event, being divulged in an inſtant drew vaſt crowds to the place from all quarters. Phlegon haſtened thither with the reſt, and ſaw the body of the deceaſed laid out upon a bed; but not ſatisfied with that ſight, I cauſed the burying place of the family to be opened, ſays he, when I obſerved the bed, on which the young woman had been laid ſix months before, empty. He relates the moſt minute circumſtances of this wonderful event, names the perſons who were preſent, &c. (78.)

Favorinus, well known by the writings of Aulus Gellius, who was his diſciple, and by thoſe of Philoſtratus, was a native of Arles in Provence, and from his birth an eunuch, by profeſſion a philoſopher and ſophiſt, and well ſkilled both in the Greek and Latin tongues. He ſtudied under Dion Chryſoſtomus, and beſides Aulus Gellius, had for his diſciple the celebrated Herodes Atticus, whom he appointed his heir. He wrote a great many works quoted by the antients (79); but his ſtyle ſeemed to ſome deſtitute of the gravity becoming a philoſopher (80). He was for a long

(75) Suid. p. 1071.
(76) Phleg. mir. c. 34.
(77) Hier. in vit. Paul. heremit.
(78) Phleg. mir. c. 1. p. 13, 14.
(79) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 10. Suid, p. 1022, Philoſtr, vit, ſoph. p. 493. Demonactis, p. 549.
(80) Lucian. in vit.

ing removed from Niſme. The Aurelian family, which was the preſent emperor's is thought to have been very antient, but

long time Adrian's chief favourite; but that prince growing in the end weary of him, as well as of the reſt of his friends, took delight in mortifying him, by preferring to him perſons of no merit; which the Athenians no ſooner underſtood than they pulled down and broke to pieces a ſtatue, which they had erected to him. When Favorinus was informed of the affront, Socrates, ſaid he, without the leaſt emotion, 'would have been glad to have come off ſo cheap (81).' Suidas obſerves, that he and Plutarch ſtrove who ſhould write moſt books. They lived in great friendſhip, and Plutarch even inſcribed one of his works to Favorinus (82), who died, it ſeems, about the latter end of the reign of Antoninus (83). Galen mentions one Demetrius of Alexandria, who, imitating the ſtyle of Favorinus, whoſe diſciple he was, uſed daily to declaim in public upon what ſubject ſoever was propoſed to him (86). Dionyſius of Miletus was likewiſe a philoſopher of great note, highly favoured by Adrian, raiſed to the equeſtrian order, and apointed governor of ſome province, but in the end diſgraced. He ſtudied under Iſæus, of whom we have ſpoken in the reign of Trajan. Philoſtratus clears him from a charge brought againſt him, namely, that of being addicted to the ſtudy of magic (87). Heliodorus likewiſe felt the effects of Adrian's inconſtancy; for the emperor, being in the end diſguſted with him, wrote ſome moſt virulent letters againſt him (88). One of the ſame name, perhaps the ſame perſon, was, according to Dion Caſſius, for ſome time ſecretary to Adrian (89)

Of all the philoſophers who flouriſhed in thoſe times, Epictetus is by far the moſt renowned: Aulus Gellius calls him the greateſt man the ſect of the ſtoics had ever produced (90). He is ſuppoſed to have been a native of Hierapolis in Phrygia, was for ſome time a ſlave, and belonged to Epaphroditus, whom Suidas calls one of Nero's life-guard (91). This is, without all doubt, Nero's celebrated freedman, to whom Joſephus inſcribed moſt of his works, and who was afterwards put to death by Domitian, as we have related in that prince's reign. Celſus, the famous champion of idolatry, writes of Epictetus, that while his maſter was one day ſqueezing his leg very hard in order to torment him, Epictetus ſaid to him very calmly, 'you'll break my leg;' which happening accordingly, 'Did not I tell you,' ſaid he, ſmiling, 'that you would break my leg (92)?' Epictetus was, as is ſuppoſed, ſet

(81) Philoſ. ibid. Dio, p. 719. (82) Jonſ. l. iii. c. 7. Gell. l. ii. c. 26. (83) Jonſ. ibid. (86) Galen. prog. com. p. 445. (87) Philoſt. ibid. p. 522, &c. (88) Spart. p. 7. (89) Dio, l. lxix. p. 789. (90) Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 2. (91) Suid. p. 996. (92) Orig. in Celſ. l. vii.

but was not diſtinguiſhed very early with preferments in Rome. His grandfather Titus Aurelius Fulvus, or Fulvius, His extraction and preferments.

ſet at liberty, but remained always very poor (93). Being obliged by Domitian's edict, baniſhing all philoſophers, to quit Rome in 94. he retired to Nicopolis in Epirus, whence he returned upon that princes' death, and lived at Rome till the time of M. Aurelius, ſays Suidas (94), by whom as well as by his predeceſſor, he was, according to Themiſtius, held in great eſteem and veneration (95). But we cannot fall in with the opinion of theſe writers, ſince M. Aurelius uſed to look upon it as a great happineſs, not that he had learnt any thing of, or converſed with, Epictetus, but that he had read his writings (96). Epictetus reduced all his philoſophy to two points only, 'viz. to ſuffer evils with patience, 'and enjoy pleaſures with moderation;' which he expreſſed with theſe two celebrated words, ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου; that is, 'ſuffer and abſtain (97).' He was againſt the celibacy of the philoſophers, but nevertheleſs ſeems to have obſerved it himſelf (98). He publiſhed ſeveral works, none of which, except his enchiridion, or manual, has reached us (99). But Arrian, his diſciple, publiſhed a great work, which he pretends to conſiſt intirely of what he had heard him ſay, and ſet down, as far as he could remember, in Arrian's own terms (100).

Arrian, a native of Nicomedia, was one of the moſt learned men of his age, and on account of his eloquence and knowledge, commonly ſtyled the ſecond Xenophon. He was preferred at Rome to the higheſt poſts of honour, even to the conſulſhip (1); whence moſt writers take him to be the Flavius Arrianus, who, while he was governor of Cappadocia, repulſed the Alani, as we have related above. He lived at Rome under Adrian, Antoninus, and M. Aurelius (2). Themiſtius tells us, that Trajan forced him from his retirement, in order to employ him as a miniſter in ſtate-affairs (3). He publiſhed in eight books the familiar diſcourſes of Epictetus; but only four of them have reached us (4), which are inſcribed to one L. Gellius. He publiſhed twelve books more, containing the ſpeeches of Epictetus (5), and wrote his life. Photius quotes ſeveral other books compoſed by him, viz. the hiſtory of Bithynia, his native country, the hiſtory of the Alani, and that of the Parthians, in ſeventeen books, which he brought down to the war which Trajan waged with

(93) Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 18. & l. xv. c. 11, (94) Suid. p. 996. (95) Themiſt. orat. 5. (96) Jul. Cap. in Antonin. (97) Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 19. (98) Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p. 555. (99) Suid p. 996. (100) Arrian. Epic. p. 1. (1) Phot. c. 58. (2) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 11. (3) Themiſ. orat. 17. (4) Phot. c. 58. (5) Idem, c. 58.

vius, was the firſt conſul, of the Aurelian family. His father Aurelius Fulvus was likewiſe honoured with that dignity,

with them (6). He deſcribed the expeditions of Alexander the Great in ſeven books, which are ſtill extant, and is thought by Photius to have excelled all who wrote on the ſame ſubject (7) He publiſhed, in ten books, the lives of the ſucceſſors of Alexander; and gave in one book, ſays Photius, an account of India (8). This account of India is now reckoned the eighth book of the hiſtory of Alexander (9). Beſides theſe works mentioned by Photius, Lucian aſcribes to him the life of a famous robber, named Telebous (10). We have already mentioned his deſcription of the coaſts of the Euxine Sea; but that of the coaſts of the Red Sea, tho' commonly aſcribed to him, is thought by the learned to have been done by one who flouriſhed before Adrian and was contemporary with Pliny the elder (11). Beſides the works of Arrian already mentioned, we have ſtill his tactica, whereof the beginning has been long ſince loſt: to his tactica are commonly added his inſtructions concerning the march of the army againſt the Alani, and the order to be obſerved in the battle.

Plutarch was a native of Chæronea in Bœotia, where he was born in the reign of Claudius, about the year 50. of the chriſtian æra. He ſtudied under Ammonius, an Egyptian philoſopher; in the reign of Nero, and in that of Domitian taught at Rome, where, amongſt his other diſciples, he had the famous Arulenus Ruſticus, who was put to death by Domitian in 90 (12). We are told, that he was preceptor to Trajan; which we can hardly believe, ſince that prince was as old as Plutarch (14), and had from his youth been brought up in the camp. Suidas writes, that Trajan diſtinguiſhed him with conſular honours (15), meaning, no dobut, the conſular ornaments, and ordered the magiſtrates of Illyricum to adviſe with him in all affairs of importance. He continued at Rome till the death of Trajan, when he returned to his own country, and there bore the chief employments (16). He had ſeveral children, one of whom, by name Lamprias, publiſhed a catalogue of his father's hiſtorical pieces, which has reached us, but is imperfect (17). The philoſopher Sextus, one of the preceptors of the emperor M. Aurelius, was nephew to Plutarch (18). Plutarch publiſhed a great

(6) Idem, ibid. (7) Idem ibid. (8) Idem, p. 91. (9) Voſ. hiſt Græc. l. ii. c. 11. (10) Lucian. in vit. Alex. Præſt. (11) Vide Salmaſ. in Solin. Et Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 7. (12) Ruald. vit. Plut. (13) Idem, p. 29. (14) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 10. (15) Suid. p. 546, (16) Ruald. c. 25. (17) Idem, c. 6. (18) Idem, c. 5. Et Suid. p. 729.

dignity, and univerſally eſteemed on account of his extraordinary accompliſhments and integrity. Arrias Antoninus,

great many works, which are to every one well known, being tranſlated into all the modern languages. His ſtyle is not quite pure and Attic. Among the works commonly aſcribed to him, ſome are thought to have been written by others; and many of his works have been loſt, as appears from the citations of Gellius, Origen, Euſebius, Eunapius, Theodoret, and others. Marcus and Caninius Celer, two celebrated ſophiſts flouriſhed under Adrian, and publiſhed ſome declamations (19). Polemon, another famous ſophiſt, in great favour with Adrian, was a native of Laodicea upon the Lycus, which ſome place in Caria, others in Phrygia; but ſpent the greateſt part of his life at Smyrna, whither the youth flocked from all parts to hear him. He was ſeveral times ſent by that city in quality of embaſſador to the emperor Adrian, of whom he obtained great ſums for the inhabitants, tho' that prince was more addicted, ſays Philoſtratus (20), to the Epheſians than Smyrneans. As Adrian ſhewed an extraordinary kindneſs for him, he took care to turn it to his own advantage, and ſoon appeared with a train and equipage ill ſuiting his profeſſion; which drew upon him the envy of many, and the hatred of all. Antoninus treated him with great reſpect, tho' he had juſt occaſion to complain of his ruſticity, or rather inſolence. Herodes Atticus having heard him declaim, ſent him a conſiderable ſum, which, however, he refuſed as too ſmall; ſo that Herodes, to content him, was obliged to ſend him one much larger, which he condeſcended to accept. The king of Boſporus, who was well verſed in moſt branches of learning, coming to Smyrna to ſee that city, and the learned men there, ſhewed a great deſire of conferring with Polemon: but the proud and ſelf-intereſted philoſopher would neither viſit him, nor be viſited by him, till the king had ſent him a preſent of ten talents, and then he deigned to admit him into his houſe (21). Being greatly tormented with the gout, he retired to Laodicea, his native city, and there, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, placing himſelf, among his dead anceſtors, ordered the tomb to be ſhut up, that the ſun, as he ſaid, might never ſee him ſilenced (22). He left no writings beſides declamations. Under Trajan and Adrian flouriſhed, according to Suidas (23), Ptolemæus Chennus, Zenobius, Cephaleo, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus. Ptolemæus wrote ſeveral books, and, among the reſt, one intituled *the ſurpriſing hiſtory*

(19) Philoſtr. ſoph. 24. (20) Idem, ſoph. 25.
(21) Idem ibid. (22) Idem ibid. Et Suid. p. 554.
(23) Idem, p. 646, 1126, 1447.

ninus, his grandfather on the mother's ſide, was twice conſul, and eſteemed one of the greateſt and moſt virtuous men in Rome [p]. He married Boionia Procilla, deſcended from an illuſtrious family; and had by her Arria Fadilla, the mother of Antoninus, who, after the death of her huſband Aurelius Fulvus, married Julius Lupus, and had by him a daughter named Julia Fadilla. This daughter died before the emperor, but left a ſon named Mummius Quadratus [q]. T. Antoninus was born at

[p] Idem ibid. p. 17. [q] Idem, p. 25.

hiſtory (24). Zenobius taught at Rome under Adrian, and tranſlated the hiſtory of Salluſt into Greek. He likewiſe made a collection of proverbs, which is ſtill extant (25). He is ſometimes called Zenodotus. Cephaleo, being baniſhed his own country, retired into Sicily, where he publiſhed in the reign of Adrian a hiſtory, beginning with Ninus, and ending with Alexander (26). Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, deſcended from the famous hiſtorian of that name, was a ſophiſt, and is commonly ſtyled Dionyſius the Atticiſt, and the muſician, becauſe he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of muſic, and publiſhed ſeveral works upon that ſubject, and one among the reſt divided into thirty-ſix books, and containing an account of the moſt famous poets, and players upon inſtruments (27).

Herennius Philo, born in the city of Byblos in Phænicia, wrote one book on Adrian's reign, twelve on the choice of books, and thirty on various cities, and the eminent perſons they had produced: the latter work was abridged by one Ælius Severus Athenæus. Origen quotes a paſſage out of Herennius Philo concerning the Jews, for whom, it ſeems, he had no great kindneſs (29). Philo tranſlated into Greek the hiſtory of Phænicia written by Sanchoniatho, in his native language, about the time of the Trojan war (30). The preface, and ſome paſſages of this tranſlation, have been conveyed to us by Euſebius (31). Philo himſelf wrote the hiſtory of Phænicia, which is quoted by Euſebius (32) and Stephanus of Byzantium (33). Hermippus of Berytus, or of that neighbourhood, was one of Philo's diſciples, and highly

(24) Phot c. 190. (25) Voſſ. c. 11. (26) Suid. ibid. Phot. c. 68. (27) Suid. p. 743. Voſſ. c. 12. Jonſ. l. iii. c. 8. (28) Suid. p. 1065. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 10. (29) Orig. in Celſ. l. i. p. 13. (30) Voſſ. ibid. l. i. c. 1. (31) Euſeb. præp. l. i. c. 9. (32) Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 16. (33) Voſſ. ibid. l. ii. c. 16.

at Lavinium, on the nineteenth of September of the year 86. Domitian being then conſul the twelfth time, with Cornelius Dolabella. He is ſtyled by Julius Capitolinus, who wrote his life, T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus; but from ſeveral antient inſcriptions it appears,

highly eſteemed by Adrian, tho' the ſon of a freedman. He wrote five books upon dreams, which are quoted by Tertullian and others (34). The book of legiſlators, quoted by Origen (35), is generally aſcribed to another Hermippus, a native of Smyrna, who flouriſhed long before Adrian's time. Paulus of Tyre, contemporary with Philo, publiſhed a treatiſe of rhetoric. He obtained of Adrian the title of metropolis for the city of Tyre (36), Leander Nicanor of Alexandria, the ſon of Hermias, publiſhed ſeveral grammatical and hiſtorical pieces (37). Diogeneianus, a native of Heraclea, publiſhed ſeveral writings of grammar and geography, which Heſychius made uſe of in compiling his lexicon (38). His collection of ancient proverbs is ſtill extant. Under Adrian flouriſhed, according to Voſſius (39), Jaſon of Argos, who compriſed in four books the hiſtory of Greece, to the death of Alexander. Ælian, author of the tactica, lived at this time; for he addreſſed his work to Adrian. Another writer of the ſame name flouriſhed about a hundred years after; whence it is no eaſy taſk to determine, which of theſe two was the author of the "hiſtory of animals," of the "hiſtoria varia," and of other pieces which are by the ancients aſcribed to an Ælian, but long ſince loſt.

Under Adrian flouriſhed the two Latin hiſtorians Suetonius and Florus. C. Suetonius Tranquillus was the ſon of Suetonius Lenis, or Lætus, a Roman knight, who, at the battle of Bedriacum, commanded a legion in quality of tribune, as we have related in the foregoing work. The hiſtorian was born about that time; for he was very young in 88. that is, twenty years after the death of Nero (40). Pliny the younger had a great kindneſs for him, kept him conſtantly with him, and wrote to one of his friends, that the more he knew him, the more he loved him, on account of his probity, ingenuity, prudent conduct, and application (41). We may therefore ſuppoſe him

(34) Tertull. de anim. c. 46. Voſſ. ibid. Orig. in Celſ. Suid. p. 1043. (35) Orig. ibid. (36) Suid. p. 465. (37) Suid. p. 229. Voſſ. ibid. l. ii. c. 12. (38) Suid. p. 737. (39) Voſſ. ibid. (40) Suet. vit. Oth. & Dom. (41) Plin. l. x. ep. 200.

appears, that, inſtead of Fulvius, we ought to read Fulvus [r]. As from his infancy he behaved himſelf in a very dutiful and obliging manner towards all his relations, many of them left him their eſtates, by which means he became exceeding rich. He was a great lover of the country and country-diverſions, but nevertheleſs

[r] Vide Salmaſ. in not. ad Anton. vit. p. 47.

him to be the Tranquillus, whom, in one of his letters, he encourages to plead a cauſe, without being under any apprehenſion from a dream, which ſeemed to threaten him with bad ſucceſs (42). In another letter (43), he ſeems very anxious about purchaſing for him a little place of retirement near Rome, proper for a man of ſtudy and application. In other letters he exhorts him to publiſh his writings, ſince they were finiſhed (44); and aſks his advice even as to his own conduct on a particular occaſion (45). He obtained for him the poſt of a tribune; which Suetonius begged him to confer upon Cæſennius Silvanus, his kinſman: this generous action is greatly cried up by Pliny. Suetonius married, but had no children. However, Pliny, from Bithynia, wrote to Trajan, begging him to grant to his friend the privileges, which thoſe enjoyed, who had three children (46). The emperor ſeldom granted ſuch favours, but nevertheleſs could not help complying with the requeſt of Pliny (47). Suetonius was afterwards ſecretary to Adrian, but diſcharged on account of his diſreſpectful behaviour towards the empreſs Sabina (48). Suidas ſtyles him a Latin grammarian, and aſcribes to him ſeveral grammatical works; adding, that he likewiſe wrote a book upon the ſports of the Greeks, two upon the ſhews of the Romans, two upon the Roman laws and cuſtoms, one of the life of Cicero, a catalogue of illuſtrious Romans, and the lives of the emperors, which has reached our times (49). He wrote likewiſe in three books the hiſtory of the kings, which Paulinus abridged in verſe (50). His book concerning the inſtitution of offices, quoted by Priſcian, is probably the ſame with that of the Roman laws and cuſtoms. He wrote, according to the ſame Priſcian, eight books "of the prætors." A book likewiſe entituled 'de 'rebus

(42) Plin. l. i. ep. 18. (43) Idem ibid. ep. 24.
(44) Idem, l. v. ep. 11. (45) Idem, l. x. ep. 34.
(46) Idem, l. x. ep. 100. (47) Idem ibid. ep. 101.
(48) Spart. p. 6. (49) Suid. p. 934.

leſs did not decline public employments, in which he acquitted himſelf with great reputation and univerſal applauſe. He was conſul in 120; afterwards one of the four conſulars appointed by Adrian to govern Italy, and then ſent into Aſia with proconſular authority; where, 'rebus variis,' is by ſome aſcribed to him. From the great number of authors, who have quoted his works, it appears, that they were generally read, and greatly eſteemed, both by the Greeks and Latins. Tertullian quotes his book of the Roman ſhews (51), and St. Jerom that of illuſtrious men, upon the plan of which he wrote his own (52): perhaps the lives of the illuſtrious grammarians, orators, and poets, commonly aſcribed to Suetonius, were part of that work. The life of Pliny the elder is thought not to have been done by Suetonius, but by a much more modern writer (53). Vopiſcus, ſpeaking of his hiſtory of the twelve Cæſars, calls him an impartial and correct writer; but adds, that he cannot compare him to Salluſt, Livy, Tacitus, or Trogus (54). His writings are no leſs lewd and infamous, ſays St. Jerom, as quoted by Voſſius (55), than were the lives of the emperors, whoſe hiſtory he writes. And truly, both he and Lampridius have mixed too much lewdneſs, as well as meanneſs in their writings; whence they are juſtly cenſured by Rualdus, as teaching their readers to be vicious (56).

Florus is thought to have been a native of Spain, and of the family of the Senecas; that his family-name was L. Annæus Seneca, and that being adopted by one Florus, he took the name of L. Julius Florus. We read of one Julius Florus, who, in the reign of Tiberius, taught rhetoric in Gaul with great applauſe (57). Spartian, in the life of Adrian, quotes ſome verſes compoſed by a poet named Florus, whom moſt writers take to be the epitomizer of the Roman hiſtory; for that epitome was written in the reign of Trajan, and ſeems to be the product of a poetical genius. It is greatly eſteemed by the learned, who nevertheleſs find fault with the author for not obſerving with due punctuality the order of time. It is not an abridgment of Livy; for with him the author often diſagrees. Whether the ſummaries prefixed to each book of Livy's hiſtory were done by Florus, is uncertain (58). The poet Florus uſed, it ſeems, to frequent taverns and eating-houſes, which was looked upon in thoſe days as highly unbecoming perſons of a liberal education. Hence Florus having written to Adrian the following verſes;

Ego

(51) Tertull. ſpec. c. 5. (52) Hier. vir. illuſ. præf.
(53) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 31. (54) Vopiſc. in Firm.
(55) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 31. (56) Rauld. in vit. Plut. c. 28. (57) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c. 30. (58) Voſſ. ibid.

where, by the mildneſs of his government, his affability, and engaging behaviour, he gained the eſteem and affections of perſons of all ranks. Upon his return to Rome, Adrian appointed him one of his council, and tranſacted nothing without his advice [s]. He married Annia Galeria, the ſiſter of Marcus Aurelius's father, and had by her two ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt of the daughters was married to Lamia Syllanus, but died ſoon after: ſhe was probably named Aurelia Fadilla; for we find one of that name called in an antient inſcription the daughter of the emperor T. Antoninus [t]. The other, named Annia Fauſtina, was married to M. Aurelius, her couſin german [u]. The two ſons, M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus, and M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus, muſt have

His iſſue.

[s] Dio, l. lxx. p. 800. Jul. Cap. p. 17. [t] Vide Mabill. analect. c. iv. p. 500. [u] Jul. Cap. p. 18—23.

Ego nolo Cæſar eſſe,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

That is, 'I deſire not to be Cæſar, to ramble among the Britons, 'and to endure the froſts of Scythia:' Adrian anſwered thus;

Ego nolo Florus eſſe,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Culices pati rotundos.

That is, 'I deſire not to be Florus, to ramble among the ta-'verns and eating-houſes, and to be ſtung with gnats' (59). Aulus Gellius mentions one Terentius Scaurus, a celebrated grammarian, who flouriſhed under Adrian; and highly commends T. Caſtricius, whoſe diſciple he himſelf had been (60); but neither of them ſeems to have left any works behind them. Scaurus had been preceptor to Adrian; his ſon was preceptor to L. Verus, and his grandſon, or rather great-grandſon, to Alexander Severus (61).

(59) Spart. p. 8. (60) Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 15. & 13.
(61) Vide Caſaub. in vit. L. Ver. p. 35.

have died very young; for no mention is made of them in hiſtory.

His character.

ANTONINUS is celebrated by all the antients as one of the beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. His behaviour to all was extremely obliging: he was always ready to hear with patience the meaneſt of the people: to no one was ever admittance denied to his palace or preſence, eſpecially when they came to complain of his officers, miniſters, or procurators. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and oſtentation. His table, ſays his hiſtorian, was rich without extravagance, and frugal without meanneſs. He never courted the favour of the people, but ſeemed rather to deſpiſe popular applauſe, which had been the idol of moſt of his predeceſſors. He never flattered others, nor ſuffered any one to flatter him. He obſerved with great exactneſs, but without the leaſt affectation, the Roman laws and ceremonies. He offered in perſon, as high pontiff, the ſacrifices, which for other emperors had been offered by inferior prieſts; and never failed to aſſiſt, unleſs prevented by ſome indiſpoſition, at all public acts of religion, ſhewing always a profound reſpect for the deity [w]. It appears from an inſcription of the year 143, the fifth of his reign, that the ſenate erected a monument to his honour, in conſideration of his great and extraordinary regard for the public ceremonies [x]. As he never admitted any to his friendſhip with whom he was not thoroughly acquainted, he was a moſt conſtant friend, hearkened to no calumnies againſt them, nor entertained any fears or jealouſies, as Adrian had done, who in the end was weary of all his old friends, and diſcharged them with ignominy.

His religion, conſtancy in friendſhip, &c.

His clemency and mildneſs.

He was naturally of a ſweet and mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, which he ſhewed even to the moſt vicious and wicked, chuſing rather to deprive them of the means of doing miſchief, than to puniſh them according to their deſerts. During his long reign of twenty-three years, he is ſaid never to have done any thing that favoured of cruelty, ill-nature, or could give to any perſon whatſoever juſt motive of offence [y]. When he arrived in Aſia, with the character of proconſul, he choſe to lodge the firſt night in the houſe of Polemon the celebrated

[w] Idem, ibid. Pauſ. l. viii.

[x] Rein. inſcript. p. 308.

[y] Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 18. Dio, ibid.

ſophiſt, which was the beſt and largeſt in Smyrna. But the proud and unmannerly ſophiſt, who was then in the country, returning home about midnight, and finding the proconſul in his houſe, inſtead of thanking him for the honour he had done him, made ſuch complaints of the liberty he had taken, as the clown was pleaſed to ſtile it, that Antoninus, to quiet him, was obliged to leave the houſe at that time of night, and ſeek for a lodging elſewhere. However, when Antoninus was raiſed to the empire, Polemon did not fail to come to Rome to wait upon him. The emperor received him in a moſt obliging manner, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace; but at the ſame time put him in mind of what had paſſed in Smyrna, by ordering his domeſtics to take care that no one turned him out of his apartment [z]. A comedian complaining to the emperor, that Polemon had driven him out of the theatre at mid-day, Antoninus anſwered, He drove me out of my lodgings at midnight, and nevertheleſs I made no complaints [a]. As M. Aurelius was weeping for the death of one of his preceptors, the courtiers, creatures for the moſt part void of humanity, repreſented to him, that it was beneath a prince to ſhew ſo much tenderneſs and concern; but Antoninus checked them with the following remarkable words; 'Pray let him weep, and give 'him leave to be a man; for neither philoſophy nor the 'imperial dignity ought to extinguiſh in us the ſentiments of

Diſſembles affronts.

'nature [b].' The emperor going one day to ſee the fine houſe of Valerius Omulus, and admiring there, amongſt other things, certain pillars of porphyry, he aſked him where he had purchaſed them? But Omulus, inſtead of being pleaſed to ſee the emperor take notice of the ornaments of his houſe, returned him this rude anſwer, 'In other peoples 'houſes you muſt learn to be deaf and dumb [c].' Thus Omulus, who was a man of a ſatirical temper, and given to raillery, treated on this, and ſeveral other occaſions, the good-natured prince, who could not, as he often owned, prevail upon himſelf to puniſh any perſon for bare words, however free and diſobliging. Having ſent for Apollonius, the celebrated ſtoic, who reſided at Chalcis in Syria, to inſtruct M. Aurelius in the principles of that ſect, the

[z] Philos. ſoph. 25. [a] Idem, ibid. [b] Jul. Capit. ibid. [c] Idem, ibid.

the philoſopher flew to Rome, attended by a great number of diſciples, all Argonauts, ſays Lucian [d], gaping after the golden fleece. Upon their arrival, Antoninus invited Apollonius to court, in order to deliver his diſciple to him. The haughty pedant anſwered with great inſolence, that the maſter was not to come to the diſciple, but the diſciple to the maſter; which words being related to Antoninus, 'Does Apollonius then, ſaid he, ſmiling, 'think it a more troubleſome journey from his lodgings to 'the palace, than from Chalcis to Rome?' However, he ordered M. Aurelius to wait upon him [e].

T. ANTONINUS was adopted by Adrian, as we have related above, upon the death of Ælius Verus Cæſar. Some authors write, that Adrian was induced to prefer him to ſo many other great men, by the particular reſpect and tender regard which Antoninus ſhewed to his father-in-law, whom, as he was very old and decrepit, he uſed conſtantly to conduct to the ſenate, attending him like a ſlave: Adrian ſeeing him one day leading and ſupporting the old man, was ſo pleaſed with that ſight, that he adopted him for that very reaſon [f]. But Adrian could not by this alone be prompted to confer ſo great an honour upon one, who had given ſo many proofs of his extraordinary talents and ability. He choſe him, therefore, becauſe he judged him to be, of all the great men in Rome, the beſt qualified for the ſovereign power [g]. He was adopted on the twenty-fifth of February of the year 138, and at the ſame time inveſted with the proconſular and tribunitial power, honoured with the name of Cæſar, now peculiar to the preſumptive heir of the empire, and diſtinguiſhed, as we conjecture from ſome antient coins, with the title of emperor [h], which had hitherto been given to none but the ſovereign. We are told, that his ſucceſſion to the empire was preſaged long before by many omens. While he governed part of Italy in quality of proconſul, one from among the croud cried out to him, while he was adminiſtering juſtice, 'May the gods proſper your under-'takings, O Auguſtus!' Upon his arrival in Aſia, the prieſts of the city of Tralles in Lydia received him not

What prompted Adrian to adopt him.

His future grandeur preſaged.

[d] Lucian. in vit. Demonact. p. 532. [e] Jul. Cap. p. 23. [f] Idem, p. 17. [g] Dio, l. lxix. p. 796, 797. [h] Goltz. p. 70.

with the uſual ſalutation, Ave, proconſul; Hail proconſul! but ſtyled him emperor. At Cyzicus, a crown belonging to the ſtatue of one of the gods was found upon that of Antoninus, &c. [i] Adrian adopted Antoninus upon condition, that he ſhould adopt M. Annius Verus, the ſon of his wife's brother, and L. Commodus, the ſon of L. Verus Cæſar, which he did accordingly before the death of Adrian, probably the ſame day on which he himſelf was adopted [k]. The next day Antoninus returned the emperor thanks in the ſenate for the honour he had conferred upon him, diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiery and populace, employing on this occaſion his own, and not the public, money; and beſides, paid what Adrian had promiſed them. All the cities of the empire uſed, on ſuch occaſions, to preſent the adopted prince with ſums of money inſtead of crowns, which were thence called aurum coronarium. Theſe ſums the generous prince remitted entirely to the cities of Italy, and a moiety to all the reſt. He even contributed out of his private fortune a great deal towards the works which Adrian was carrying on, and obeyed that prince, ſo long as he lived, with as much reſpect and ſubmiſſion as the meaneſt of his ſubjects, except when he attempted to murder himſelf, or others [l]. Adrian dying at Baiæ, on the tenth of July, he prevailed upon the ſenate, much againſt their will, to confer ſuch honours upon him as had been decreed to the beſt of emperors, and continued all thoſe in their employments, who had been preferred by him. It was according to ſome writers, on account of this tender and filial reſpect for the memory of his father, that the ſenate decreed him the glorious ſurname of Pius. Others think, that they diſtinguiſhed him with that title in regard of the great care he had of his father-in-law in his old age, or of Adrian in his ſickneſs, or becauſe he ſaved many whom Adrian had commanded to be murdered, or finally, on account of the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, and the extraordinary reſpect he ſhewed on all occaſions for religion and all religious perſons [m]. Be that as it will, he bears the epithet

His generoſity.

He cauſes Adrian to be ranked among the gods.

Why honoured with the title of pius.

[i] Jul. Cap. p. 8. [k] Spart. in Adr. p. 12. Jul. Cap. p. 16. Dio, p. 797. [l] Jul. Cap. p. 18. [m] Idem, p. 17. Pauſ. l. viii. p. 275. Dio, l. lxx. p. 799.

thet of Pius in ſeveral medals of this very year, and is chiefly known by it in hiſtory [n]. Pauſanias thinks he deſerved not only this title, but that likewiſe which was given to Cyrus, viz. the father of mankind, in conſideration of the paternal care he ſeemed to have of all men [o]. Commodus, and the emperors who ſucceeded him, aſſumed the ſame title; which ſerved only to render their wickedneſs the more remarkable [p]. This year Antoninus was likewiſe honoured with the title of Auguſtus and of high pontiff, and his wife Fauſtina with that of Auguſta. He refuſed many other honours which the ſenate offered him, and among the reſt the title of the father of his country [q]; which, however, he accepted the following year [r]. We are told, that Antoninus, in the beginning of his reign, ordered the pro-conſul of Africa to conſult the goddeſs Cœleſtis, who was worſhipped at Carthage, about his ſucceſſors and the ſtate of the empire; and that the pretended deity, after having uttered, like other oracles, many things obſcure and unintelligible, repeated the name of Antoninus eight times; whence it was concluded, that Antoninus ſhould reign eight years. But as he reigned near twenty-three, another conſtruction was long after put upon the oracle, viz. that eight emperors ſhould reign bearing the name of Antoninus; which interpretation we ſhall examine in the reign of the emperor Opilius Macrinus.

Honours conferred upon him by the ſenate.

WE know but very little of the actions of this great prince, and are almoſt quite at a loſs as to the order of them, with reſpect to what we know. Julius Capitolinus, who wrote his life, and inſcribed it to the emperor Diocleſian, is but a very indifferent hiſtorian, and greatly confuſed and perplexed in his accounts. What Dion Caſſius wrote of Antoninus has been loſt eight hundred years ſince, and conſequently before Xiphilin undertook the epitomizing of that author; ſo that we can only give our readers a general idea of this excellent prince's government and conduct. He lived, according to Julius Capitolinus, after his acceſſion to the empire, in the ſame manner as he had lived while he was yet a private perſon; no alteration appeared in his behaviour towards his

[n] Spanh. l. viii. p. 714.
[o] Pauſ. l. viii. p. 275.
[p] Idem, ibid.
[q] Dio, l. lxx. p. 799. Jul. Cap. p. 18. Goltz. p. 71.
[r] Jul. Cap. in Macrino.

His extraordinary respect for the senatorial and equestrian orders.

his friends, nor had any of his enemies ever the least motive to be grieved for his preferment. He would suffer none but slaves to wait upon him, shewing on all occasions the greatest respect imaginable for the equestrian and senatorial orders. He never transacted any business of consequence without the advice of the senate, paying them, when emperor, that regard which he desired to see paid to them by other emperors while he was a senator. He frequently gave an account, even to the people, of all his actions and negotiations. When he demanded the consulship, or other employments, either for himself or his children, he appeared like a private person among other candidates; which shews, that he allowed the people, according to their antient right, to chuse the magistrates. M. Aurelius owns, that Antoninus convinced him by his example, that one might lead a private life even in a court. He moderated most of the imposts and

He lessens the tributes.

tributes, and strictly enjoined his receivers and collectors to exact them without any severity or oppression, saying, that he chose rather to be poor, than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppressed people. He was no sooner raised to the empire, than he disposed of the greatest part of his private estate in favour of the indigent citizens; and the empress Faustina repining at his generosity, he told her; That a prince ought to have no private interest, no private property, and nothing in view but the

Prefers only men of merit.

public welfare. He chose for governors of provinces such as were persons of known integrity, and is said never to have preferred an undeserving man to any employment whatsoever. Hence some continued in their posts during the whole time of his reign; for he was not for removing such as discharged their office to the satisfaction of the people, unless they themselves desired it, as did Orfitus governor of Rome, and some others. Gavius Maximus was for the space of twenty years captain of the prætorian guards; and others held their employments during the whole time of his reign. His paternal estate, which was very

Takes care of the public revenues.

great, he laid out in bounties and largesses; but was very sparing of the public money; whence at his death his private coffers were found empty, but the exchequer full. He deprived several useless persons of the pensions which had been settled upon them by Adrian, saying, he could not bear to see the state devoured by those who were no-ways serviceable to it, but lived in idleness upon

the

the labours of others. Among thoſe whom he thus treated, was Meſomedes, a lyric poet, whom Adrian had rewarded with a yearly penſion on account of ſome verſes in praiſe of his beloved Antinous. Tho' he was thus ſparing of the public money, yet no one ever charged him with avarice; for he gave daily inſtances of an unbounded generoſity. He would accept of no legacies from ſuch as had children, and ordered the eſtates of thoſe who had been condemned for extortion, to be reſtored to their children, after the perſons, whom they had pillaged, had been fully ſatisfied. Under no prince fewer eſtates were confiſcated than under him. He utterly extirpated the whole tribe of informers, and was ready, upon the leaſt misfortune that happened to any city or province, to leſſen their tribute and taxes [t]. Many obtained the privileges of Roman citizens for themſelves, and not for their children, who, in that caſe, remained Greeks, according to the expreſſion of an antient hiſtorian, and conſequently were incapable of enjoying their fathers eſtates, which fell to the exchequer, if the deceaſed had no Roman citizen amongſt his relations. But this regulation, favourable indeed, to the avarice of princes, but repugnant to humanity, Antoninus utterly aboliſhed [w]. He beſtowed great privileges and ſalaries in all the provinces of the empire upon ſuch men of learning as undertook the educating of youth; maintained incredible numbers of children, whoſe parents were indigent; ſupplied all the ſenators and magiſtrates with large ſums to defray the expences of their neceſſary journies, and ſpent conſiderable ſums in ſhews and ſpectacles, complying therein with the inclinations of the people, tho' he himſelf had an utter averſion to ſuch diverſions. Tho' he was no-ways addicted to building, yet he raiſed a great number of ſtately edifices at Rome, and in the neighbourhood. He cauſed a port to be made at Caieta, now Gaeta; repaired that of Terracina; finiſhed Adrian's magnificent mauſoleum; built a ſtately palace at Lorium in Hetruria, about ten miles from Rome, in which place he had been educated; and contributed large ſums towards the repairing of ſeveral antient buildings in Greece, Ionia, Syria, and Africa. The village of Pallantium in Arcadia was by him made a city, and exempted from all manner of tribute, becauſe Evander was ſuppoſed to have built, and peopled

Inſtances of his equity.

Favours men of learning.

His public works.

[t] Jul. Cap. p. 20——30.

[w] Pauſan. l. viii. p. 273.

pled with the inhabitants of that village, a city in the place where Rome ſtood [x]. He promiſed, in the beginning of his reign, to ſpill the blood of no ſenator; which promiſe he obſerved ſo religiouſly, that one being convicted of parricide, he contented himſelf with baniſhing him, even after he had owned his crime, to a deſert iſland. Attilius Tatianus and Priſcianus being accuſed of conſpiring againſt the life of the emperor, the latter laid violent hands on himſelf, and the former was only baniſhed. Of his ſon Antoninus took particular care, and brought him up as if he had been his own child. He would ſuffer no enquiry to be made after their accomplices, anſwering the ſenate, when they preſſed him to it, I do not care the world ſhould know by how many perſons I am hated. He never engaged in any war which he could avoid, and was often heard to ſay, that he had rather ſave one citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand enemies. By this means he gained the affections, not only of his own people, who looked upon him as their father and protector, but likewiſe of the declared enemies of Rome, who entertained ſuch an opinion of his equity, juſtice and moderation, that in their diſputes they choſe him for their judge and arbitrator; and truly no Roman emperor was ever more eſteemed and revered by all foreign nations than Antoninus. The king of the Parthians, having raiſed a formidable army and invaded Armenia, retired, contrary to the expectation of all, and diſbanded his troops upon the receipt of a letter from Antoninus. The kings of Hyrcania, Bactria, and India, ſent embaſſadors to him, courting his friendſhip, and deſiring his alliance. Pharaſmanes king of Iberia came in perſon to wait upon him at Rome, and ſhewed a far greater reſpect and veneration for him, than he had formerly done for Adrian. The Lazi, the Armenians, the Quadi, and ſeveral other nations, readily received ſuch princes as he was pleaſed to appoint over them, tho' they were not then ſubject to the empire [y]. Antoninus is by ſome hiſtorians compared, by others even preferred, to Numa, on account of the tranquillity which Rome enjoyed during the greateſt part of his reign, and his extraordinary care of all things belonging to the worſhip

Promiſes to put no ſenator to death, and obſerves his promiſe.

Is eſteemed even by the enemies of Rome.

[x] Jul. Cap. p. 17—20. Pauſan. l. viii. p. 273. [y] Jul. Cap. p. 20. Birag. p. 194. Spart. l. ix. p. 831, 832.

ſhip of the gods and to religion. Julius Capitolinus tells us, that he was by perſons of all ranks revered to ſuch a degree, that neither the people nor ſoldiery could for the ſpace of an hundred years and upwards, look upon any one as truly emperor, who did not bear the name of Antoninus; which was therefore aſſumed by all his ſucceſſors during a whole century: nay, Severus appointed, that the name of Antoninus ſhould be peculiar to the emperors, like that of Auguſtus [z]; ſo great was the veneration he had for Antoninus! That great name was indeed profaned and diſhonoured by Antoninus Caracalla; but nevertheleſs reſpected to ſuch a degree, even after his reign, that the emperor Macrinus obliged his ſon Diadumenus to aſſume it, fearing the ſoldiers would not acknowledge him emperor, unleſs diſtinguiſhed by that ſtill venerable name [a].

And revered by all ranks of men.

ADRIAN died, as we have related above, on the 10th of July 138, Camerinus and Niger being conſuls. Theſe were ſucceeded by the emperor Antoninus, the ſecond time conſul and Caius Bruttius Præſens. This year Antoninus gave his daughter Annia Fauſtina in marriage to M. Aurelius, whom he created Cæſar, and at the requeſt of the ſenate, tho' this year only quæſtor, named for the conſulate of the year enſuing; which he diſcharged with him, as appears from an antient inſcription on a monument raiſed to the honour of M. Aurelius by the two captains of the prætorian guards, Petronius Mamertinus and Gavius Maximus, and by the other officers of the ten prætorian cohorts, and the city-guards [b]. In another inſcription, which antiquaries take to be of this year, Antoninus is ſtyled the benefactor and preſerver of the city of Mopſueſtia, for having maintained the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their antient rights and privileges [c]. From a third inſcription we learn, that Antoninus ended this year an aqueduct, which had been begun by Adrian at New Athens in the iſland of Delos [d]. The next conſuls were M. Peducæus Siloga and T. Hoenius Severus [e], during whoſe adminiſtration one Celſus revolted; but all we know of his revolt is, that on this occaſion the empreſs Fauſtina was greatly diſpleaſed with the kindneſs which the good-natured emperor ſhewed to his enemies [f]. Soon after Fauſtina died, and was, notwithſtanding the diſſolute

Marries his daughter Fauſtina to M. Aurelius.

The empreſs Fauſtina dies, and is ranked among the gods.

[z] Spart. in Geta. p. 90. [a] Idem in Diad. [b] Grut. p. 258. [c] Onuph. p. 225. [d] Idem, p. 224. [e] Cuſpin. p. 353. Onuph. in faſt. p. 225. [f] Coſſ. vit. per Vulcat. p. 43.

diſſolute life ſhe had led, at the requeſt of Antoninus, honoured with divine worſhip, prieſts, temples, ſtatues of gold and ſilver, &c. Games were inſtituted to her honour, and her ſtatue was, by Antoninus's order, carried amongſt thoſe of the other gods at the Circenſian ſports. The emperor was not unacquainted with her irregular conduct; but had done all that lay in his power to keep her diſorders concealed from the multitude [g]. The following year, L. Cuſpius Rufinus and L. Statius Quadratus being conſuls, Antoninus inſtituted ſolemn ſports at Puteoli, in honour of Adrian, which where ſtyled Pia or Pialia, and were to be celebrated the ſecond year of each olympiad [h]. The next conſuls were C. Bellicius Torquatus and Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes. The latter, who is greatly cried up by Aulus Gellius [i] and Philoſtratus [k], was a native of Athens, and the moſt eloquent orator of his time. He had an extraordinary talent at making ſpeeches off-hand; but not having ſucceeded as he expected in one which he had made, while we was yet a youth, before the emperor Adrian, he attempted to drown himſelf in the Danube. He inſtructed M. Aurelius and L. Verus in the Greek tongue, and was greatly eſteemed by Antoninus, who appointed him governor of the free cities of Aſia. He died in the fifteenth year of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and 176th of the chriſtian æra, and left behind him many ſpeeches, letters, and other works, none of which have reached our times. In the following conſulſhip of Lollianus Avitus and Claudius Maximus, the Brigantes in Britain revolted; but were ſoon reduced by Lollius Urbicus governor of that province, who deprived them of great part of their country, ſubdued the more northern nations, and built a new wall between the friths of Forth and Clyde [l]. For the victories gained by Lollius, Antoninus was honoured, as appears from ſome antient medals, with the title of Britannicus [m]. The next year Antoninus entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having for his collegue M. Aurelius Cæſar, the ſecond time conſul, and gave the manly robe to Lucius Verus his adopted ſon, who had ended the fourteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of December of the preceding year.

Atticus Herodes is raiſed to the conſulſhip.

The Brigantes revolt and are reduced.

[g] Jul. Cap. p. 18. [h] Idem, p. 13. Pagi, p. 211.
[i] Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 2. [k] Philoſt. ſoph. xxvii. [l] Vide Alford. annal. Britan. ad ann. 142. Uſſer. Britan. eccleſ. antiq. p. 1024. [m] Vide Caſaub. in Spart. p. 50.

year. He imitated therein Auguſtus, who had taken upon him the conſular dignity when he gave the manly robe to his adopted children Caius and Lucius Cæſars. The ſame year Antoninus conſecrated the temple which he had built to the honour of Adrian, and on that occaſion diſtributed conſiderable ſums among the populace [n]. In the next conſulſhip of Sex. Erucius Clarus and Cn. Claudius Severus, ſome diſturbances were raiſed in Germany and Dacia; but were ſoon compoſed by the governors of thoſe provinces. The Alani likewiſe, attempting to invade the Roman dominions, were driven back into their own country with no ſmall loſs [o]. During the adminiſtration of the following conſuls Largus and Meſſalinus, the emperor inveſted M. Aurelius with the tribunitial power. By Fauſtina, the daughter of Antoninus, he had already a daughter named Lucilla, who was afterwards married to L. Verus. The emperor on all occaſions ſhewed a particular eſteem for M. Aurelius, conſulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and ſuffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the ſovereign power, giving no ear to the malicious inſinuations of thoſe who attempted to eſtrange his mind from the young prince, as if he wiſhed for his death [p]. As the conduct of L. Verus was very different from that of M. Aurelius, the emperor treated him in a quite different manner, not beſtowing upon him either the title of Cæſar, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire; nay, he did not, during the whole time of his reign, inveſt him with any power whatſoever; which was a plain indication, that he diſliked him, and not without reaſon, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and only ſuffered him, becauſe he had been obliged by Adrian to adopt him [q]. This year, being by the Romans reckoned the nine hundredth of their city, the ſecular games were celebrated by Antoninus with extraordinary pomp and magnificence [r]. In the conſulate of Torquatus and Julianus, the Moors took up arms, upon what provocation we know not, but were utterly defeated, driven quite out of their own country, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves in the moſt diſtant parts of Libya beyond mount Atlas [s]. The three following years were quite barren of events. In the firſt Servius Scipio Orfitus and Q. Nonius Priſcus were conſuls; in

Shews a great eſteem for M. Aurelius.

But none for L. Verus.

[n] Jul. Cap. p. 36.
[o] Idem, p. 19.
[p] Idem, p. 24.
[q] Idem in Ver. p. 36.
[r] Aur. Vict. & Noris. epiſt. conſ.
[s] Pauſan. l. viii. p. 273.

in the ſecond Glabrio Gallicanus and Vetus; and in the third Quintilius Condianus and Quintilius Maximus. The two latter were brothers, and are mightily cried up by the antients, on account of their learning, their experience in both civil and military affairs, their wealth, and, above all, in regard of their mutual unity and concord; for they acted on all occaſions, ſays Dion Caſſius, as if they had not been two, but one perſon: whence they are known in hiſtory by the name of Quintilii. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other; were conſuls together; wrote to the emperor, received anſwers, judged cauſes, publiſhed books, in common, and were in the end unjuſtly condemned and executed together by order of the emperor Commodus, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that prince's reign [t]. They were natives of Troas, and highly eſteemed by M. Aurelius, under whom they governed Greece in 173, and Pannonia in 178. They publiſhed a treatiſe on agriculture, whereof ſome fragments have reached our times [u].

The two brothers Quintilii.

The following year, the fifteenth of Antoninus's reign, Sextus Junius Glabrio and C. Omullus Verianus being conſuls, that eminent champion of the chriſtian religion, Juſtin the martyr, publiſhed his firſt apology, and preſented it to the emperor, to his adopted ſons, and to the ſenate. As Antoninus was a prince of a mild diſpoſition, he was ſo far moved by it, and by the informations which he had received from other parts of the empire, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of Aſia in favour of the diſtreſſed chriſtians, which he concluded with theſe words;

Antoninus favourable to the chriſtians

"If any one for the future ſhall moleſt the chriſtians, and "accuſe them merely on account of their religion, let the "perſon who is arraigned be diſcharged, tho' he is found to "be a chriſtian, and the accuſer be puniſhed according to "the rigor of the law [w]." At the ſame time the emperor wrote in behalf of the chriſtians to the Athenians, Theſſalonians, Lariſſeans in Theſſaly, and to all the Greeks [x]. Theſe letters put a ſtop to the perſecution; which however broke out anew, and raged with great violence under Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus's ſucceſſor, as we ſhall relate hereafter. The following year, when C. Bruttius Præſens and

Several calamities.

[t] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 814. Caſaub. in Spart. p. 94. Philoſt. ſophiſt. xxvii. [u] Vide Caſaub. in Spart. p. 94. [w] Euſeb. l. iv. c. 26. Juſt. apol. p. 100. Chron. Alex. p. 608, 610.
[x] Euſeb. ibid. & l. iv. c. 13.

and A. Junius Rufinus were conſuls, the Tiber, overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of Rome under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which conſumed part of the city, and a famine, which ſwept off great numbers of the citizens, notwithſtanding the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn conveyed to the city from the moſt diſtant provinces. The ſame year the cities of Narbonne in Gaul, and Antioch in Syria, and the great ſquare at Carthage were in great part conſumed by accidental fire; but ſoon reſtored by Antoninus to their former condition [y]. This year L. Verus diſcharged the office of quæſtor, and exhibited on that occaſion public ſhews, at which he preſided, ſitting between Antoninus and M. Aurelius. The following year he was raiſed to the conſulſhip, and had for his collegue T. Sextius, or, as he is called by others, Sextilius Lateranus. C. Julius Severus and M. Rufinus Sabinianus diſcharged that office next, and were ſucceeded by M. Ceionius Silvanus and C. Serius Augurinus, during whoſe conſulſhip the cities of Cos and Rhodes, with ſeveral others in Lycia and Caria, were overturned by a violent earthquake; but ſoon reſtored to their former luſtre, Antoninus contributing thereunto immenſe ſums, and making good the loſſes which the inhabitants had ſuſtained [z]. The four following years are quite barren of events: the conſuls were Barbarus and Regulus; Tertullus and Sacerdos; Plautius Quintillus and M. Statius Priſcus; Appius Annius Bradua and T. Vibius Bradus. The two latter were ſucceeded by M. Aurelius Cæſar the third time, and L. Verus the ſecond time, conſul. During their adminiſtration, the emperor was ſeized with a violent favour at Lorium, one of his country-ſeats, which in a few days put an end to his life on the ſeventh of March, after he had lived ſeventy-three years, five months, and ſixteen or ſeventeen days, and reigned twenty-two years, ſeven months and twenty-ſix days. When he found death approaching, he ſent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their preſence confirmed his adoption of M. Aurelius, and recommended to him the empire, without taking the leaſt notice of L. Verus. He then ordered the golden image of Fortune, which always ſtood in the emperor's bed-chamber, to be removed to the room of M. Aurelius. When the tribune came for

Is taken ill and dies.

[y] Jul. Cap. p. 20. Vict. epit. [z] Jul. Cap. p. 21.

for the parole, the word he gave him was equanimity. He left his paternal eſtate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domeſtics. Though he died in an advanced age, he was no leſs lamented by all the ſubjects of the empire, than if he had been ſnatched from them in the bloom of his youth [a]. His funeral was performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, and his body depoſited in the pompous mauſoleum of his predeceſſor Adrian; on which occaſion two funeral orations were pronounced; one by M. Aurelius, and another by L. Verus. He was by the ſenate ranked among the gods, a temple was built to his honour, prieſts, ſacrifices, and annual ſports inſtituted, &c. [b] Gordianus, who aſſumed the title of Auguſtus at Carthage in the year 237, wrote in his youth an elegant poem, intituled Antoninades, deſcribing the lives, the wars, the public and private actions of Antoninus and his ſucceſſor M. Aurelius, named likewiſe Antoninus; but that work has not reached our times. Some ſpeeches were publiſhed under the name of Antoninus, which Marius Maximus maintained to be his, though they were commonly thought to have been written by others [d]. Of the writers who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (E).

He is univerſally lamented.

A P

[a] Idem p. 22. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem in Gord.
[d] Idem in Anton. p. 21.

(E) Theſe were Juſtin, Julius Paulus, Appian, Callinicus Sutorius, Calviſius Taurus, Apollonius, Ptolemy the aſtrologer, Fronto, Telephus, and Claudius Maximus. Juſtin is thought to have inſcribed his abridgment of Trogus Pompeius to the emperor Antoninus Pius. That writer in an antient manuſcript, is ſtyled M. Junianus Juſtinus. His work was known to St. Jerom, St. Auſtin, and Oroſius, who often copies him. Some have confounded Juſtin the hiſtorian with Juſtin the martyr, who flouriſhed about the ſame time; but never publiſhed any work in the Latin tongue, not even the apologies which he wrote at Rome, and preſented to the emperor. Trogus Pompeius, whoſe hiſtory Juſtin abridged, is ranked among the beſt hiſtorians of Auguſtus's reign, and put upon the level with Livy, Salluſt and Tacitus (61). Julius Paulus publiſhed ſeveral poetical pieces, and is commended by Aulus Gellius, on account of his great erudition and probity. He lived in Gellius's time, but died before that grammarian began to

(61) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c. 19. & 23.

to write: whence he is thought to have flouriſhed under Adrian and Antoninus (62). Appian, who wrote the Roman hiſtory in Greek, was a native of Alexandria, pleaded ſome time at Rome, and was afterwards employed by the emperors to take care of their private eſtates and revenues (63). He lived in the reign of Trajan, Adrian and Antoninus, and wrote in the year 900. of Rome, the tenth of Adrian's reign (64). His Roman hiſtory is, properly ſpeaking, a ſeparate and diſtinct hiſtory of all the nations ſubject to Rome, from the earlieſt times to the reign of Auguſtus, tho' he ſometimes carries it down to the time of Adrian (65). He ſpeaks of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem under Adrian, as happening in his time (66). His hiſtory of the wars of Africa, Syria, Parthia, Pontus, Iberia, Spain, Illyricum, and of Hannibal and Mithridates, with five books of the civil wars, of which he wrote ſeven, have reached us; and beſides, ſome fragments of ſeveral other hiſtories copied by M. Valois from the collections of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus. He likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of the wars of Judæa, and of that which Trajan waged with the Dacians (67). Photius admires the elegance of his ſtyle, but chiefly commends him as an unbiaſſed writer, and one who, in his accounts, aimed moſtly at truth (68). He borrowed many things of Polybius and Plutarch, whom he often copies (69). Scaliger is of opinion, that many things unworthy of ſo great an hiſtorian have been, by the ignorant tranſcribers, inſerted into his hiſtory of Syria. His plan, which was to write the hiſtory of Rome, and all the provinces of the empire, was much admired by Evagrius (70). Callinicus Sutorius was a native of Petra in Arabia; but ſpent moſt part of his life at Athens. He wrote the hiſtory of Alexandria in ten books, quoted by St. Jerom (71), and publiſhed ſeveral other pieces on various ſubjects (72). Some fragments in Greek by one Callinicus, publiſhed by Leo Allatius, are aſcribed by Voſſius to Callinicus Sutorius (73). But Jonſſius ſuppoſes Callinicus Sutorius to have flouriſhed in the time of the emperor Gallienus, to whom, and not to Galen the celebrated phyſician, he inſcribed, in his opinion, one of his works (74). Calviſius Taurus is often mentioned by Aulus Gellius, who went to hear him while he inſtructed the Athenian youth in the

(62) Aul. Gel. l. i. c. 92. l. v. c. 4. l. xvi. c. 10. l. xix. c. 7. Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 52. (63) Appian in Syr. Suid. p. 353. (64) Appian. p. 7. (65) Idem. p. 4. Evagr. l. vi. c. 24. (66) Appian in Syr. p. 83. (67) Idem ibid. p. 10. Phot. c. 57. (68) Phot. ibid. (69) Voſſ. Hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 13. (70) Evag. l. vi. c. 24. (71) Hier. in Dan. (72) Suid p. 1360. (73) Voſſ. ibid. (74) Jonſ. l. iii. c. 9.

the principles of the Platonic philoſophy (75). He was a native of Tyre, according to Philoſtratus; but, according to Suidas (76), and Euſebius (77), of Berytus. He publiſhed ſeveral works, one among the reſt ſhewing the difference between the doctrine of Plato and that of Ariſtotle. Aulus Gellius quotes a treatiſe written by him on anger, and the firſt book of his comments upon Plato's Gorgias (78). The ſame writer commends him on account of his abſtinence; for he lived chiefly upon lentils (79). Telephus, who inſtructed L. Verus in the Greek tongue, was born in Pergamus, and wrote a book on the rhetoric of Homer, another on the perfect agreement between that poet and Plato; the lives of ſuch poets as had written comedies or tragedies; inſtructions on the choice of books; a deſcription of Pergamus, with the hiſtory of its kings and laws; an account of the laws and cuſtoms of Athens; and a collection of epithets (80). Claudius Maximus was by birth a Tyrian, and one of M. Aurelius's preceptors whom he inſtructed in the principles of the Stoics. He publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical pieces, and diſcourſes on the Platonic philoſophy, which have reached our times, and are deſervedly eſteemed by the learned. Some writers are of opinion, that he was conſul in the year 144, the ſeventh of Antoninus's reign, and afterwards proconſul of Africa (81). We have already mentioned Apollonius the Stoic, who was another of M. Aurelius's preceptors, and whom that prince went frequently to hear, even after he was raiſed to the empire. Moſt writers aſcribe to him a work mentioned by Photius, wherein the author gives an account of illuſtrious women, of ſuch eſpecially as had applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy (82). Ptolemy, the celebrated aſtrologer and geographer, flouriſhed under Adrian and Antoninus. He made his laſt aſtronomical obſervation on a Wedneſday, the ſecond of February in the year 141, the fourth of Antoninus's reign; but nevertheleſs Suidas ſuppoſes him to have lived to the reign of M. Aurelius, and gives us a catalogue of his works. His geography is greatly commended by the antients; but we are told, that ſome of the manuſcript copies of that work are very different from the printed copies (83). Suidas writes, that he was born in Alexandria; but Voſſius maintains, that he was a native of Peluſium, and ſuppoſed to have been an Alexandrian, becauſe he made his aſtronomical obſervations in that city (84). Sulpitius Apollinaris, a celebrated grammarian, is often mentioned by Aulus Gellius, who ſeems to have entertained a great

(75) Aul. Gel. l. xviii. c. 10. (76) Suid. p. 871. (77) Euſeb. in Chron. (78) Aul. Gel. l. i. c. 26. l. vi. c. 14. (79) Idem, l. xvii. c. 8. (80) Suid. p. 897 (81) Vide P. Pagi p. 144. (82) Jonſ. l. iii. c. 9. Phot. p. 161. Spanh. p. 53. (83) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. iv. c. 17. Cyp. diſput. append. c. 15. (84) Voſſ. ibid.

great opinion of him (85). He left ſome letters and ſome grammatical writings, wherein he found fault with another grammarian, by name Cæſellius Vindex (86). Some of his obſervations upon Terence have reached our times (87). M. Cornelius Fronto is cried up by the antients, as one of the beſt orators of his age, and by ſome put upon the level with Cicero. Aulus Gellius tells us, that he never viſited him, which he did frequently while he was very young, without profiting much by his inſtructions (88). In Adrian's time he paſſed for the moſt eloquent orator of that age, and was afterwards appointed by Antoninus to teach M. Aurelius and L. Verus the Latin eloquence. M. Aurelius valued him above all his preceptors, cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him in Rome, and honoured him with the conſular dignity (89). St. Jerom ſtyles him an illuſtrious orator (90); and Sidonius ſpeak of him as the author of a particular kind of diction, more grave and leſs flouriſhed, than that of the antient orators (91). He publiſhed ſeveral harangues, one of which, againſt Pelops, was highly eſteemed, and preferred to all the reſt (92). Soſipater Chariſius publiſhed ſome letters of his, and other writings, on the propriety of words, in the collection of authors who have written on the Latin tongue (93). Sidonius commends one Leo, a man of great rank in the fifth century, for adopting the ſtyle of Fronto, from whom he was deſcended (94). We read in Minucius Felix, that one Fronto, a native of Cirtha in Numidia, publiſhed ſome diſcourſes againſt the Chriſtians, which were in great requeſt about the beginning of the third century (95). Theſe diſcourſes are by ſome able critics, aſcribed to Fronto the orator.

(85) Aul. Gel. l. iv. c. 17. l. xiii c. 17. &c. (86) Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 6. l. xx. c. 6. l. xiii. c. 19. &c. (87) Vide Calviſ. an. 163. (88) Gell. l. ii. c. 26. (89) Jul. Cap. in Aurel. p. 23. (90) Hier. in chron. (91) Sid. l. i. epiſt. 1. l. iv. epiſt. 3. (92) Sid. l. viii. ep. 10. (93) Vide Caſaub. in Spart. M. Aur. (94) Sid. l. viii. epiſt. 3. (95) Min. Fel, p. 8.

APPENDIX.

A succinct account of the persecution of the Jews at Alexandria, and of Philo's embassy to the emperor Caius Caligula.

THE present account having, through mistake, been omitted in the reign of Caligula, its proper place, the reader, we hope, will overlook that involuntary omission, and not take it amiss, that we supply it here; the persecution of the Jews at Alexandria, the embassy of Philo to Caius, and the audience he had of that prince, being too remarkable incidents to be passed over in silence.

THIS dreadful persecution happened in the second year of the reign of the emperor Caligula and 39th of the Christian æra, while Egypt was governed by a Roman knight, named Avillius Flaccus, to whose base connivance it was chiefly owing. Flaccus had governed that province with great reputation, during the five last years of the reign of Tiberius, who had a particular value and kindness for him. But, upon the death of that prince and the accession of Caligula to the empire, he changed his conduct, grew remiss in the administration of justice, and made it his whole study to gain the affections of the people of Alexandria, hoping by that means to recommend himself to the favour of the new emperor, whose resentment he dreaded; and indeed not without reason, for he was no friend to the family of Germanicus, and was generally thought to have contributed to the disgrace and death of Agrippina, the mother of Caligula. Three crafty Egyptians, Dionysius, Lampo, and Isidorus,

Avillius Flaccus courts the favour of the Alexandrians.

Iſidorus, who had been declared enemies of Flaccus, while he ruled with due ſeverity, being appriſed of his fears, remonſtrated to him, under colour of friendſhip, that the ſureſt means of winning the hearts of the Alexandrians was, to withdraw his protection from the Jews, of whom many thouſands lived in Alexandria, and to abandon them to the mercy of the Egyptians, who had ever borne an irreconcileable hatred to the Jewiſh nation. This counſel Flaccus readily embraced, well knowing that it would not diſpleaſe the emperor, whoſe hatred the Jews had provoked, by refuſing to acknowledge his pretended divinity. Beſides, Flaccus was of himſelf, it ſeems, no friend to the Jewiſh nation: for that people having the year before, in the firſt month of Caligula's reign, decreed him all the honours which were conſiſtent with their religion, and conſigned the decree to Flaccus, that, by his means, it might be conveyed to the emperor, he, inſtead of tranſmitting it to Rome, as he promiſed to do, ſuppreſſed it; which was doing them the greateſt unkindneſs imaginable, and drawing upon them the reſentment of a cruel and ambitious prince [a]. In the mean time, Agrippa, who had been ſet at liberty by Caligula, and declared king of the tetrarchy, which his uncle Philip had held, with the addition of that of Lyſanias, as we have related in our hiſtory of the Jews [b], arriving from Rome at Alexandria, on his journey to his new kingdom, was inſulted by the populace of that metropolis in a moſt outrageous manner, tho', to avoid the concourſe of people, he had entered the city by night [c]. As Flaccus winked at theſe inſults, inſtead of reſtraining them, the rabble grew more outrageous; and aſſembling in crouds, began, with great tumult and uproar, to demand, that the ſtatues of Caius might be placed in the Jewiſh oratories, or places of prayer, of which there were many in Alexandria, and all over Egypt. Flaccus not offering to oppoſe, but ſeeming rather to approve, the deſign, the rabble thronged immediately to the oratories, cut down the groves and trees about them, levelled ſome of them with the ground, and ſet fire to others; which, together with oratories, conſumed ſeveral noble monuments erected by the emperors in honour of the Jews, and a great many adjoining houſes. Such oratories as the rioters could not demoliſh,

Is no friend to the Jews.

King Agrippa inſulted by the people of Alexandria.

They deſtroy the oratories of the Jews, or profane them with the emperor's ſtatues.

[a] Phil. in Flacc. p. 968—1009. edit. Pariſ. 1640.

[b] Hiſt. Univerſ. vol. x. p. 552.

[c] Ibid. note P.

moliſh, becauſe the Jews, who lived near them, were very numerous, they profaned, by placing in them the emperor's ſtatues. In the largeſt of them all they erected a ſtatue of braſs, repreſenting Caius, in a chariot drawn by four horſes, which had been formerly conſecrated to Cleopatra, the great grand-mother of the laſt queen of that name. They did not, as Philo obſerves, ſhew great reſpect to Caius, in dedicating to him what had been formerly dedicated to a woman. But the merit, on which they laid the chief ſtreſs, was their encreaſing the number of temples conſecrated to this pretended deity, tho' even in that they did not ſo much regard his honour, as the ſatisfying of their own hatred to the Jews. The Alexandrians took care to acquaint the emperor with the tranſactions of each day, who is ſaid to have read their accounts with incredible ſatisfaction, partly becauſe he hated the Jews, and partly becauſe he believed the Alexandrians chiefly actuated, in afflicting the Jews, by a ſincere zeal for his honour [d]. The example of Alexandria was followed by all the other cities of Egypt; in which province there were at this time a million of Jews, and a vaſt number of oratories, of which the largeſt and moſt beautiful were ſtyled ſynagogues [e]. They were all demoliſhed, conſumed by fire, or prophaned with the emperor's ſtatues. A few days after the Jews had been thus ſtript of their oratories, Flaccus publiſhed an edict, declaring all the Jews aliens at Alexandria, without allowing them time to make good their claim to the rights of citizens, which they had long enjoyed undiſturbed [f]. The Jews who were never famous for bearing injuries with patience, when they could prevent or revenge them, made in all likelihood, ſome efforts towards the maintaining of their rights; which, though Philo has not thought fit to mention them, gave probably occaſion to greater diſorders. For the Alexandrians, conſidering them as men abandoned by the emperor to their mercy, laid hold of this opportunity to vent their rage upon a people whom they had ever abhorred, and looked upon as enemies to the reſt of mankind. The city of Alexandria was at that time divided into five quarters, which took their names from the five firſt letters of the alphabet. In each of

Flaccus declares the Jews aliens of Alexandria,

[d] Phil. legat. c. 9. in Flacc. p. 972, 973.

[e] Euſeb. chron. p. 27, 28.

[f] Philo

of theſe ſome Jews dwelt, but two were almoſt entirely peopled by them, and thence called the quarters of the Jews. They were therefore by the outrageous multitude violently driven out of all the other parts of the city, and confined to one quarter; the houſes, from which they had been driven, were plundered, and all their effects ſeized, as if they had been conquered in war. The rioters did not, ſays Philo, commit theſe robberies like thieves in the night, who are afraid of being brought to juſtice, but in the face of the ſun, ſhewing what they had taken to all they met, with as much confidence, as if it had been an inheritance or purchaſe: nay, they publicly divided the ſpoil in the market-place, in the preſence of thoſe very perſons whom they had plundered, adding mockery to their violence. As Flaccus never offered to check or reſtrain them, they broke open the ſhops and ware-houſes of the Jewiſh merchants, which were then ſhut on account of the public mourning for the death of Druſilla, the emperor's ſiſter; and thence conveyed away and ſold to the beſt bidder all their effects. Thus were the Jews at once driven from their habitations, reduced to beggary, and cooped up in a narrow corner of the city, where the Alexandrians doubted not, but they would ſoon periſh, either by the inconveniencies of the place, for moſt of them were obliged to lie in the open air; or by famine, for they were allowed to carry no proviſions along with them; or by the infection of the air and want of free reſpiration, many thouſands of men, women and children, being ſhut up in ſo cloſe and ſmothering a place. The Alexandrians watched them narrowly night and day, to prevent them from making their eſcape. But in the end, hunger prevailing over fear, ſeveral found means to withdraw either to the ſea-ſide, or to ſome remote burying-places; but ſuch of them as were diſcovered, were tortured in a moſt cruel manner, put to death, and their bodies ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets of the city. Thoſe Jews who, not having any notice of the uproar, happened to come to the city from their country houſes, were treated with the ſame cruelty, and hurried away to the torture, or torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. Some of the rioters lay night and day on the banks of the river, waiting there for the Jewiſh merchants; and as ſoon as any veſſel arrived belonging to that nation, they leaped into it, ſeized the effects, and then burnt it, together with the

All the Jew ſhut up in one quarter of the city.

Horrible cruelties practiſed upon the Jews.

owners. In ſhort, when Jews appeared in any part of the city, except the narrow quarter allotted to them, they were ſure of being tortured, in a moſt barbarous manner, and maſſacred. The leaſt inhuman among the rioters diſpatched them with the ſword, or with fire, often burning whole families, without reſpecting the old men, or pitying the infants; and employing for fuel ſuch of their effects as no one thought worth purchaſing. Others more cruel, to prolong the torments of thoſe unhappy wretches, having tied them to ſtakes, kindled round them fires of moiſt and green wood; ſo that, after they had long borne the torment of a ſlow fire, they periſhed at length, ſuffocated with the ſmoke, when their bodies were but half burnt. Others, with ropes faſtened to their feet, were dragged through the ſtreets and public places of the city, the populace inſulting their bodies after they were dead, trampling them under foot, and mangling them with ſuch brutal cruelty, that not one member remained entire to entitle them to a funeral. They then, by way of mockery, pretended to bewail thoſe whom they had thus inhumanly butchered: but if any of their friends or relations lamented them in earneſt, they were immediately ſeized, whipt without mercy, and, after ſuffering all the torments which cruelty itſelf could invent, condemned to the ignominious puniſhment of the croſs [g].

FLACCUS might, with one word, have put a ſtop to the fury of the populace; but he the whole time pretended ignorance of the very things he ſaw and heard. However, he ſent at laſt for the leading men amongſt the Jews, as if he deſigned to make up all differences between them and the people of Alexandria. The Jews had at Alexandria an ethnarch, or chief of their nation, whom Joſephus calls, as is commonly believed, alabarch [h]. They had likewiſe a council, which was eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus; and out of this Flaccus cauſed thirty-eight perſons to be ſeized, to be bound like criminals, ſome with cords, others with chains, and in that condition to be dragged through the great market-place to the theatre, where the people were celebrating the birth-day of Caius, and there, in the preſence of their enemies, to be whipt ſo unmercifully, that ſome of them died ſoon after. In inflicting this puniſhment, he choſe the

They are cruelly treated by Flaccus

[g] Phil. in Flacc. p. 974—1010, & legat. c. 9. [h] Joſeph. antiq. l. xix. c. 4. Euſeb. p. 27.

the moſt ignominious method, (for different methods were then in uſe) treating them as public thieves and robbers. Thoſe who outlived this cruel puniſhment were impriſoned and kept under cloſe confinement, till Flaccus himſelf was arreſted, that is from the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, which was Caius's birth-day, to the latter end of September. During this ſolemnity, which ſeems to have laſted ſeveral days, many Jews were crucified, after the people aſſembled in the theatre had diverted themſelves with ſcourging, racking, and torturing them at their pleaſure. With theſe ſcenes of cruelty they were daily entertained, till the Jews, either expiring on the rack, or hurried away to execution, gave room to dancers, players, and other diverſions in uſe among the Romans; diverſions truly leſs horrible, but perhaps not more innocent. Such women as were ſuſpected to be Jews were by the inſulting populace ſeized, carried into the market-place, and there expoſed naked to public view. Thoſe who proved not to be Jews were immediately diſmiſſed; but to the Jewiſh women they cauſed hogs-fleſh to be immediately brought, which if they eat, they too were diſmiſſed untouched: but if, on the contrary, they adhered to their law, they were expoſed to the greateſt indignities imaginable, racked with all manner of torments, and put to a cruel death. Such was the condition of the Jews at Alexandria for the ſpace of about two months; for the perſecution continued to the feaſt of tabernacles. Philo, to whom we are indebted for this account, ſuffered, no doubt with the reſt of his nation; for he too was an Alexandrian Jew. We cannot help thinking his account ſomewhat exaggerated; and beſides, are convinced, that the Jews gave ſome occaſion to the unheard-of cruelty of the Alexandrians, which he has not thought fit to relate. King Agrippa, upon whoſe arrival the tumult began, did not in all likelihood continue long in a city where he had been ſo ill received. However, during his ſtay there, he was informed of the decree formerly made by the Alexandrian Jews in honour of Caius, and procured a copy of it, which he immediately tranſmitted to Rome, acquainting the emperor at the ſame time with the conduct of Flaccus, who had ſuppreſſed it. This provoked Caius to ſuch a degree, that he immediately diſpatched a centurion, by name Baſſus, with a band of ſoldiers, to ſeize Flaccus. Baſſus arrived in a few days at Alexandria, and, landing by night, enquired for the officer who

Many of them tortured and crucified.

Flaccus is diſgraced.

who commanded the troops quartered in the city, with a deſign to impart to him the emperor's orders, that he might hold his men ready in caſe of any reſiſtance. A ſoldier, whom he met in the ſtreet, informed him, that the officer ſupped that night with Flaccus, at the houſe of one Stephanio. Hereupon the centurion ſent one of his ſoldiers in the diſguiſe of a ſlave to Stephanio's houſe, who, upon his return, informed him, that Flaccus was attended only by a ſmall number of his domeſtics, and that no ſoldiers were to be ſeen in or about the houſe. Upon this intelligence, Baſſus immediately entered with all his men; and, having left a party to guard the gates, went with the reſt directly to the banqueting-hall, where to the great terror of the guests, he ſeized Flaccus, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, and carried him in bonds on board his veſſel. Flaccus ſtarting up, when the centurion firſt appeared, attempted to make his eſcape; but finding himſelf in a minute ſurrounded by armed men, he looked upon himſelf as loſt, and yielded. When news of what had happened was brought to the Jews, who continued ſtill ſhut up in the ſame place, they did not at firſt give any credit to it, but looked upon it as a ſnare laid for them. However, conjecturing from the noiſe and uproar which they heard in the night, that ſomething extraordinary had happened, ſome of them ſtole out, and, upon their return, confirmed the joyful tydings, that Flaccus was certainly arreſted. Hereupon, with one voice, they returned thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance, paſſed the reſt of the night in ſinging hymns, and, upon the return of the day, went in a body to the ſea ſide, to renew there, as they had no oratories where they could aſſemble, their thankſgiving with more ſolemnity. Soon after, Baſſus ſet ſail with his priſoner, who, after having much ſuffered during the voyage, arrived at length at Rome, where he had the mortification to ſee himſelf accuſed by Iſidorus and Lampo, who, with their flattering ſpeeches, had put him upon perſecuting the Jews.

Arreſted and ſent to Rome

But his greateſt enemy was the emperor himſelf, who, on this occaſion aſſuming the quality of judge, condemned him to baniſhment, declared his ſtate and all his effects forfeited, and ſeized them for himſelf. The only favour which Lepidus, who was his friend and then very powerful at court, could obtain for him, was, that he ſhould be confined to Andros, and not to Gyaræ, purſuant to his ſentence, which was the moſt deſert and abandoned iſland in the

Where he is condemned to baniſhment.

Archi-

Archipelago. He was therefore ſent under a guard to Andros, and there ſhewn to the inhabitants, who were ordered to watch him, that he might not make his eſcape. Some months after, he purchaſed a ſmall farm, and there led a ſolitary and retired life, till he was, together with the other exiles, maſſacred by Caius's orders. He defended himſelf with great bravery againſt thoſe who were ſent to diſpatch him, but was in the end overpowered and cut in pieces [i].

And ſoon after murdered.

THE grievances of the Alexandrian Jews did not end with the authority of Flaccus. The tumult ſtill continued, that unhappy people were ſtill cruelly inſulted by the enraged populace, and the magiſtrates of Alexandria refuſed to acknowledge the Jews for citizens, ſince Flaccus had declared them aliens. Hereupon both parties reſolved to ſend deputies to Rome, and refer the deciſion of their controverſy to the emperor. At the head of the Jewiſh embaſſy was Philo, and the celebrated Apion the chief of the embaſſadors from the city of Alexandria. Philo was a Jew of the ſacerdotal race, and ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of Alexandria, where his brother was alabarch, or the chief of his nation in that city [k]. Joſephus calls him a perſon every-way extraordinary [l]; and truly his works were highly eſteemed both by the Chriſtians and Pagans, and he ranked amongſt the beſt writers of his time. He was not only well verſed in the ſacred books, to which the whole knowledge of the Jews, was, generally ſpeaking, confined, but thoroughly acquainted with the philoſophy of the gentiles, and thought to ſurpaſs all the philoſophers of his age, in the knowledge of the maxims and tenets of Plato and Pythagoras. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the Platonic philoſophy, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was commonly ſaid at Alexandria, Either Plato imitates Philo, or Philo Plato. The philoſophers, who flouriſhed in thoſe times, ſtyled him the ſecond Plato, or the Jewiſh Plato [m]. Apion was likewiſe a man of great learning. He was, according to ſome, a native of Oaſis in Egypt; according to others, of the iſland of Creta, now Candia. Be that as it will, he was preſented with the citizenſhip of Alexandria, and thence paſſed

Philo is ſent with the character of embaſſador to Caius.

Some account of him and of Apion.

[i] Phil. in Flacc. p. 976—982.
[k] Euſeb. l. ii. c. 4. Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10.
[l] Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10.
[m] Hier. de vir. illuſt. & epiſt. 84. c. 11. Phot. c. 105.

paſſed for an Alexandrian [n]. He is by ſome writers ſtyled Pleiſtonicus, which ſignifies, illuſtrious for many victories [o]; but how he came by that name, we are no-where told. Suidas calls him Mochthus, perhaps inſtead of Mochtherus, which ſignifies laborious [p]. He was by profeſſion a grammarian; for ſo were thoſe formerly called, who were well verſed in polite literature. Julius Africanus ſtyles him the moſt inquiſitive of all the grammarians; and adds, that no one was better verſed in antiquities, or had made more diſcoveries [q]. He was brought up by Didymus, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria, and afterwards inſtructed by Apollonius and Euphanor [r]. He taught rhetoric at Rome under the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, and was eſteemed a man of great erudition, and well verſed in the Greek hiſtorians: his ſtyle was elegant and eaſy, but he is thought to have exaggerated the things which he relates to have been ſeen or heard by himſelf [s]. He viſited all the cities of Greece, as Pliny informs us [t], in the beginning of Claudius's reign, and was every-where received as a ſecond Homer. However, Seneca ſeems to to have made no great account of his erudition, which chiefly conſiſted, as he writes, in the knowledge of grammatical trifles. Of his works, and thoſe of Philo, we ſhall ſpeak anon.

THE embaſſadors were, according to Joſephus, three of each ſide, but five according to Philo, who was one of them, and conſequently is more to be depended upon, if we will not ſuppoſe with a modern writer [u], who ſtrives to reconcile Philo and Joſephus, that two more were afterwards ſent by the Jews, and the like number by the Alexandrians. They ſet out from Alexandria in the midſt of winter; and arriving at Rome, were forced to wait there till the return of Caius from Gaul, which happened on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt. The Jewiſh embaſſadors, in the mean time, conveyed to the emperor, by means of king Agrippa, who was then at Rome, a memorial, wherein they laid before him their deplorable condition, acquainted him with the hardſhips they had undergone, aſ-

They arrive at Rome, and tranſmit a memorial to the emperor, then in Gaul.

ſured

[n] Hier. ibid. Suidas, p. 327. [o] Gell. l. v. c. 14. & l. vi. c. 8. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 4. [p] Suid. p. 355. [q] Euſeb. de præpar. evang. l. x. c. 10. [r] Suidas, ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Plin. præfat. & Senec. epiſt. 88. [u] Tillemont, p. 806.

ſured him of their attachment to his perſon and government, and in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner implored his protection. When the emperor returned to Rome, the Alexandrian embaſſadors gained privately, with great ſums and larger promiſes, the famous Helico, who was by birth an Egyptian, had formerly been a ſlave, but was then in great favour with Caius, and his chamberlain. The Jewiſh deputies were no ſooner informed, that Helico had been gained over by their enemies, and did them all the ill offices with the emperor that lay in his power, than they ſtrove in their turn to bring him over to their intereſt; but he would not hearken to their propoſals, nay, would not ſo much as allow them acceſs to him. They therefore reſolved to apply directly to the emperor, and accordingly drew up a memorial, which was but an abſtract of the longer addreſs, which they had a little before tranſmitted to him by means of Agrippa. This they preſented to him in the field of Mars, as he was coming from the gardens of his mother Agrippina. Caius received the embaſſadors with a chearful and ſmiling countenance, and ſignified to them with a ſign of his right hand, that he would befriend them, nay, he ordered Homulus, the introducer of embaſſadors, to acquaint them, that he would hear them himſelf as ſoon as he was at leiſure. From this favourable reception, it was generally concluded, that the Jews would gain their cauſe, and triumph over their enemies. But Philo, whom age and experience had taught not to lay great ſtreſs upon fair words and outward appearances, dreaded the effects of the emperor's pretended friendſhip, and reaſoned with himſelf thus: Here are embaſſadors from all parts of the world, and why ſhould the emperor diſtinguiſh us from the reſt? He knows we are Jews, and conſequently, that we ſhould think ourſelves happy to be only treated like other nations. Can we reaſonably expect any extraordinary favour from a prince of another nation, or ſuppoſe that he has not a greater kindneſs for the Alexandrians than for us? He is partial to them without diſpute; and for their ſake it is, that he is eager to determine the affair. I ſhould be glad he would prove an impartial judge; but am afraid we ſhall find him an advocate for them, and an enemy to us. In the mean time, Caius, leaving Rome, went to ſee one of his magnificent palaces, which ſtood on the ſeaſide; and thither the Jewiſh embaſſadors followed him, expecting

Upon his return they preſent another memorial to him.

Philo ſuſpects his kindneſs.

expecting every moment to be called and heard by him, purſuant to the promiſe he made to them by Homulus. At Puteoli they were firſt informed of the danger they were in, not only of loſing their cauſe againſt the Alexandrians, but of ſeeing their religion and nation utterly extirpated, in virtue of the order which the emperor had tranſmitted to Petronius, governor of Syria, commanding him to ſet up his ſtatue in the temple of Jeruſalem. Upon this intelligence, Philo, ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs as to the buſineſs with which he was charged, would have returned home with his collegues, could he have done it with honour. But though he now deſpaired of ſucceſs, yet he thought, that his dropping the ſuit might be looked upon as the effect of fear; and that his countrymen, who had ſent him, might with ſome reaſon complain, as if, through want of courage, he had betrayed their cauſe. However, the ſtorm which threatened the Jews on account of the ſtatue of Caius ſoon blew over, and Philo was in the end admitted, with his collegues, to the emperor's preſence. But they no ſooner appeared before him, than, from the fierceneſs of his looks, they concluded, that the emperor intended to act not like a judge, but as an accuſer rather and a party. For, inſtead of adviſing with men of knowledge and experience, and hearing both ſides indifferently in their turns, eſpecially in a caſe of this conſequence, where the lives and liberties of ſo many men were at ſtake, and privileges diſputed, which for the ſpace of four hundred years had never ſo much as been called in queſtion, the tyrant gave them plainly to underſtand, that he did not deſign to proceed according to the ordinary methods of law and juſtice. The emperor was then at a ſmall diſtance from the city, paſſing a few days at two country-ſeats, which, it ſeems, ſtood very near each other, and had formerly belonged to Mecænas and Lamias. Having therefore commanded the gardens belonging to both houſes, and the ſeveral apartments, to be opened, in order to view them, and entertain himſelf with the curioſities there, he ſent at the ſame time for the Jewiſh and Alexandrian embaſſadors, who were introduced to him while he was thus employed. Philo and his collegues no ſooner came into the emperor's preſence, than they threw themſelves proſtrate at his feet, addreſſing him with the titles of emperor and Auguſtus. The emperor received them, notwithſtanding the profound reſpect they ſhewed him, in

Is alarmed at an order iſſued by the emperor.

He is admitted to an audience.

ſuch manner, that they began to deſpair, not only of ſucceſs in their embaſſy, but even of their lives. For, with angry looks and a ſcornful ſmile, Are you not execrable wretches, ſaid he, declared enemies of the gods, ſince you have the impudence to diſpute a divinity that all the world acknowledges, and to ſet up againſt Caius a god whom you cannot ſo much as name? At the ſame time, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he uttered ſuch blaſphemies, as Philo, who was ſtruck with horror in hearing them, dares not repeat. The Alexandrian embaſſadors, concluding from this reception, that they had already gained their cauſe, could not diſſemble their joy; and there was not one attribute peculiar to God, which they did not indifferently aſcribe to Caius, who was highly delighted with their flattery. In order to provoke him ſtill more againſt the Jews, Iſidorus, a crafty inſinuating ſlanderer, addreſſing the emperor, If you knew, ſaid he, the mortal hatred theſe men, and their whole nation, bear to you, you would abhor and deteſt them much more than you do. When all the world were offering up their vows and prayers for the ſafety of your perſon, and the proſperity of your government, theſe alone, I mean all the Jews without exception, ſtood out with their uſual ſtubbornneſs and obſtinacy. At theſe words, the Jews cried out with one voice, that they were ſlandered, that they had offered hecatombs and ſacrifices for the happineſs of Caius and the empire; and that after they had ſprinkled the altar with the blood of the victims, they did not feaſt among themſelves, as moſt other nations do, upon the fleſh, but committed the whole ſacrifice to the ſacred fire: And this, added they, we have done upon three remarkable occaſions, upon your acceſſion to the empire, upon your recovery from that fit of ſickneſs which proved ſo ſenſible an affliction to moſt nations, and finally, for the ſucceſs of your arms in Germany. You did perhaps offer ſacrifices, replied Caius, I allow it: but it was to another, not to me: and what honour do I receive from your ſacrificing to another? Theſe blaſphemous words ſtruck us, ſays Philo, with horror, and chilled the very blood in our veins. In the mean time, Caius hurried from one apartment to another, taking a view of all the rooms and offices, finding fault where any thing was amiſs, and directing how it ſhould be mended. Thus he viſited every corner of both houſes, the Jews being obliged

bliged all along to attend him, tho' joſtled and derided by the whole company, eſpecially by their adverſaries, who were the whole time mimicking them, like buffoons on the ſtage: and truly the whole, ſays Philo, looked rather like a comedy, than a ſerious negotiation; but as they were now at the mercy of the tyrant, who was both their judge and their enemy, they had no defence left them but ſilence and patience. After Caius had given ſome neceſſary orders about his buildings, he turned to the Jews, and gravely aſked them, Why they ſo much ſcrupled eating hogs-fleſh? Hereupon the whole company, ſome out of flattery, others becauſe they were diverted with the queſtion and mockery, burſt into ſo loud a laughter, that ſome of Caius's officers were highly offended at the liberty they took, thinking it inconſiſtent with the reſpect due to the majeſty of the prince. To the emperor's queſtion, the Jews anſwered with great reſpect, That ſeveral people and places had their ſeveral faſhions and cuſtoms, and that their adverſaries were prohibited ſome things as well as they: ſome people, for inſtance, ſaid one of them, abſtain from lamb. Very well, replied Caius merrily; I cannot blame them; for lamb's-fleſh is not very ſavoury. After the emperor had thus rallied and ridiculed them for ſome time, in the end he aſked them all on a ſudden in a paſſion, What title they had to the privileges of Alexandrian citizens, and to the freedom of that city? Hereupon they began to lay before him their reaſons; but he, finding they were of great ſtrength, and not knowing how thoſe which they had already alledged could be well confuted, ſtarted up in the midſt of their diſcourſe, and ran into a great hall; where, after he had walked a while, he cauſed the windows to be ſhut; and then returning to the Jewiſh embaſſadors, he aſked them with an air more compoſed, What they had to ſay? But they had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when Caius, inſtead of hearkening to them, left them again, and ran in great haſte into another room to ſee ſeveral originals done by the moſt famous painters of antiquity. The Jews, finding themſelves ſo often interrupted, and expecting nothing from ſo mercileſs a tyrant but immediate death, had recourſe to the true, for protection againſt the pretended, god. Their prayers were heard, and Caius, without further outrages, diſmiſed them, ſaying, Theſe men are not

ſo

ſo wicked, as ignorant and unhappy, in not believing me to be a god. The Jewiſh deputies departed, reckoning themſelves fortunate in having thus eſcaped with their lives ſafe; not that they dreaded any kind of death, ſays Philo, which, had it been any-ways conducive to the preſervation of their law, they would, with great pleaſure, have embraced; but becauſe their deſtruction would have been inevitably attended with the utter ruin of thoſe who had ſent them. As for the ſubject of their embaſſy, they could not promiſe themſelves a favourable ſentence from a judge, who would not ſo much as hear them, being highly incenſed againſt their whole nation, as the only people ſubject to Rome, who refuſed to acknowledge his divinity. They continued in the city, waiting with the greateſt anxiety imaginable for the deciſion of their cauſe; for upon the ſentence, which the emperor might think fit to pronounce, depended the fate of the whole Jewiſh nation, who would be every-where perſecuted and ſtripped of their effects, privileges, oratories, &c. if the emperor ſhould countenance the Alexandrians in their cruel and unwarrantable proceedings againſt them [f]. Joſephus ſeems to ſpeak of another audience granted by Caius to the Jewiſh and Alexandrian embaſſadors; wherein Apion inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the Jews, alledging many things againſt them; but his main charge was, that whereas temples and altars were erected to Caius by all other nations, and the ſame adoration paid to him as to the reſt of the gods, the Jews alone obſtinately refuſed either to conſecrate images to him, or to ſwear by his name. When Philo was about to reply in behalf of the Jews, Caius in a great rage commanded him to be ſilent, and with dreadful manaces bid him be gone. Hereupon Philo, turning to his collegues, Let us take courage, ſaid he; now Caius is againſt us, God will be for us [g]. What ſentence Caius pronounced in the end, we find no-where recorded: all we know is, that, during his whole reign, the Jews were grievouſly perſecuted and oppreſſed by the Alexandrians [h]; and that Alexander Lyſimachus, brother to Philo, and alabarch of the Alexandrian Jews, was, by Caius's

[f] Philo, ibid. p. 1019—1043. [g] Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. 10. [h] Idem, l. xix. c. 4.

Caius's orders, committed to priſon, and there detained til he was diſcharged by Claudius; upon whoſe acceſſion to the empire, the Jews, notwithſtanding their boaſted patience, betook themſelves to arms, which occaſioned a great tumult at Alexandria. Claudius, upon the firſt tidings of the commotion, wrote to the governor of Egypt, enjoining him to appeaſe it; and at the requeſt of the two kings, Agrippa and Herod, enacted an edict, which he ſent to Alexandria, confirming to the Jews all the privileges they had ever enjoyed in that city, and declaring all the proceedings of Caius againſt them null and void [i] (E).

[i] Idem ibid.

(E) To this relation we ſhall ſubjoin a ſuccinct account of the works of Philo, of Apion, and ſome writers who flouriſhed under the princes of the Flavian family. Philo deſcribed in five books the evils ſuffered by the Jews under Caius; and theſe books, as he made frequent digreſſions in them upon the vices of that prince, he ſtyled ironically, Of the virtues of Caius (1). Of theſe five books, Euſebius takes that which has reached our times, under the title of Philo's embaſſy to Caius, to be the firſt (2). Photius ſtyles it, Caius blamed (3). The ſecond of theſe five books is, according to both theſe writers, that which is commonly known by the title of Philo againſt Flaccus, and which Photius calls, Flaccus blamed (4). However, the book againſt Flaccus ſeems to have been written before that of his embaſſy; ſince, in the end of the latter (5), he tells us, that he has already deſcribed the inexpreſſible calamities ſuffered by the Alexandrian Jews; and theſe calamities are the chief ſubject of his book againſt Flaccus. The three other books, or parts of that work, have been long ſince loſt; for Photius ſeems to have been acquainted with no other, but the two above-mentioned books written by Philo on that ſubject (6). Philo is ſaid to have read them during the reign of Claudius in full ſenate, when they were heard with uncommon applauſe, and ordered to be depoſited in the public library (7). The author ſeems to addreſs himſelf to the emperor Claudius in his book againſt Flaccus. St. Jerom mentions in his catalogue ſeveral books written by Philo; but of theſe (which are very ſurpriſing) takes not the leaſt notice. The

(1) Euſeb. l. i. c. 5. & 18. (2) Euſeb. c. 5. & 6. (3) Phot. c. 105. (4) Euſeb. & Phot. ibid. (5) Philo in legat. p. 1043. (6) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 7. (7) Euſeb. l. ii. c. 18.

The reader will find in Eusebius (8) and St. Jerom (9) a catalogue of his other works upon the scripture, and various different subjects. Eusebius commends the sublimity of his thoughts in explaining the scripture (10); and Origen writes, that most of his books upon the law of Moses were generally esteemed by men of learning (11). Photius, on the contrary, thinks he frequently neglects the obvious and literal, to hunt after an allegorical, sense (12). The same writer observes, that Philo often follows opinions contrary to the principles of the Jewish religion, and that he does not seem to disapprove the superstitious honours paid to the emperor Augustus. St. Jerom ascribes to him the Greek interpretation of the proper names in the pentateuch and the prophets (13). Some writers will have him to have been likewise the author of a Latin history, containing the most remarkable incidents from the creation to the reign of Saul; but others think that work, which often contradicts the scripture, altogether unworthy of Philo (14). St. Jerom says, that some antient writers ascribed to Philo the book of wisdom (15); but that he was not the author of that book, is plainly shewn by a modern writer of no mean character (16). Some writers tell us, that, in the reign of Claudius, he became acquainted with St. Peter at Rome, and contracted a friendship with that apostle (17); nay, Photius adds (18), that he embraced the christian religion, and afterwards renounced it upon some discontent. But the silence of all other writers, with respect to this particular, makes us question the truth of what Photius asserts.

Apion wrote several books (19), of which we find one only quoted by the antients, namely, his history of Egypt, containing a particular and distinct account of all the curiosities and antiquities of that country. Eusebius (20) and Tatian (21) cite some passages out of the fifth book of this work, which was in all likelihood the last. As all the Alexandrians bore an irreconcileable hatred to the Jews, no wonder that Apion filled his writings with false and slanderous accounts of them; which Josephus with great erudition confutes in a book, which he published against him and other pagan writers, in defence of the Jews, and intituled, An answer to Apion. Several persons

(8) Idem ibid. (9) Hier. de vir. illust. c. 11. (10) Idem ibid. 11. Orig. in Matth. p. 369. (12) Phot. c. 105. (13) Hier. nom. Hebr. c. 3. (14) Voss. ibid. l. ii c. 7. (15) Hier epist. cxv. (16) Du Pin reponse au remarques de pere de S. Vanne. (17) Euseb. l. ii. c. 17. Hier. de vir. illust. c. 11. (18) Phot. c. 105. (19) Suid. p. 356. Aul. Gell. p. 146. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 5. (20) Euseb. præp. evang. l. x. c. 11. (21) Tatian. orat. ad Græc. p. 172.

ſeeming to queſtion the truth of what he had advanced in his Jewiſh antiquities, alledging, that if the race of the Jews was as antient and illuſtrious as Joſephus makes it, the Greek hiſtorians would have taken notice of them, he undertook another work, wherein he not only ſhews, that ſeveral hiſtorians have mentioned the Jews, but confutes the calumnies publiſhed againſt them by divers authors, eſpecially by Apion. This work is by Euſebius (22) and St. Jerom (23) intituled, Of the Jewiſh antiquities. Apion not only ſtrove to diſcredit the Jews in his hiſtory of Egypt, but wrote a book, of which they were the only ſubject (24), filled with calumnies againſt that nation, falſhoods, and accounts altogether fabulous; which Joſephus confuted, after he had ended his antiquities. Apion, after having in his writings, derided circumciſion in a moſt ſcurrilous manner, was himſelf by a diſtemper obliged to ſubmit to it, but to no effect; for the wound putrifying, he died ſoon after, by juſt judgment, ſays Joſephus, in great miſery and torments (25). The famous adventure of a ſlave named Androcles, who was nouriſhed, during the ſpace of three years, by a lion, whom he had cured of a wound, and by the ſame known in the ſight of all Rome, when he was expoſed in the amphitheatre to be devoured by the wild beaſts, muſt have happened about this time; for Apion, as quoted by Aulus Gellius (26), aſſures us, that he was eye-witneſs of that ſurpriſing and affecting ſcene; and adds, that the grateful lion was ſaved, and the ſlave preſented with his liberty.

Juſtus the ſon of Piſtus, contemporary with Joſephus, and of the ſame religion, but a native of Tiberias in Galilee, wrote likewiſe in Greek the hiſtory of the Jewiſh war, of the taking of Jotapat, and of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. This hiſtory he compoſed ſoon after the war, but did not publiſh it till Veſpaſian, Titus, and king Agrippa were dead, that is, twenty years after he had wrote it, about the thirteenth year of Domitian's reign. Joſephus, who was at variance with him, tells us, that he ſo long ſuppreſſed his hiſtory, becauſe he durſt not ſtand the teſt and cenſure of the world, while ſo many perſons were yet alive, who were able to diſprove him (27). St. Jerom, and ſeveral other writers, ſpeak of this hiſtory of Juſtus (28), and obſerve, that he was no-ways a candid hiſtorian, and that he often contradicted point-blank the memoirs or commentaries of Veſpaſian, Titus, and other generals. We have therefore no cauſe to regret the loſs

(22) Euſeb. præp. evang. l. iii. c. 9. (23) Hier. vir. illuſt. c. 13. (24) Euſeb. p. 490. Juſt. orat. ad Græc p. 9, 10. (25) Joſeph. in Ap. l. ii, (26) Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 14. (27) Joſeph. antiq. l. xx. c. 9. & vit. (28) Hier. de vir. illuſt. c. 14. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 8.

loſs of ſuch a work. This hiſtory is probably different from another done by the ſame author, containing the lives and reigns of all the Jewiſh kings, from Moſes to the death of young Agrippa (29). This work, which Photius (30) calls a chronicle, was ended in the third year of the reign of Trajan, and is probably what St. Jerom (31) and Suidas (32), who tranſlated it, call Juſtus's ſhort commentaries. Another writer by name Antonius Julianus, flouriſhed about this time, and publiſhed an account of the Jewiſh war, and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. For Minucius Felix, who wrote in defence of the Chriſtian religion, in the beginning of the third century, refers the pagans to Antonius Julianus, and to Joſephus, telling them, that in the writings of theſe hiſtorians, they will find that the Jews were not abandoned by God till they had abandoned him; and that they only ſuffered what they had been forewarned they ſhould ſuffer, if they continued to diſobey his law (33). We find two perſons bearing that name mentioned by the antients, viz. Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judæa, who was with Titus, as Joſephus informs us (34), at the ſiege of Jeruſalem; and Antonius Julianus, a native of Spain, and profeſſor of rhetoric at Rome, often quoted and commended by Aulus Gellius, who was one of his diſciples (35). He flouriſhed about the middle of the ſecond century, and wrote ſome rhetorical and grammatical books (36). An hiſtory in Hebrew and Latin of the Jewiſh war has reached our times, done by one Joſephus, the ſon of Gorion, who pretended, it ſeems, to paſs himſelf upon the world for the celebrated Joſephus. But the ableſt critics take him to have been a Jew born in Gaul in the ſeventh century, and his hiſtory to be only an abridgment of the Latin tranſlation of Joſephus's hiſtory, which is commonly aſcribed to Rufinus, with the addition of many groſs miſtakes, and fabulous accounts (37). As for the hiſtory of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which bears the name of Hegeſippus, it is but a tranſlation of the hiſtory of Joſephus, wherein the author allows himſelf a great latitude, retrenching ſeveral things, and adding harangues, deſcriptions, and even ſome events which he had probably found in other hiſtorians. We muſt not confound this writer, as ſome have done, with another of the ſame name, who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, and was a native of Greece, whereas the compiler of Joſephus was, as is evident from ſome

(29) Voſſ. ibid. Euſeb. p. 47. (30) Phot. c. 33. (31) Hier. ibid. (32) Suid. p. 1251. (33) Min. Fel. p. 27. (34) Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4. (35) Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 4. l. ix. c. 1. l. xv. c. 1. l. xviii. c. 5. l. xix. c. 9. (36) Idem, l. i. c. 4. (37) Voſſ. hiſt Lat. l. ii. c. 8. Baron. ad ann. 72.

paſſages in his work, quite ignorant of the Greek tongue (38) Beſides, he mentions the city of Conſtantinople, and tells us, that having by degrees eclipſed the cities of Antioch and Alexandria, it was no longer the fourth, but the ſecond, city of the Roman empire (39). It is therefore plain, that he did not write before the reign of Conſtantine the great, nor even before the end of the fourth century. Voſſius is of opinion, that he flouriſhed about the latter end of the tenth century; but the propriety of his expreſſions, and the elegance and ſublimity of his ſtyle, are a convincing proof, that he wrote before the total and general decay of learning, that is, before the fifth century. Hence the learned biſhop Pearſon takes him for an author of the fourth or fifth century (40); and father Mabillon quotes two manuſcripts of Hegeſippus's hiſtory, both written, as he conjectures from the characters, before the ſeventh century (41). Gronovius takes St. Ambroſe, concealed under the aſſumed name of Hegeſippus, to be the true author of that hiſtory, being induced thereunto by ſeveral of St. Ambroſe's phraſes, which he obſerved in it (42). But the ſame phraſes are often common to ſeveral writers of the ſame age; and the ſtyle of Hegeſippus is, in our opinion, far more eaſy and proper than that of St. Ambroſe, or of Paulinus, Sulpicius Severus, Aper, Eucherius, or Hilarius; for to each of theſe the work, which bears the name of Hegeſippus, has by ſome writers been aſcribed. To the hiſtory of Hegeſippus is annexed an anacephalæoſis, or ſummary of the chief matters contained in it, which by ſome is thought the work of the ſame author; but Gronovius ſpeaks of it, and not undeſervedly, with great contempt (43). In this ſummary, and not in the hiſtory itſelf, is found the ſuppoſititious letter from Pilate, to Tiberius concerning our Saviour. The hiſtory of Hegeſippus is quoted by John of Saliſbury, who flouriſhed in the twelfth century, and by John of Trittenheim, abbot of Spanheim, in his learned book of eccleſiaſtical writers; but he, by confounding the author of this work with the above-mentioned Hegeſippus, who flouriſhed in the ſecond century, has led many others into the ſame miſtake (44).

Of Flavius Joſephus, the moſt famous of all the hiſtorians who flouriſhed under the princes of the Flavian family, we have already ſpoken

(38) Hegeſ. l. iii. c. 1. 6. & 9. Biblioth. patrum. l. vii. p. 462, 463. (39) Idem ibid. c. 5. p. 465, 466. (40) Pearſon. ann Paulin. p. 50. Lond. 1688. (41) Mabill. iter Italic. p. 14. Pariſ. 1687. (42) Gronov. obſervat. eccleſ. c. 1. (43) Idem ibid. (44) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii, p. 706. Trit. p. 4.

ſpoken in the ſeveral parts of this work; and therefore ſhall cloſe this note with only a few remarks on his hiſtory of the Jewiſh wars, and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. This hiſtory he compoſed at Rome, in the reign of Veſpaſian, in his own language (45), which was much the ſame with the Syriac, and afterwards tranſlated it into Greek, with the aſſiſtance of ſome perſons who were better acquainted with that tongue than he (46). For the knowledge of the ſeveral languages was not a thing practiſed or valued by the Jews, but looked upon as a profane ſtudy, the ſum of their wiſdom and learning conſiſting in the knowledge of their laws and the right underſtanding of the Scripture (47); which, however, it is plain they never did rightly underſtand with relation to the Meſſiah. The Syriac hiſtory was immediately diſperſed over all the eaſtern countries, and greedily read by the Arabians, Adiabenians, Babylonians, Parthians, and all the Jews beyond the Euphrates (48). Some copies of this work, which was divided into five books, are ſtill extant (49). The Greek tranſlation proved both troubleſome and expenſive to him (50). He divided it into ſeven books, and did not put the laſt hand to it before the fifth year of Veſpaſian's reign; for he mentions the temple of Peace as finiſhed, which was conſecrated the following year, the ſixth of Veſpaſian's reign; and ends his hiſtory with the death of Catullus, which did not happen, as is evident from Dion Caſſius, before that time (51). Joſephus cloſes his hiſtory with theſe words: As for my ſtyle, and manner of writing, I ſubmit it to the judgment of the reader; but as to the candour and ſincerity of my accounts, I do here declare to the world, that I have kept ſtrictly to truth, and have had nothing elſe in view throughout the whole work. Of what paſſed amongſt the Romans he was an eye-witneſs, and learnt of the deſerters, who all applied to him, every ſtep taken by the enemy (52). Beſides, Titus imparted to him his own commentaries or memoirs (53); ſo that he was thoroughly acquainted with every thing that happened during the whole time of the war. As ſoon as he had ended his Greek tranſlation, he preſented it to Veſpaſian, to Titus, to king Agrippa, and to ſeveral others who had been eye-witneſſes of what he relates (54); which he would never have done, had he been conſcious to himſelf of having ſwerved in the leaſt from truth. King Agrippa, in ſixty-two letters to Joſephus, authentically witneſſed the candour and ſincerity which reigns

(45) Joſeph. bell. l. 1. (46) Idem in Api. l. 1. (47) Idem, antiq. l. xx. c. 9. (48) Idem, bell. Jud. l. i. (49) Vide Poſſevin. apparat. tom. i. p. 966. Coloniæ, an. 1608. (50) Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. i. (51) Dio, l. lxvi. p. 751, 752. (52) Joſeph in Api. l. 1. (53) Idem, in vit. (54) Idem, in Api. l. i.

throughout the whole work (55); and Titus not satisfied with ordering it to be published, and lodged in the public library, signed, some read transcribed, with his own hand the copy, which was to be placed there as an authentic relation of the Jewish war, and the destruction of Jerusalem (56) Hence Suidas gives to Josephus the title of lover of truth, as peculiar to him (57). But after all, his history is not exempt from faults; some of which he himself corrected in the works he afterwards published (58). It was either a deplorable ignorance, or inexcusable flattery, that prompted him to misinterpret the scripture, and apply to Vespasian the prophecy, importing, that in those days a prince should come out of Judæa, who should rule over the whole world; which could be understood of the Messiah alone. Photius speaking of the Greek translation of this history, greatly commends it, even on account of the style, which to him seems easy, proper, and no less elegant than that of the Greek historians (59): and St. Jerom calls Josephus, the Livy of the Greeks (60). Hence it is evident that the many obscure passages, odd phrases, and irregular constructions, which are to be met with in this work, ought to be ascribed to the copyists, and not to the author. When Josephus had ended his history of the Jewish wars, he undertook the general history of his nation, from the beginning of the world, to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, when the Jews revolted and strove to shake off the Roman yoke, which was the occasion of their utter ruin. Of this work which is comprised in twenty books, and was finished by Josephus in the fifty-sixth year of his age, that is, in the thirteenth of Domitian's reign, and towards the end of the ninety-third of the Christian æra, we have spoken in various places of this history; and therefore shall only repeat here, that he frequently contradicts point-blank holy writ; of which the reader will find many instances in father Possevin's learned Apparatus (61). Of the famous passage concerning our Saviour, we have spoken at length in our history of the Jews (62). To the general history of the Jews, which Josephus himself intituled the Jewish antiquities, tho' brought down to the twelfth year of Nero's reign, he added the particular history of his own life, which he finished before the death of Domitian, that is, before the eighteenth of September of the year 96, of the Christian æra. Eusebius and St. Jerom look upon his life as a part of the twentieth book of his Antiquities; and likewise upon

(55) Idem, in vit. (56) Idem ibid. & Hier. vit. vir, illust. c. 13. (57) Suid. p. 1261. (58) Vide Huetii demonstrat. evang. p. 326. (59) Phot. c. 47. (60) Hier. epist. 22. (61) Possevin. apparat. tom. i. p, 967. 968, Coloniæ, an. 1608. (62) Hist, Univers. Vol. x, p. 530.

upon his book againſt Apion, as a continuation of the ſame work (63). Beſides the above-mentioned works, a diſcourſe compoſed by Joſephus has reached our times, wherein he ſhews, that it is in the power of reaſon to command and ſubdue the paſſions: whence the treatiſe is by ſome ſtyled, the rule of reaſon; but by others, the hiſtory of the Maccabees, becauſe Joſephus deſcribes there at length the glorious death of thoſe illuſtrious champions. This piece St Jerom cries up as a moſt elegant performance (64); and St. Gregory of Nazianzus refers his readers to it for a true and affecting account of the martyrdom of the Maccabees (65). We find Joſephus quoted by ſome antient writers for things, of which no mention is made in his works which are ſtill extant. Thus Oroſius refers us to him for an account of the expulſion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius (66); and Origen quotes him as aſſerting, that the Jews generally aſcribed the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the ruin of their nation, to their putting unjuſtly St. James to death (67). Joſephus himſelf promiſes in his antiquities the hiſtory of Monobazes, king of the Adiabenians (68), of whom nevertheleſs no farther mention is made in his works which have reached us. Voſſius likewiſe aſſures, that in the printed copies of Joſephus many things have been left out, which he found in the manuſcript copies of the antient Latin tranſlation (69) aſcribed by father Poſſevin to the celebrated Rufinus of Aquileia (70). Joſephus, at the end of his antiquities, promiſes a ſhorter relation of the Jewiſh war, and of all that had happened to that unhappy people from the beginning of the ſaid war to the time in which he ended his Antiquities, that is, to the 93d year of the Chriſtian æra (71). He likewiſe propoſed writing four books of the opinions of the Jews concerning God and his nature, and of their laws, that he might have an opportunity of informing the world, why by their law ſome things were allowed them, and others forbidden (72). But neither Euſebius, nor any other writer, mentions theſe works; which inclines us to believe, that he was prevented by death from executing his deſign, and that he died about the latter end of Domitian's reign. Photius aſcribes to him an anonymous book, Of the ſubſtance of the univerſe (73). Poſſevin is of opinion, that he wrote a book on the ſeventy weeks of Daniel (74); and truly St. Jerom ſays, that he ſpeaks of them much at length (75), which he does not in any of his works which have been tranſmitted to us. Joſephus lived at Rome from the return of Titus

(63) Euſeb. l. iii. c. 9, 10. Hier. vir. illuſt. c. 13. (64) Hier. in Pelag. l. ii. c. 3. (65) Greg. Nazian. orat. 22. (66) Oroſ. l. vii. c. 6. (67) Origen. in Matth. (68) Joſeph. antiq, l. xx. c. 2. (69) Voſſ. ſibyllin. p. 43. (70) Poſſevin. ibid. (71) Joſeph. antiq. l. xx. c. 9. (72) Idem ibid. (73) Phot. c. 48. (74) Poſſevin. ibid. (75) Hier. in Iſai.

Titus to that city in 71, till his death, which happened about the latter end of Domitian's reign, who was killed in 96. He was highly eſteemed and favoured by the three princes of the Flavian family: for Veſpaſian made him free of the city, lodged him in the houſe in which he himſelf had lived before he was emperor, ſettled upon him a yearly penſion, and aſſigned him certain lands, in Judæa. Titus ſhewed him no leſs kindneſs than his father had done; and Domitian, as well as his wife Domitia, conferred on him ſtill greater honours. This drew upon him the hatred of his envious countrymen, by whom ſeveral falſe accuſations were brought againſt him, but he was always declared innocent. In the reign of Veſpaſian, a Jew, by name Jonathan, being ſent to the emperor in chains, for having, at the head of two thouſand men, raiſed great diſturbances in Cyrene, declared, that Joſephus had aſſiſted him underhand with arms and money. But Veſpaſian, giving no credit to the calumny, commanded his head to be ſtruck off. Domitian likewiſe puniſhed with great ſeverity ſome Jews, and an eunuch, who was tutor to Joſephus's ſon, for falſly informing againſt him (76). Thus he lived at Rome, highly favoured by the emperors; and was, after his death, honoured by the Roman people with a ſtatue *(77)*.

(76) Joſeph. in. vit.

(77) Euſeb. l. iii. c. 3.

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AN

UNIVERSAL

HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and other TABLES.

VOL. XV.

Ισοίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. XXI. Continued.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the death of* Trajan, *to the death of* Marcus Aurelius, *when the power of the Roman empire began to decline.*

MARCUS AURELIUS is by all the antients reckoned the beſt prince that ever ſwayed a ſceptre, and his reign commonly ſtyled The golden age; for he made good the ſaying which he had borrowed of Plato, and had often in his mouth, viz. That ſtates would be happy when princes were philoſophers [e]. He was of the Annian family, which ſome writers derive from Numa Pompilius. However that be, it is certain, that his great-grandfather Annius Verus, originally of Succubæ, a city of Bætica in Spain, was the firſt ſenator of the Annian family, and afterwards created prætor. His ſon, who bore the ſame name, was

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, ſurnamed The Philoſopher.

His extraction, preferments.

[e] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 815. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 33.

was by Veſpaſian raiſed to the rank of a patrician, appointed governor of Rome, and honoured twice with the conſulſhip. He had three children, Annius Verus, the father of M. Aurelius; Annius Libo, who was conſul; and Annia Galeria Fauſtina, who was married to the emperor Antoninus Pius. Annius Verus married Domitia Calvilla, called alſo Lucilla, the daughter of Calviſius Tullus, who had been twice conſul, and had by her M. Aurelius and a daughter named Annia Cornificia. M. Aurelius was born in Rome, during his grandfather's ſecond conſulſhip, on the 26th of April of the year 121, which was the fourth of Adrian's reign. His firſt name was Catilius Severus, that of his mother's grandfather, who had been governor of Rome, and twice conſul. Upon the death of his father, who died in his prætorſhip, he was adopted by his grandfather M. Annius Verus, and took his name. The emperor Adrian uſed to call him M. Annius Veriſſimus, on account of his great ſincerity; and under that name Juſtin the martyr addreſſes him in his ſecond apology. When he was adopted by Antoninus, he took the names of M. Ælius Aurelius Verus, the name of Aurelius being peculiar to the family of Antoninus, and that of Ælius to the family of Adrian, into which Antoninus had been adopted. Upon his acceſſion to the empire, he left the name of Verus to L. Commodus, his brother by adoption, and took for himſelf that of Antoninus; but is generally diſtinguiſhed from his predeceſſor, either by the prænomen of Marcus, or the ſurname of philoſophus; which was given him by the unanimous conſent of hiſtorians, and not by any public act or decree of the ſenate [f]. He was from his tender years brought up by the emperor Adrian, whom Dion Caſſius calls his kinſman [g]. That prince would have willingly adopted him, and named him for his ſucceſſor; but choſe in his room, as he was then too young, T. Antoninus, who had married his aunt, obliging him to adopt his nephew [h]. Annius Verus, his grandfather, committed the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, to a matron, who lived in his houſe; but M. Aurelius thanks the gods, that he was but a ſhort while under her tuition [i]; for Adrian taking him from his grandfather, brought him up in the palace, employing the greateſt men of that age to inſtruct him in every branch of literature. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy under the celebrated ſophiſt Apollonius

His education.

His ſtudies and learning.

[f] Dio, l. lxix. p. 797. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. Juſtin. apol. ii. Grut. p. 300. [g] Dio, ibid. [h] Jul. Cap. p. 23. Eutrop. [i] M. Aur. de ſeip. l. i. c. 14.

Apollonius Sextus of Chæronea, Plutarch's nephew, Junius Rusticus, Claudius Maximus, Cinsia Catullus, and Claudius Severus; to that of eloquence under Herodes Atticus and M. Cornelius Fronto; and to the study of the law under L. Volusius Metianus, or, as some style him, Mæcianus, the most learned civilian of that age. M. Aurelius is said to have excelled in all these branches of learning, and to have been one of the greatest orators, philosophers, and civilians of his time. He delighted chiefly in the study of philosophy, was thoroughly acquainted with the tenets and principles of the different sects, and, when he was but twelve years old, entered himself among the philosophers, wore their habit, and practised all their austerities, lying on the ground, fasting, and abstaining from several meats. He shewed, even after he was emperor, great respect to those who had instructed him, especially to Junius Rusticus, of whom we have spoken in our notes; transacted nothing without his advice (for he was a person well versed in the arts both of peace and war); saluted him always before the captains of the guards; raised him twice to the consulship; and, after his death, prevailed upon the senate to erect him a statue. He shewed no less gratitude and veneration towards his other masters, setting up in his closet their images in gold, visiting frequently their sepulchres, and adorning them with crowns, victims, and flowers. His great application to the study of philosophy, and the austerities he practised, impaired his health to such a degree, that he became very weak and infirm, tho' naturally of a robust constitution [k]. To strengthen his stomach, greatly weakened by fasting, when he was but a youth, he used to take every day some treacle, which was made up for him by one of his physicians, named Demetrius, and, after his death, by the celebrated Galen [l]. As he led a very regular life, he lived, notwithstanding his bad health, almost to the age of sixty, and performed great things, applying himself to the dispatch of business with more care and assiduity, than any of his predecessors had done. He had an utter aversion to all sorts of shews, sports and diversions, being naturally grave and serious; but nevertheless appeared at them sometimes, tho' very seldom, that he might not seem to condemn those who frequented them. He used, while he was emperor, to read, write or talk to his ministers about public affairs, during the whole time of the sports, for which he was often rallied by

His respect to his preceptors.

Practises the austerities of the philosophers.

His aversion to shews, and all diversions.

[k] Jul. Cap. ibid. M. Anton. l. i. c. 3. [l] Galen. prog. p. 460. de antidot. c. 2. & lib. de ther. p. 457.

the populace, but deſpiſed their ralleries [m]. When he was but ſixteen, he made over his paternal eſtate to his ſiſter, ſaying, that his grandfather's eſtate was enough for him. Adrian adopted Antoninus Pius, as we have related above, upon condition, that he ſhould adopt M. Aurelius, at that time eighteen years old, and L. Commodus, who was only in the ſeventh or eighth year of his age, but already Adrian's grandſon by adoption, being the ſon of L. Ælius Cæſar. Theſe adoptions happened, in all likelihood, on the ſame day that Antoninus was adopted, that is, on the twenty-fifth of February of the year 138. M. Aurelius was ſo far from being elated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he could not help betraying great uneaſineſs and concern, telling thoſe who came to congratulate him upon his promotion, that they knew not how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to command. Adrian at the ſame time appointed him quæſtor for the enſuing year, tho' he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of Rome for the diſcharge of that dignity [n]. The ſame prince had betrothed to him, when he was but fifteen, the daughter of L. Verus Cæſar, named, as is commonly believed, Fabia; and appointed, that Antoninus ſhould give his daughter Annia Fauſtina to young Lucius. But upon the death of Adrian, Antoninus propoſed a match between his daughter and M. Aurelius, who agreed to it, married her ſome years after, and had a daughter by her in the year 147, the ninth of Antoninus's reign, named Lucilla, who was married to L. Verus in 164, and afterwards to Pompeianus. He had ſeveral other daughters by her, of whom three were ſtill alive in the year 193, and one was put to death by Caracalla in 212. Annia Fauſtina brought him likewiſe ſeveral ſons, viz. Commodus, who was afterwards emperor, Antoninus Geminus, Severus, or rather Verus, ſtyled on ſome medals Annius Verus, T. Aurelius Antoninus, and T. Ælius Aurelius. Commodus and Antoninus Geminus were twins, born on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt of the year 161, the firſt of their father's reign [o]. In the year 139, Antoninus named M. Aurelius conſul for the enſuing year, declared him Cæſar, lodged him in the palace of Tiberius, and took him in a manner for his partner in the empire. M. Aurelius, without being in the leaſt elated with theſe extraordinary honours, purſued his former courſe of life, viſited his friends, as if he had been a private

His iſſue by Fauſtina, the daughter of Antoninus.

[m] Jul. Cap. p. 23. [n] Jul. Cap. p. 24. [o] Jul. Cap. ibid. & in L. Ver. p. 39. Herodian. l. i. p. 46. & l. iv. p. 546. Grut. p. 253. Pagi. p. 180.

vate perſon, frequented the ſchools of the philoſophers, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin eloquence, &c. In the beginning of the year 147, Antoninus inveſted him with the proconſular and tribunitial power, and thenceforth tranſacted nothing without his advice, which he generally followed, as he entertained an high opinion of his integrity, penetration, and extraordinary accompliſhments [p].

ANTONINUS having declared, a little before he died, M. Aurelius his ſucceſſor, and recommended to him the empire and his daughter in the preſence of the chief officers of the court, the ſenate, as ſoon as he expired, obliged M. Aurelius, ſays the author of his life, to accept the ſovereignty, and take upon him the management of affairs, without ſo much as mentioning L. Verus, who was likewiſe the ſon of Antoninus by adoption, but very different in his temper and conduct both from his father and brother, being entirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the footſteps of Nero and Caligula, than to imitate the virtues of T. Antoninus and M. Aurelius [q], Antoninus, who was well acquainted with his temper, had never inveſted him with any power, nor even conferred upon him the title of Cæſar. However, M. Aurelius immediately declared him not only Cæſar, but Auguſtus, and his partner in the ſovereign power; ſo that Rome ſaw herſelf then for the firſt time governed by two ſovereigns at once. As they were at the ſame time conſuls, this year, the 1611ſt of the chriſtian æra, is diſtinguiſhed in the Faſti and inſcriptions by the conſulate of the two Auguſti. This action of Marcus Aurelius is cried up by Ariſtides as the greateſt, and the moſt heroic and magnanimous, that is recorded in hiſtory of any prince [r]. In raiſing Lucius to the empire, he gave him the name of Verus; ſo that he was thenceforth named Lucius Verus, inſtead of Lucius Commodus: he added that of Antoninus, which he aſſumed himſelf; whence he is ſtyled in moſt antient inſcriptions M. Aurelius Antoninus [s]. The two emperors went together from the ſenate to the camp of the prætorian guards, where they promiſed the ſoldiers a bounty of twenty thouſand ſeſterces, M. Aurelius ſpeaking for both. They performed afterwards with great pomp the funeral of their deceaſed father, cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, and inſtituted a new college of prieſts, called Aureliani, (from the name of

He takes L. Verus for his partner in the ſovereignty.

They both govern with great mildneſs and magnanimity.

[p] Jul. Cap. p. 25. Ariſtid. orat. 9. p. 107. [q] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur p. 25. & in Ver. p. 36. [r] Ariſtid. orat. 16. p. 421. [s] Vide Goltz. p. 34.

his family) or Aurelian prieſts. They both governed with great mildneſs and unity, Lucius behaving himſelf rather as Aurelius's lieutenant, than his partner in the ſovereignty. Their adminiſtration was ſuch, that no one had occaſion to regret the loſs of Antoninus, whoſe meaſures were purſued by both princes. That their union might be the more laſting, M. Aurelius betrothed his daughter Lucilla to L. Verus, and on that occaſion both princes added a great number of children to thoſe who were ſupplied with corn at the public expence [s]. But the tranquillity and happineſs, which Rome and the whole empire enjoyed under the two ſovereigns, was ſoon interrupted by a dreadful inundation of the Tiber, which happened in the beginning of the following year, when Ruſticus and Aquilinus were conſuls, overturned many private houſes and public buildings in the city, carried away great numbers of people and cattle, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. This inundation was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in ſeveral provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced an infinite number of inſects, that deſtroyed what the flood had ſpared, and occaſioned a famine in Rome. Theſe calamities were in a great meaſure allayed by the care and preſence of the two emperors, who, at their own expence, ſupplied the diſtreſſed city with corn, and made good the loſſes ſuſtained by particulars [t]. At the ſame time, the Parthian war broke out, the Catti made irruptions into Germany and Rhœtia, and the Britons began to revolt. Againſt the latter was diſpatched Calpurnius Agricola, and Aufidius Victorinus againſt the Catti: but it was thought proper, that L. Verus ſhould march in perſon againſt the Parthians, while M. Aurelius continued at Rome, where his preſence was judged neceſſary. The good emperor was not diſpleaſed to have ſuch a ſpecious pretence of removing his collegue from Rome, hoping that a warlike life would give him a diſtaſte to the idle amuſements and debaucheries of the town: but he was therein greatly diſappointed, as we ſhall ſee anon [u]. What ſucceſs attended Agricola and Victorinus, we are no-where told. All we know of the wars with theſe nations is, that Didius Julianus, who reigned after Pertinax, is ſaid to have overcome the Chauci and likewiſe the Catti, who had made inroads into the Roman dominions. The war in Britain muſt have likewiſe laſted a long time; for it was not ended eight years after, when that of the Marcomanni bróke

Many calamities happen in the beginning of their reign.

[s] Jul. Cap. p. 25. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem in Ver. p. 37.

broke out [w]. As for the Parthians, they had at this time for their king Vologeſes, probably the ſon of Coſrhoes, who reigned in the times of Trajan and Adrian. Antoninus had refuſed to reſtore to him the golden throne, which had been ſeized by Adrian. This perhaps occaſioned the war; for before Antoninus died, the Parthian had made vaſt preparations, and ſoon after his death appeared in the field at the head of a formidable army [x]. Great diſturbances, of which we find but a very confuſed account in the antients, happened likewiſe at this time in Armenia, raiſed, in all likelihood, and fomented by the king of the Parthians. Sohemus, king of Armenia, was driven from the throne, and the king of the Henochii, a people dwelling between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, was killed by a petty prince, named Tiridates, who was afterwards taken priſoner by the Romans, and by M. Aurelius confined to Britain [y]. Severinus, a native of Gaul and governor of Cappadocia, having entered Armenia at the head of ſeveral legions, was there attacked by the Parthians near a place called Elegia, and cut off with all his men: we are told, that not a ſingle perſon of the whole army eſcaped the general ſlaughter. Dion Caſſius aſcribes this victory to Vologeſes; but he obtained it by Oſrhoes, or, as Lucian calls him, Othryades, who commanded the army, and was in all likelihood ſome prince of the royal family of Parthia, on whom Vologeſes deſigned to beſtow the crown of Armenia [z]. Vologeſes, elated with this victory, entered Syria at the head of a very numerous army, committing dreadful ravages both in that province and in Cappadocia, which he likewiſe invaded, after having put to flight Antidius Cornelianus, who commanded in Syria.

The Parthians declare war.

Diſturbances in Armenia.

Vologeſes king of the Parthians invades Syria.

Againſt ſo formidable an enemy, it was judged proper, that one of the emperors ſhould march in perſon; and accordingly L. Verus ſet out from Rome this year for Syria. M. Aurelius accompanied him as far as Capua, whence he was ſcarce returned to Rome, when news was brought him, that his collegue had been ſeized at Canoſa with a violent diſtemper, occaſioned by the debaucheries and diſorders to which he had abandoned himſelf on the road: for the luxurious prince, inſtead of purſuing his march with all poſſible expedition, and haſtening to ſave Syria, which was over-run by the Parthians and ready to revolt from Rome, ſtopt in all the cities through which he paſſed, ſpending his time in banquets and revels,

L. Verus goes into the eaſt.

His debaucheries on the road.

[w] Spart. in Julian. p. 60. [x] Ariſt. orat. ix. p. 119. Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 25. [y] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 832. [z] Lucian. pſeud. p. 485. & hiſt. p. 347. Dio, p. 802.

and plunging himſelf into the moſt infamous debaucheries. Upon the news of his illneſs, M. Aurelius cauſed vows and ſacrifices to be offered for his recovery, and took a ſecond journey to ſee him. When he began to recover, M. Aurelius returned to Rome, and L. Verus ſoon after purſued his journey, paſſing over into Greece, and from thence into Aſia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia. As he ſtopped in every place that could afford him any kind of diverſion, he arrived, when the year was already far ſpent, in Syria; and chuſing Antioch for the place of his reſidence, abandoned himſelf there to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, while the officers who commanded under him carried on the war. Theſe were Statius Priſcus, Avidius Caſſius, Martius Verus, Saturninus, Fronto, and Tatianus, all perſons of great experience, and generally eſteemed the beſt commanders of that age. As for the emperor Verus, he was ſo taken up with his pleaſures and diverſions, that tho' the war laſted four years, he never once appeared at the head of his army, which conſiſted of the flower of the Roman troops; but wallowed in all manner of lewdneſs at Antioch, Daphne, and Laodicea, while his officers were ſignalizing themſelves in the field [a]. All we know of this war is, that many great exploits were performed in Armenia, Syria, Meſopotamia, Media, and upon the banks of the Tigris [b]; that the Romans beſieged Edeſſa in the province of Oſrhoene, and gained many ſignal victories [c]; that Oſrhoes was once forced to ſave himſelf by ſwimming croſs the Tigris [d]; that the Parthians received a dreadful overthrow at Europa, a city of Syria on the Euphrates, a little below Zeugma [e]; and that in the end, Oſrhoes, who commanded the Parthian troops, having loſt his army, was obliged to conceal himſelf in a cave [f]. Lucian, who wrote about this time, is not aſhamed to tell us, that in the above-mentioned battle three hundred and ſeventy thouſand of the enemy were killed; and that the Romans loſt only two men, and had but nine wounded [g].

He abandons himſelf to all manner of pleaſures, and ſuffers his lieutenants to carry on the war.

The Parthians overthrown.

WHILE L. Verus wallowed in all ſorts of pleaſures at Antioch, M. Aurelius made it his whole ſtudy to reform, by his example and ſeveral wholſome laws, the manners of the Romans, to redreſs abuſes, to reward the virtuous, and reclaim, rather by gentle means than ſeverity, the vicious. The people enjoyed under

Rome happy under M. Aurelius.

[a] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 26. & in Ver. p. 37. Philoſt. ſoph. xxvii Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 775. & l. lxxi. p. 802. [b] Lucian. hiſt. p. 362. [c] Idem, p. 358. [d] Idem, p. 356. [e] Idem, p. 361. [f] Idem, p. 356. [g] Idem hiſt. p. 357.

under his mild adminiſtration all the bleſſings of liberty, and were truly no leſs free than their anceſtors had been in the beſt times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to the ſenate than Antoninus himſelf had ever done, referring to them the deciſion of ſuch cauſes as belonged to his own tribunal, and undertaking nothing without their advice, to which he readily ſubmitted, ſaying, It was more reaſonable for him to follow the advice of ſo many wiſe men, than for ſo many wiſe men to follow his. He never failed attending the ſenate, delivering his opinion there like a private ſenator. He adminiſtered juſtice in perſon with great aſſiduity and impartiality; heard with patience ſuch as complained of his miniſters, and endeavoured, ſo far as was conſiſtent with equity, to diſmiſs no one from his preſence diſſatisfied. He ſuffered no criminal to be condemned or executed, till he had examined with great care and attention the charge, and heard what the perſon accuſed could alledge in his defence. He was naturally inclined to mercy; but nevertheleſs puniſhed ſuch as were guilty of any enormous crime with the utmoſt rigor. However, we have innumerable inſtances of his clemency, and very few of his ſeverity. Aurelius Victor tells us, that he obliged the inhabitants of Nicea to ſend yearly to Rome a certain quantity of corn, for having beaten one of their citizens, by name Hipparchus, a man of great learning and extraordinary accompliſhments [h]. They continued to pay this tribute to the time of Conſtantine, by whom it was remitted.

His clemency and good-nature.

THE following year, L. Ælianus, or Lælianus, and Paſtor, being conſuls, Statius Priſcus made himſelf maſter of Artaxata, and a place called The new city, which ſoon became, ſays Dion Caſſius, the firſt city of Armenia. Priſcus being ſoon after ſent againſt the Parthians, Martius Verus took upon him the command of the troops in Armenia; and partly by force, partly by his wiſe conduct and obliging behaviour, prevailed upon the Armenians to ſubmit to the Romans, and to reſtore Sohemus to the throne, who, being driven out by Vologeſes, had reſided ſome time at Rome, and had been there created ſenator, and honoured with the conſulſhip [i]. On ſeveral medals of this year mention is made of the reduction of Armenia by Verus, who, in ſome inſcriptions, is ſaid to have given a king to Armenia [k]. Though he had no ſhare, as we have related above, in that conqueſt; yet the ſenate diſtinguiſhed both him and M. Aurelius with the title

Artaxata taken by the Romans.

Armenia reduced.

[h] Aur. Vict. in Conſtant. Ariſtid. orat. ix. Dio. p. 804. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 26. [i] Dio. ibid. [k] Occo. p. 302, 303.

title of Armeniacus, and both aſſumed this year that of imperator [l], no doubt, for the reduction of Armenia. The following year, when Macrinius and Celſus were conſuls, M. Aurelius ſent his daughter Lucilla into Syria, to be married there to L. Verus, to whom ſhe had been for ſome time betrothed. She was attended by her ſiſter Cornificia, by Civica Pompeianus, uncle to L. Verus by the father, and by many other perſons of diſtinction. M. Aurelius would have willingly accompanied her in perſon into the eaſt, but parted with her at Brunduſium, and returned to Rome, that he might not ſeem to aſſume to himſelf the glory of finiſhing the Parthian war [m]. The next year, the fourth of M. Aurelius's reign, Gavius Orfitus and L. Arrius Pudens being conſuls, Vologeſes, having attacked the Romans at the head of a very numerous army, was utterly defeated by Caſſius; who, purſuing the advantages of his victory, advanced to Cteſiphon, took that city, and laid the palace of the Parthian monarchs in aſhes. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Edeſſa, of Babylon, and all Media. The city of Seleucia on the Tigris opened its gates to him, and received the Romans as friends; but nevertheleſs Caſſius ordered the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand ſouls, to be inhumanly maſſacred, and the city to be utterly demoliſhed. Some writers aſcribe this calamity to the treachery of the inhabitants; others to the cruelty of Caſſius, who thus retaliated upon the Parthians the dreadful ſlaughters which the Romans had in former times ſuffered from them. On his return, he loſt great numbers of his men, who died of diſtempers, or periſhed for want of proviſions [n]. For theſe ſucceſſes the ſenate beſtowed on L. Verus, though he had never ſtirred from Antioch, the glorious title of the conqueror of the Parthians and Medes, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions and medals of this and the following year [o]. Of this war the antients give us no farther account; but from Rufus Feſtus [p] and Dion Caſſius [q] it appears, that towards the end of the reign of Commodus, the provinces of Oſrhoene and Adiabene, with the city of Niſibis in Meſopotamia, were ſubject to the Romans. Many Greek hiſtorians immediately publiſhed accounts of this war; but were guilty, it ſeems, of conſiderable miſtakes; which prompted Lucian to compoſe his treatiſe on the manner of writing

M. Aurelius marries his daughter Lucilla to L. Verus.

The Parthians utterly defeated by Caſſius, who takes moſt of their cities, &c.

[l] Occo. ibid. [m] Jul. Cap. p. 26. [n] Dio. p. 802. Lucian. hiſt. p. 358. Ammian. l. xxiii. [o] Occo. p. 283. Birag. p. 218, 236. [p] Feſt. p. 551. [q] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 848.

writing hiſtory [r]. The war being ended, Lucius Verus appointed kings over the foreign nations which had ſubmitted to Rome, and left the ſenators who had attended him, governors of the Roman provinces. M. Aurelius had ſent Annius Libo his couſin-german into Syria, to govern that province in quality of lieutenant, while L. Verus reſided there; but he dying ſuddenly, L. Verus, upon his leaving Syria, appointed Cæſonius Vectilianus governor of that province in his room. Libo was ſaid to have been poiſoned by Verus, not able to bear with his haughty and imperious temper. But Antoninus gave no credit to that report; nay, at the requeſt of Verus, he ſuffered Agaclytes, one of his collegue's freed-men, to marry Libo's widow, and even aſſiſted at the nuptial ceremonies, though no ways pleaſed with the marriage [s].

The death of Annius Libo.

The next year, Q. Servilius Pudens and L. Fufidius Pollio being conſuls, L. Verus returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph with M. Aurelius, who took his children with him in the triumphal chariot. The title of Parthicus was given by the ſenate to both emperors, and both aſſumed that of Father of their country, which M. Aurelius had declined till the return of his brother. L. Verus, after his triumph, begged, that the title of Cæſar might be conferred on the two ſons of M. Aurelius, viz. Commodus and Annius Verus; who accordingly received it on the twelfth of October of this year. The return of L. Verus proved fatal, we may ſay, to the whole world; for he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he paſſed; ſo that the infection not only ſpread through Italy, but extended to the moſt diſtant countries that were ſubject to, or had any communication with, Rome, or the Romans. We are told by Ammianus Marcellinus, that this plague firſt broke out at Seleucia, where the ſoldiers, pillaging the temple of Apollo, found a little golden coffer under ground, which, upon their opening it, caſt out ſuch a peſtilentious air, as immediately infected the neighbouring country, and ſoon ſpread into moſt parts of the world [t]; but thoſe who wrote at this very time, and before the infection reached the provinces of the Roman empire, aſſure us, that it began in Æthiopia, and was thence carried into Egypt, and from Egypt into the country of the Parthians, where it infected L. Verus's army [u]. Be that as it will, it was, without all doubt, brought into Italy by the troops

L. Verus returns to Rome and triumphs with M. Aurelius.

A dreadful plague rages in all the provinces of the empire.

[r] Lucian. de hiſt. p. 347. [s] Dio, p. 811. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 22, & Ver. p. 38. [t] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 251, 253. [u] Lucian. de hiſt. p. 355.

troops which had been employed againſt the Parthians, and made a dreadful havock in all the provinces of the empire, raging with great violence for ſome years, eſpecially in Italy and at Rome, where it carried off many thouſands, and among the reſt great numbers of illuſtrious perſons. M. Aurelius cauſed ſuch of the common people as died, to be buried at his own expence, and enacted on that occaſion ſome laws concerning burials and ſepulchres, which were ſtill in force in Dioclefian's time [w]. The plague was followed by a dreadful famine, by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. At the ſame time, the Marcomanni one of the moſt warlike nations in Germany, invaded the empire, having firſt drawn into their alliance all the barbarous nations which bordered on the Roman dominions, from Gaul to Illyricum, viz. the Nariſci, the Hermonduri, the Quadi, the Suevians, the Sarmatians, the Victovales, Roxolani, Baſternæ, Coſtobochi, Alani, Vandali, Iazyges, and ſeveral other nations. This war, which by the hiſtorians of theſe times is called one of the greateſt wars Rome ever ſuſtained, was kindled while the flower of the Roman troops were yet employed in the eaſt againſt the Parthians; but ſuſpended for ſome time by the addreſs of the commanders on the frontiers, that Rome might not be at the ſame time engaged in two ſuch dreadful wars. The affairs of the eaſt were no ſooner ſettled, and L. Verus returned to Rome, than M. Aurelius acquainted the ſenate, that a war with the Marcomanni was inevitable, and of ſuch conſequence, that it required the preſence of both emperors; for M. Aurelius did not care to commit the whole management of the war to Verus, judging him unfit to carry it on with ſucceſs; and was, on the other hand, unwilling to leave him at Rome, where he began to be daily more and more deſpiſed on account of his enormous debaucheries. The ſenate approved his propoſal; ſo that both emperors, after having offered an infinite number of ſacrifices, and implored by all ſorts of ceremonies, both foreign and Roman, the protection of the gods, left Rome about the cloſe of the year, in their military apparel, and haſtened to Aquileia, to make the neceſſary preparations there for taking the field early in the ſpring [x].

And is followed by a famine, by earthquakes, &c.

War with the Marcomanni.

Both emperors ſet out from Rome.

THE next conſuls were the emperor L. Verus, the third time, and M. Quadratus, nephew to the emperor Antoninus Pius. Early in the ſpring the two emperors took the field, and their approach ſtruck the enemy with ſuch terror, that they

[w] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 28. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 15. [x] Idem. ibid. p. 23, & 89.

they repaſſed the Danube and even put to death the authors and promoters of the war. The Quadi, whoſe king was dead, promiſed not to crown the perſon whom they had choſen in his room, without the conſent and approbation of the emperors. Moſt of the nations who had taken arms diſpatched embaſſadors either to the emperors or their generals, to make their ſubmiſſions, and aſk pardon for having diſturbed the peace of the empire. Hereupon Verus, who had left the diverſions of the city much againſt his will, and panted after them, was for returning immediately to Rome; but M. Aurelius, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the barbarians, continued ſome time at Aquileia, fortifying that place with new works, and then paſſed, together with Verus, the neighbouring Alps; provided with great care for the ſafety of Italy and Illyricum, and returned to Rome about the end of this year [y]. The following year, Apronianus and Paulus being conſuls the ſecond time, the war ſeems to have broke out a-new; for it appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, that both princes took this year, the eighth of their reign, the title of imperator; which was never done but on occaſion of ſome victory [z]: and in the chronicle of Euſebius we read, that the Romans gained this year a ſignal victory over the Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians, and Dacians [a]. The next year in the conſulate of Q. Soſius Priſcus and P. Cœlius Apollinaris, the Germans, notwithſtanding their late defeat, renewed the war with more vigour than ever; inſomuch, that both emperors left Rome in the depth of winter, and returned to Aquileia, with a deſign to attack the barbarians early in the ſpring; but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it adviſeable to leave the place and haſten back to the metropolis. As they were on the road in the ſame coach, L. Verus being ſeized with an apoplexy near Altinum, M. Aurelius cauſed him to be immediately taken out of the coach and blooded, by which means he brought him alive to Altinum, where he lay three days ſpeechleſs and then died, after having lived thirty-nine years, and reigned eight and ſome months [b]. M. Aurelius conveyed his body to Rome; cauſed it to be interred with extraordinary pomp, by that of his father L. Cæſar, in the mauſoleum of Adrian; prevailed upon the ſenate, notwithſtanding the hatred they bore him, to rank him among the gods; appointed him prieſts, ſacrifices, &c. and took particular care of all his relations;

The Marcomanni and other German nations ſue for peace.

But renew the war with great vigour.

L. Verus dies.

[y] Dio, p. 808. Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 28. [z] Occo. p. 285, & 300. [a] Euſeb. chron. p. 136. [b] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 28. & in Ver. p. 30. Galen. prog. t. iii. p. 459.

lations; nay, even of his wicked and debauched freed-men, whom, however, he removed from the court, retaining only one of that herd, by name Eclectus, who afterwards murdered his ſon Commodus, as we ſhall relate hereafter. L. Verus was a prince entirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery, paſſing his whole time in revels and banquets, and often ſcouring the ſtreets in the night-time, as Nero had formerly done, and committing great diſorders in the public-houſes and ſtews, which he uſed to frequent in diſguiſe, and mix with the mob, by whom he was often roughly handled. During his four years ſtay in Syria, he was ſo taken up with pleaſures and lewd amours, that he was with much-ado prevailed upon by his officers to march twice to the banks of the Euphrates, whence he haſtened back to Daphne, one of the ſuburbs of Antioch, a place ſo infamous for all manner of lewdneſs, that to live after the manner of Daphne was become a proverb to expreſs the moſt diſſolute and luxurious way of living, and that all who had any regard to their reputation avoided appearing there. In that place Verus abandoned himſelf without reſtraint to all ſorts of abominations, while his generals were carrying on the war againſt the Parthians and their allies; which gave occaſion to many ſevere lampoons, the Antiochians being greatly addicted to ſatire. But Verus preferred his pleaſures to his reputation: he brought with him out of Syria a great number of comedians, players, buffoons, &c. and paſſed moſt of his time in their company. Soon after his return to Rome, he is ſaid to have ſpent at one entertainment ſix millions of ſeſterces; for he preſented each of the gueſts, who were twelve in number, with crowns of gold, and with all the gold and ſilver plate, great part of which was ſet with jewels, which they had made uſe of during the banquet, and likewiſe with golden boxes filled with precious ointments; and at their parting he gave to each of them a chariot, and mules richly capariſoned, to carry them home. He turned the court, ſays the writer of his life, into a tavern; for after he had ſupped with M. Aurelius, he uſed to withdraw to his own company, and paſs the whole night in drinking with his debauched companions and lewd women. He was ſo fond of a horſe named Celer, or the Swift, that he erected a ſtatue to him in gold, fed him with raiſins and almonds, covered him with purple, ordered him to be kept in a room of the palace, and, when he died, erected a ſtately monument to him on the Vatican. He ſuffered his ſlaves to be as free with him at all times, as they were with their maſters, according to the Ro-

His character.

His debaucheries, revels, banquets, &c.

man

man cuſtom, during the feaſt of Saturn, and was entirely governed by them, his freed-men, and his concubines. He built a magnificent villa on the Clodian way; and there ſpent moſt of his time in revelling with his freed-men and ſuch women as were infamous for their lewdneſs. He once invited thither M. Aurelius, who complied with his invitation, and ſtaid five days with him, hoping to reclaim him from his vices by the example of his regular and blameleſs conduct; but finding he was not to be reclaimed, the good emperor bore with him patiently, diſſembled his diſorders, concealed them as much as lay in his power, and even endeavoured to excuſe them. However, it was privately whiſpered abroad, that Verus's horrible exceſſes, and his arbitrary manner of proceeding after his return from the eaſt, occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between him and M. Aurelius, who was thought to have intimated in his ſpeech to the ſenate, that he was not much grieved for the death of his collegue, which enabled him to do good to all without controul or reſtraint; nay, as the beſt of princes are often maliciouſly cenſured, M. Aurelius was ſaid to have delivered himſelf from ſo troubleſome a collegue, either by poiſon, or by ordering his phyſician Poſidippus to let him blood unſeaſonably [c]. Dion Caſſius ſeems inclined to believe, that M. Aurelius thought it expedient to prevent by that means Verus from raiſing diſturbances in the ſtate [d]; for he is ſaid to have formed a conſpiracy, with a deſign to murder M. Aurelius, and reign alone [e]. But it is a crime, ſay other hiſtorians, to imagine, that ſuch a prince as M. Aurelius, to whom flattery itſelf has never equalled any other, would by any means contribute to the death of his brother, whatever his life and actions might deſerve [f]. Only ſuch fratricides as Caracalla, and perſons guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, can entertain ſuch thoughts of Aurelius [g]. Some charged the empreſs Fauſtina with his death, as if ſhe had poiſoned him for having diſcovered to his wife his inceſtuous converſation with her. Others ſaid, that he was poiſoned by his wife Lucilla, jealous of the great paſſion he had for his own ſiſter Fabia, whoſe power ſhe could not brook [h].

M. Aurelius ſaid by ſome to have cauſed him to be murdered.

But cleared from that aſperſion by others.

M. Aurelius, now delivered from ſo vicious and troubleſome a partner, made it his whole ſtudy to oblige all with his engaging behaviour and unbounded generoſity. He ſeemed to

[c] Jul. Cap. p. 28—34. [d] Dio, p. 802. [e] Philoſt. ſoph. xxvii. p 548. [f] Jul. Cap. in Ver. p. 39. [g] Herodian. l. iv. p. 645. Aur. Vict. [h] Jul. Cap.

to excel not only his predeceſſors, but even himſelf, governing with ſuch moderation and mildneſs, as can hardly be expreſſed [i]. The neceſſary preparations for the war with the Marcomanni ingroſſed at this time his whole care and attention. His lieutenants gained, it ſeems, ſome advantages over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the enſuing year, while M. Cornelius Cethegus and C. Erucius Clarus were conſuls; for ſoon after the death of L. Verus, and before the twenty-fifth of February of this year, he took upon him the title of imperator, as appears from ſeveral medals and inſcriptions [k]. However, the Marcomanni ſoon reſumed their courage, and falling upon Vindex, captain of the guards, cut both him and moſt of his men in pieces [l]. After this victory, they approached the Roman territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire. Hereupon a bloody battle enſued, which laſted many hours, both the Romans and barbarians fighting with incredible courage and reſolution; but at length the Romans were utterly defeated, and put to flight, after having loſt near twenty thouſand men. The Marcomanni purſued the fugitives to the very walls of Aquileia; which city they had taken, had not the Roman generals rallied their men with great ſkill and conduct. The barbarians entered Italy itſelf, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, and committing every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations [m]. The news of this fatal overthrow filled Rome with terror and conſternation. As the plague, which ſtill raged in moſt provinces of the empire, had greatly weakened the army, ſlaves, gladiators, and even the banditti of Dalmatia and Dardania, were admitted into the army. Beſides, M. Aurelius prevailed upon ſome mercenary Germans to ſerve againſt their countrymen. Thus a conſiderable army was ſoon raiſed; but as money was wanting to pay them, and defray the other charges of ſo dangerous a war, the good-natured emperor, not being able to prevail upon himſelf to burden his people with new taxes, expoſed to public ſale the furniture of the palace, the gold and ſilver plate, all the valuable pictures and ſtatues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's rich garments embroidered with gold, and a curious collection of pearls, which Adrian had purchaſed during his long progreſs through the provinces of the empire, and lodged in a particular cabinet, called Adrian's cabinet. The ſale laſted two months, and produced ſuch an immenſe ſum,

M. Aurelius prepares for the war againſt the Marcomanni.

The Romans defeated with great ſlaughter.

M. Aurelius ſells the plate, jewels, and rich furniture of the palace, to defray the charges of the war.

[i] Idem, p. 29. Eutrop. [k] Birag. p. 221. [l] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 805. [m] Idem ibid. & Lucian. pſeud. p. 493.

ſum, as enabled the emperor to relieve the people this year, when proviſions were very dear, with an extraordinary largeſs; to defray the charges of a five years expenſive war; and to buy back, when the war was ended, part of what he had ſold, allowing, however, the buyers full liberty to keep their purchaſes, or return them and take their money again [n]. When he was upon the point of ſetting out from Rome, he married his daughter Lucilla, the widow of L. Verus, to Claudius Pompeianus, who was originally of Antioch, and the ſon of a private Roman knight, but a perſon of extraordinary merit, and famed for his wiſdom and integrity, which M. Aurelius ever preferred to wealth and nobility [o]. Julian, ſurnamed the apoſtate, blames M. Aurelius for having left the empire to his ſon Commodus, and not to Pompeianus, who was every way qualified for it; whereas Commodus was altogether unfit for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt [p]. However, neither Lucilla herſelf nor her mother Fauſtina were pleaſed with the match. Lucilla retained the title of Auguſta, and all the badges of ſovereignty [q]. Before the emperor left Rome, his ſon Annius Verus Cæſar died at Paleſtrina, in the ſeventh year of his age. M. Aurelius loved him with all the tenderneſs of a father; but nevertheleſs bore his death with great firmneſs, comforting the empreſs Fauſtina, and the phyſicians, who are ſaid to have occaſioned his death by opening unſeaſonably a ſwelling under his ear [r]. The emperor ſet out at length for Germany, whither he ſhewed a great deſire of carrying Galen with him; but that celebrated phyſician chuſing to ſtay at Rome, the good-natured prince would not preſs him to leave it. He left likewiſe at Rome his ſon Commodus, under the care of Pitholaus, his chiefc hamberlain, enjoining him to employ none but Galen, in caſe his ſon ſhould be taken ill during his abſence [s].

Annius Verus, the emperor's ſecond ſon, dies.

THE antients compare this war to the Punic and Cimbrian wars; but, at the ſame time, give us a very ſuccinct and confuſed account of it. The barbarians, ſay they, laid waſte ſeveral provinces of the empire; defeated great armies. The Marcomanni and the Vandals made themſelves maſters of Pannonia, and held it for ſome time. The Ca-

The barbarians overrun ſeveral provinces of the empire.

ſtobochi

[n] Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 29. Eutrop. & Birag p. 221. [o] Lamprid. in Comm. p. 48. Herodian. l. i. p. 464. [p] Julian. Cæs. p. 13. [q] Jul. Cap. p. 31. Herodian. l. i. p. 427. [r] Jul. Cap. p 31. [s] Galen. prog. 459. & 461.

ſtobochi over-ran Greece, and advanced as far as Elatea, a famous city of Phocis in Achaia; they overturned cities, and committed every-where dreadful devaſtations [t]. However, they were at length overcome by M. Aurelius, who, during this bloody and deſtructive war, gave innumerable inſtances of an extraordinary prudence and intrepidity, chuſing rather to prolong the war and tire out the enemy, than expoſe his men to unneceſſary dangers. The ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, behaved with uncommon bravery; and the captains of the guards, as well as the other generals, ſignalized themſelves in a very eminent manner [u]. The Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians, and Vandals were conſtrained to abandon Pannonia and retire beyond the Danube. The emperor purſued them, and, coming up with them as they were paſſing that river, gave them a dreadful overthrow. The Iazyges were twice defeated, firſt in Pannonia, and the ſecond time as they were croſſing the Danube on the ice. A Roman ſoldier, who was upon guard, during the night, near the Danube, hearing one of his comrades, who had been taken by the barbarians, crying on the other ſide in an affecting manner, threw himſelf, armed as he was, into the river, croſſed it, reſcued his fellow-ſoldier, and returned with him to his poſt [w]. Dion Caſſius tells us, that the Roman ſoldiers having demanded of the emperor a largeſs after a bloody battle, in which they had behaved with extraordinary valour and obtained a complete victory, he refuſed it, telling them, That he could not enrich them, without impoveriſhing their parents and relations; and adding, as they ſeemed diſſatisfied with this anſwer, That their complaints gave him no uneaſineſs or concern, ſince he was well appriſed, that the gods alone diſpoſed of empires [x]. Pompeianus, the emperor's ſon-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, deſiring to have Pertinax joined in the commiſſion with him, M. Aurelius readily complied with his requeſt, tho' he had, not long before, upon ſome complaints, deprived Pertinax of an employment which he had in Dacia. Pertinax was attended with great ſucceſs in his new commiſſion, which induced the emperor to admit him into the ſenate. Being ſoon after convinced, that the complaints brought againſt him were quite groundleſs, to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with prætorial ornaments, and appointed

M. Aurelius carries on the war in perſon with great ſucceſs.

His firmneſs and intrepidity.

Pertinax created a ſenator.

[t] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 425. Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 29. Pauſan. l. x. p. 352. [u] Jul. Cap. p. 31. Ariſtid. orat. ix. p. 117. [w] Dio. l. lxxi. p. 804, 805. Aur. Vict. p. 31. [x] Dio, p. 803.

appointed him governor of Rhœtia and Noricum, whence he had drove the Germans, who had broke into that province, and was on that account, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his birth, raiſed by the emperor to the conſular dignity [y]. The emperor, during his firſt expedition againſt the Marcomanni, reſided for the moſt part at Carnuntum, a city of Upper Pannonia upon the Danube, which ſome take to be the preſent village of St. Perronel in Auſtria [z].

Diſturbances in Egypt.

BEFORE the war with the Marcomanni was ended, another broke out in Egypt, the robbers and ſhepherds of that country, who were numerous, taking up arms, at the inſtigation of their prieſts, and committing dreadful diſorders. Being headed by one Iſidorus, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, they killed a Roman centurion and ſome ſoldiers, by treachery; and afterwards, the Egyptians joining them in great numbers from all parts, they defeated the Roman troops in a pitched battle; over-ran the whole country, and would have made themſelves maſters of Alexandria itſelf, had not Caſſius, whom M. Aurelius had appointed governor of Syria, marched againſt them. Caſſius was reckoned the beſt commander of his age, and had ſignalized himſelf both in the Parthian and German wars. However, he did not think it adviſeable to engage ſo bold and deſperate an enemy; but having found means to ſow diviſions among them, as he was a man of great craft and addreſs, he obliged them at laſt to ſubmit and lay down their arms [a]. Caſſius, having thus quelled the diſturbances in Egypt, marched into Armenia and Arabia, where he performed great exploits; but neither of them, nor of this year, which ſeems to have laſted ſome time, any farther mention is made in hiſtory. At the ſame time, the Moors over-ran almoſt all Spain, ravaging that country with fire and ſword; but were in the end driven out by the emperor's lieutenants. Severus, afterwards emperor, was at that time quæſtor of the province of Bœtica [b]. There were likewiſe ſome diſturbances in the country of the Sequani, now the Franche-Comté; but theſe the emperor compoſed with his authority and ſeaſonable ſeverity [c]. The next conſuls were Herennianus and Severus, uncle to the emperor of that name, who, at his requeſt, was by M. Aurelius admitted

Which are ſuppreſſed by Caſſius.

Spain invaded by the Moors, who are driven out.

[y] Idem, p. 810. Jul. Cap. in Pertin. p. 54. [z] Dio, ibid. Baudrand. p. 165. [a] Dio, p. 803. Vulcat. Gallican. in vit. Caſſ. [b] Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 31. & Spart. in Sever. [c] Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32.

mitted into the ſenate [d]. During their adminiſtration, a great diſpute ariſing between Herodes Atticus and the city of Athens, the emperor ſeemed inclined to favour the latter; which ſo provoked Herodes, who was a man of a violent and fiery temper, that when the cauſe was to be decided by the emperor then reſiding at Sirmium, now Sirmich, in Pannonia, inſtead of pleading with his uſual eloquence, tranſported with rage, he launched into bitter and ſcurrilous invectives againſt the emperor, telling him amongſt other things, that he ſuffered himſelf, which was highly unbecoming an emperor, to be governed by a woman and an infant only three years old; for the empreſs Fauſtina and her young daughter, inſtructed by her, had interceded with the emperor in behalf of the Athenians. When he had done railing againſt the emperor, Baſſæus, captain of the guards, told him, That his inſolent behaviour might perhaps coſt him his life. But Herodes, without ſhewing the leaſt concern or remorſe, anſwered, That a man of his age had nothing to fear, and immediately withdrew. As for the emperor he heard him the whole time quite unconcerned; and when he withdrew, addreſſing the Athenian deputies, You may alledge your reaſons, ſaid he, tho' Herodes has not been pleaſed to alledge his. He heard them with great attention, and could not help ſhedding tears, when they deſcribed the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of Herodes and his freed-men, who had uſurped a kind of ſovereignty over the city, and oppreſſed the people in a tyrannical manner. However, the emperor did not condemn Herodes, but only his freed-men; and the puniſhment which he inflicted upon them was very ſmall, ſays our hiſtorian, and no-ways anſwerable to their crimes [e]; nay, to all he remitted part of it, and to one of them, named Alcimedon, the whole, thinking him ſufficiently puniſhed by the death of his two daughters, killed by a flaſh of lightning after their arrival at Sirmium. Some time after, Herodes wrote to the emperor, complaining, that he did not honour him, as he had done formerly, with his letters; and the good-natured prince immediately ſent him an anſwer, filled with the moſt tender and ſincere expreſſions of friendſhip, condeſcending, in a manner, to beg his pardon for having condemned perſons belonging to him [f]. Baſſæus, captain of the guards, whom we have mentioned above, is by Dion Caſſius ſtyled M. Rufus Baſæus.

The emperor bears patiently the reproaches of Herodes Atticus.

[d] Onuph. in faſt. p. 231. Noris. epiſt. conſul. p. 108.
[e] Dio, ibid. Philoſt. ſoph. xxvii. p. 558—561. [f] Idem. ibid.

Baſæus. He was, according to that writer, a common peaſant; but being forced into the ſervice, gave ſuch proofs of his courage and integrity, that the emperor created him captain of the guards, tho' he was quite deſtitute of learning and ſpoke ſo broad, that he could hardly be underſtood [g]. The following year, when Maximus and Orfitus were conſuls, M. Aurelius gained, it ſeems, conſiderable advantages over the Germans; for, on all the medals of this year, mention is made of his victories in Germany, and on ſome he is ſtyled Germanicus; which title was given to his ſon Commodus this very year, on the fifteenth of October [h]. The next conſuls were M. Aurelius Severus, the ſecond time, and T. Claudius Pompeianus, during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. But the enſuing year, when Gallus and Flaccus were conſuls, M. Aurelius, by an event altogether miraculous, eſcaped being cut off with his whole army. This happened beyond the Danube, in the country of the Quadi, where M. Aurelius was this year making war, and near the river Gran, which riſing from the mountains of North Hungary falls into the Danube over-againſt the antient city of Strigonium, to which the Gran gives its name [i]. This memorable battle was begun by the enemy's ſlingers and archers, who, from the oppoſite banks of the Gran, galled the Romans to ſuch a degree, that the emperor thought it adviſeable to paſs the river, and diſlodge them; which was done accordingly, not without great ſlaughter on both ſides; but the enemy retiring in good order, as it had been concerted among them before-hand, drew the Romans, who advanced with more bravery than conduct, into a diſadvantageous place, among barren mountains, quite deſtitute of water. The Romans cloſing their ranks, defended themſelves with great bravery, and repulſed the enemy, who thereupon, giving over the attack, ſeized the avenues, and blocked them up on all ſides, hoping to reduce by thirſt thoſe whom they could not overcome by force of arms. The Romans, finding themſelves thus ſhut up among barren mountains, quite ſpent with their wounds and the fatigues of the battle, oppreſſed with heat, and tormented with an inſufferable drought, attempted to open themſelves a way through the midſt of the enemy; but all their efforts proving unſucceſsful, they found themſelves oblig-

M. Aurelius in great danger of being cut off with his whole army by the Marcomanni.

[g] Dio, p. 803, & in excerpt. Val. p. 717. [h] Birag p. 223, 225. Lamprid. in Comm. p. 50. [i] Onuph. in faſt. p. 232. Tertul. apol. c. 5. Dio, l. lxxi. p. 805. Baudr. p. 330.

ged to continue under arms, expoſed to the rays of the ſun, and oppreſſed with a violent thirſt, without being able either to fight or retire. In this deplorable extremity, both ſoldiers and officers began to abandon themſelves to deſpair, while the emperor, more affected with the miſeries of the ſoldiers than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to inſpire them with courage, and raiſe their drooping ſpirits; but as they ſaw no poſſible means of eſcaping the preſent danger, his words were to no purpoſe, and nothing was heard but groans and lamentations, nothing ſeen but marks of the utmoſt deſpair. In this diſtreſs, when they expected every moment to be either cut in pieces, or to become a prey to the barbarous enemy, who ſurrounded them, clouds appeared all on a ſudden gathering in the air; the ſky was overcaſt, and, to their inexpreſſible joy, rain fell in great plenty; which the fainting ſoldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers up to heaven, as they are repreſented on the famous column of Antoninus at Rome. In this poſture the barbarians fell upon them; ſo that they were obliged at the ſame time to drink and fight; for they were ſo oppreſſed with drought, that ſuch of them as were wounded drank their own blood mixed with water which they had received in their helmets. As they were more eager to quench their thirſt than to repulſe the enemy, they had been all cut in pieces, had they not been miraculouſly ſuccoured by a dreadful ſtorm of hail, attended with thunder and lightning, which diſcharged itſelf upon the barbarians, as they advanced againſt them. Thus were ſeen at the ſame time fire and water deſcending from heaven; water to refreſh the Romans, and fire to deſtroy their enemies; for either no fire fell upon the Romans, or what fell was immediately extinguiſhed; and the rain which fell upon the barbarians was ſo far from overcoming the flames which conſumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. The enemy, thus deſtitute of water in the midſt of a heavy ſhower, were obliged either to wound themſelves, in order to extinguiſh with their blood the devouring flames, or to have recourſe to the Romans, and throw themſelves upon the mercy of M. Aurelius, who received and entertained them in a friendly manner [k]. Thus Dion Caſſius relates this memorable event, ſo much celebrated by Apollinaris, Tertullian, Euſebius, Julius Capitolinus, Themiſtius in his oration before Theodoſius, St. Jerom, Gregory of Nyſſa, the poet Claudian,

They are relieved by a miraculous ſhower.

[k] Dio, ibid. p. 805, 806.

an, and the chronicle of Alexandria. It was engraved on the famous column of Antoninus, with the other exploits of M. Aurelius during the Marcomannic war, and on another which Themiſtius tells us he had ſeen [l]. The truth of this miraculous event has been univerſally acknowledged both by the chriſtian and pagan writers, who nevertheleſs diſagree as to the authors of it. Dion Caſſius aſcribes it to a celebrated magician of Egypt, named Arnuphis, who attended the emperor in this war [m]; Suidas to a magician, by name Julianus, who was originally of Chaldæa, and wrote ſeveral books of magic [n]. Julius Capitolinus [o], Themiſtius [p], and the poet Claudian [q] pretend, that this miraculous ſhower was owing to the emperor's own prayers. In the above-mentioned column of the Antonini it is by the pagans aſcribed to their thundering Jupiter. But all the chriſtian writers aſſure us, that ſo ſignal a favour was granted by heaven to the prayers of the chriſtian ſoldiers, who ſerved in the Roman army. This Euſebius aſſerts upon the authority of Apollinaris biſhop of Hierapolis, which ought to be of great weight, ſince this miraculous deliverance happened in his time [r]. The chriſtians, by whoſe prayers the army was ſaved, belonged to the legion Melitina, mentioned by Dion Caſſius [s], or, as Xiphilin expreſſes it, to the legion that had been raiſed or quartered at Melitine; for the legions, as is well known, often borrowed their names from the places where they were quartered. Melitine was one of the chief cities of Armenia Minor, and ſtood on the banks of the Euphrates. This legion, which, according to Xiphilin, conſiſted entirely of chriſtians, and had been prompted by a viſion, if Gregory of Nyſſa is to be credited [t], to embrace the true religion, was in all likelihood the twelfth, which by Titus had been quartered in the city of Melitine in the year 70, [u] and was in Cappadocia in the year 230, the ninth of Alexander Severus's reign [w]. The province of Cappadocia probably comprehended at that time Armenia Minor; ſo that we may ſuppoſe it to have been ſtill at Melitine; for there we find it placed in a notitia imperii, or ſtate of the empire, publiſhed many years after the death of Severus. The twelfth legion was diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of the thundering [x]; and Apollinaris, as quoted by Euſebius [y], tells us, that the le-

Which was obtained by the prayers of the chriſtian ſoldiers.

The legion Melitina.

[l] Themiſt. orat. xv. [m] Dio, ibid. [n] Suid. p. 439. [o] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 32. [p] Themiſt. ibid. [q] Claud. in conſ. Honor. 6. p. 183. [r] Euſeb. l. v. c. 5. [s] Dio, p. 806. [t] Greg. Nyſſ. orat. 2. de quadraginta. martyr. [u] Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 4. [w] Dio, l. lv. p. 565. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Euſeb. l. v. c. 5.

gion Melitina was honoured with that title by the emperor, by way of reward for the above-mentioned miracle. The ſame thing we read in Xiphilin, and in Onuphrius, who maintains, that till the time of M. Aurelius no mention is made of the thundering legion [z]. But from an antient inſcription it appears, that the twelfth legion was diſtinguiſhed by that ſurname even in Trajan's time [a]. Of this legion, which ſtill ſubſiſted in the time of Euſebius [b], were the forty martyrs of Sebaſte, ſo much ſpoken of by the eccleſiaſtic writers of the primitive times [c]. But what moſt of all confirms the truth of the above-mentioned miracle is, the letter which the emperor himſelf wrote to the ſenate, giving them an account of it, and of the victory he gained on that occaſion [d]. Tertullian aſſures us, that in his letter he aſcribed, tho' in a doubtful manner, his deliverance to the prayers of the chriſtians; Having obtained rain, ſays he, as quoted by Tertullian, perhaps by the prayers of the chriſtians. He expreſſed himſelf to the ſenate with great caution and circumſpection, as the reader may obſerve; but of his being in his own mind fully convinced, that his ſafety was owing to the chriſtians, he gave ſoon after a very ſtrong proof, by enacting, that ſuch as ſhould thenceforth accuſe a chriſtian on account of his religion, ſhould be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigor, that is, as Euſebius underſtands it, with death [e]. As Tertullian quotes the emperor's letter in writing againſt the pagans, we cannot doubt but he had ſeen it, nor call in queſtion what he ſays of it. Euſebius quotes ſome paſſages of it out of Tertullian, and ſpeaks of it in his chronicle as a thing that was ſaid to have been. But St. Jerom, in tranſlating that paſſage of Euſebius, poſitively affirms, that it was ſtill extant. Oroſius and Xiphilin only ſay, that it was thought to be extant in their times [f]; whence it is manifeſt they had not ſeen it. A letter aſcribed to M. Aurelius concerning the victory, which he obtained by the prayers of the chriſtians, has reached our times. It is commonly annexed in Greek to the apologies of Juſtin the martyr, and is to be found in Latin in Onuphrius [g] and Baronius [h], tranſlated, as they tell us, from the Greek text, which was itſelf a tranſlation from the original Latin. They both look upon it as an authentic piece; but, notwithſtanding

M. Aurelius acknowledges himſelf indebted to the chriſtians for his deliverance.

[z] Onuph. in faſt. p. 233. [a] Vide Baron. ad ann. 176. & Euſeb. chron. p. 233. [b] Euſeb. ibid. [c] Greg. Nyſſ. de quadrag. martyr. [d] Dio, l. lxxi p. 806. [e] Euſeb. l iii. c. 5. Tertull. apol. c. 5. [f] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 7. Dio, p. 806. [g] Onuph. faſt. p. 234. [h] Baron. ad ann. 176.

ing their judgment, it is by the beſt critics rejected as ſpurious, to whoſe opinion we readily ſubſcribe, finding it frequently contradicts all the hiſtorians who have deſcribed the reign of M. Aurelius [i]. After ſo glorious a victory, M. Aurelius was proclaimed emperor the ſeventh time, and the empreſs Fauſtina was honoured by the ſenate with the title of mater caſtrorum, or the mother of armies [k]. This memorable victory was gained by the Romans in the year of the chriſtian æra 174, the fourteenth of M. Aurelius's reign. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, many were taken priſoners, and the reſt put to flight and diſperſed.

MARCUS AURELIUS could not, however, be yet prevailed upon by his friends to leave Germany, and return to Rome, being deſirous to reduce the countries of the Marcomanni and the Sarmatians, to Roman provinces, not out of vanity and ambition, ſays Dion Caſſius, but becauſe he found by experience, that he could not rely upon their fidelity. This he would have compaſſed, had he not been interrupted in the midſt of his conqueſts by the revolt of Caſſius, which we ſhall relate anon. He continued in Germany great part of the following year, when Piſo and Julianus were conſuls; and having placed twenty thouſand men in the countries of the Quadi and Marcomanni, harraſſed theſe two nations to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to abandon their native ſoil and ſettle elſewhere. But M. Aurelius, having received timely notice of their deſign, prevented them from putting it in execution; ſo that their fields being laid waſte, and all communication with the neighbouring nations cut off, they were in the end conſtrained by famine to ſend embaſſadors to the emperor and ſue for peace. The Quadi ſent with their embaſſadors all the Roman deſerters, and thirteen thouſand priſoners, whom they had taken during the war; and by that means obtained a peace, upon condition, that they ſhould not for the future traffic within the Roman dominions, nor ſettle within ſix miles of the Danube. But this peace was ſhort-lived; for the Quadi, inſtead of executing the articles of their agreement, joined the Iazyges, who were ſtill in arms, and drew over the Marcomanni. At the ſame time, they drove out Furtius, their king, for diſapproving their meaſures, and, of their own authority, appointed one Ariogeſes in his room; which M. Aurelius reſented to ſuch a degree, that tho' the Quadi promiſed to ſet at liberty fifty thouſand Roman captives, upon condition,

The Marcomanni and Quadi ſue for peace.

[i] Vide P. Pagi, p. 174. & Scalig. in chron. Euſeb. p. 223.
[k] Dio, p. 806.

condition, that he concluded a peace with them, and confirmed to Ariogeſes the title of king, the emperor would not hearken to the propoſal, but on the contrary proſcribed the new prince and ſet a price upon his head. Hereupon the Quadi, being joined by the Marcomanni, the Iazyges, the Buri, the Nariſci, and many other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory, attacked the Romans, but were, after a long, bloody, and obſtinate diſpute, put to the rout and utterly defeated. Ariogeſes himſelf was taken priſoner and brought to the emperor, who, notwithſtanding his late menaces and reſentment, generouſly ſpared his life, and contented himſelf with confining the captive to the city of Alexandria, the metropolis of Egypt [l]. After this victory, moſt nations in Germany ſent deputies to ſue for peace, offering to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the emperor ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. The Quadi ſeem to have continued in arms till the reign of Commodus. The Marcomanni, after ſo many loſſes, ſubmitted and obtained a peace, upon condition, that they ſhould not ſettle within five miles of the Danube. Zantiches, king of the Iazyges, came in perſon to wait on M. Aurelius, attended by all the great men of the nation, and was by him received into favour, but obliged to retire with his people farther from the Danube than the Marcomanni. They were a very powerful and warlike people, and had taken above an hundred thouſand priſoners, during this war, whom they ſet at liberty upon the concluſion of a peace, this being in all likelihood one of the articles of it. Beſides, they ſupplied M. Aurelius with a body of eighty thouſand horſemen, of whom he immediately ſent five thouſand into Britain, where the Romans were threatened with a new war. The Buri, Nariſci, and other German nations, obtained a peace upon ſuch terms as the emperor would never have granted, had he not been obliged by all means to put an end to this war, in order to lead his troops againſt Caſſius, whoſe revolt was likely to bring dreadful calamities upon the empire, as it had already raiſed the courage of the barbarians.

They receive a great overthrow.

The Marcomanni and other nations obtain a peace.

Avidius Caſſius revolts.

His extraction.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS, whom we have frequently mentioned in deſcribing the Parthian and Egyptian wars, was, as ſome authors write, deſcended by the mother from the antient family of the Caſſii. His father, by name Avidius Severus, raiſed himſelf, according to the author of his life [m], from the degree of a centurion to the firſt employments in the ſtate; and was, or

[l] Dio, p. 808. & in excerpt. Val. p. 717. [m] Vulcat. Gallican. in Caſſio.

on account of his extraordinary parts, highly favoured by the emperor M. Aurelius, but died before the revolt of his son. Such is the account which Vulcatius Gallicanus gives us of his extraction. But another historian writes, that Cassius himself owned, that he had nothing, except the name, common to him with the famous Cassius who killed Cæsar the dictator; and adds, that he was originally of Cyrrhum in Syria, and the son of one Heliodorus, who had the good fortune to raise himself by his eloquence to the government [n]. One of Adrian's secretaries was named Heliodorus, and him a modern writer takes to have been the father of Cassius [o]. He was remarkable for maintaining discipline among the troops; but his severity, according to Vulcatius, savoured of cruelty; for if any soldier was found to take but the least thing by violence from the people of the provinces, he caused him to be immediately crucified in the place where the fact was committed: some he ordered to be burnt alive; others, chained together, to be thrown into some river or into the sea. He used to punish deserters with cutting off their hands and legs, saying, that the sight of a criminal living in misery, made a deeper impression than his being put to death at one blow. As he had been attended with wonderful success against the Parthians, M. Aurelius, in his first war with the Marcomanni, sent him against the Sarmatians their confederates. As he was encamped near the Danube, some auxiliaries of his army, upon intelligence, that the enemy lay carelessly on the banks of that river, went without his knowledge to attack them, killed three thousand of them, and returned to the camp loaded with booty. Their centurions, who had put them upon this enterprize, and headed them in the action, expected some great reward from Cassius for having with an handful of men killed such a number of the enemy, while the tribunes and other officers had neglected so favourable an opportunity. But Cassius, looking upon this as a bad precedent, which might be attended with worse consequences, instead of rewarding the centurions, caused them all to be seized and crucified like slaves. This severity occasioned a mutiny in the army; but Cassius, without betraying the least fear, appeared naked and unarmed in the midst of the incensed multitude, crying aloud to them, Kill me, and, to your neglect of duty, add, if you dare, the murder of your general. This intrepidity allayed their fury; and no one daring to utter a single word of complaint, they

His severity towards the soldiers.

A signal instance of it.

[n] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 810. Aristid. orat. 26. [o] Vales. in excerpt. Dionis, p. 103.

they all returned to their tents, and thenceforth made it their whole ſtudy to learn and obſerve the military laws, knowing they ſerved under a general who could not by any fears or menaces be prevailed upon to wink at their faults, or ſuffer them to paſs unpuniſhed. This inſtance of ſeverity made ſuch a deep impreſſion on the minds of the Sarmatians, that deſpairing to conquer a people thus obſervant of military diſcipline and the rules of war, they immediately ſent embaſſadors to the emperor to beg peace for an hundred years [P]. After the firſt Marcomannic war, he was by M. Aurelius appointed governor of Syria, the emperor judging him the beſt qualified of any in the empire to reſtore the antient diſcipline entirely neglected by the troops quartered in that province (F). Nor was he miſtaken in his judgment; for in a few months the moſt diſſolute were reclaimed from their pleaſures and luxurious manner of living, the antient diſcipline revived, and the

Appointed governor of Syria.

He reſtores the military diſcipline among the troops.

[P] Vulcat. Gall. ibid. p. 46.

(F) The emperor, upon his appointing him governor of Syria, wrote the following letter to his lieutenant in that province: "I "have given to Avidius Caſſius the command of the legions in "Syria, which Cæſonius Vectilianus found, as he informs me, "diſſolved in luxury, and abandoned to all ſorts of pleaſures. He "is, you know, a ſtrict obſerver of the antient diſcipline, with-"out which the ſoldiers can never be kept to their duty. You "remember the old verſe,

"Moribus antiquis res ſtat Romana virilis,

"And truly the ſtrict obſervance of the antient diſcipline is the "chief ſupport of the empire. Take care that ſufficient provi-"ſions be got ready for the legions, which, if I am not deceived "in Avidius Caſſius, will not be miſapplied." To this letter the lieutenant returned the following anſwer: "You could not prefer "to the command of the legions in Syria a man better qualified "for that important truſt than Avidius Caſſius: for only an officer "of his ſeverity can reclaim them from their voluptuous manner "of living, and put them out of conceit with the pleaſures of the "effeminate Greeks, to which they have entirely abandoned "themſelves. He will ſhake their flowers off of their heads, and "teach them their duty. The neceſſary proviſions for the le-"gions are already laid up; and nothing can be wanting, ſo "long as they have ſuch an excellent commander as Avidius Caſ-"ſius (14).

(14) Vulcat. Gall, in vit. Caſſ.

the whole army thoroughly reformed. Caſſius, upon his arrival at Antioch, ordered all the ſoldiers and officers to repair forthwith to their colours, publiſhed a proclamation forbidding them, on pain of being caſhiered, to appear at Daphne, every ſeventh day examined their cloaths, arms, and equipages, and frequently obliged them to perform their exerciſes all in a body, ſaying, It was a ſhameful thing that wreſtlers and gladiators ſhould be continually exerciſed, and not ſoldiers, whoſe labours are leſſened in proportion as they become accuſtomed to them [q]. As for Caſſius's other qualities, the author of his life repreſents him as a man endowed with great virtues, which, however, were allayed with no leſs vices, inſomuch, that he was by ſome called a ſecond Catiline. But to us that writer ſeems to contradict himſelf in the character he draws of Caſſius; for in one place he paints him not only as ſevere, but cruel and inhuman towards his ſoldiers; and in another tells us, that he was greatly beloved by them. How can his being ſtyled a ſecond Catiline, on account of his virtues and vices, his good and his bad qualities, be reconciled with what he writes elſewhere, viz. that had he attained the empire, he would have proved an excellent prince, a prince of great clemency and moderation [r]. Dion Caſſius ſpeaks of him, not only as an eminent commander, but as a perſon equal to, and in every reſpect worthy of, the ſovereign power [s]. He always abhorred an abſolute and monarchical government, and is by ſome thought to have had nothing in view, when he revolted, but to reſtore the commonwealth to its former authority. He had been charged in the reign of Antoninus Pius with a deſign of depoſing that prince; but his father, who was a man of great intereſt at court, having prejudiced the emperor in his favour, the accuſation was dropt. However, he was thenceforth looked upon as a ſuſpicious and diſaffected perſon. When he commanded in the Parthian war under L. Verus, that prince, ſuſpecting him, and indeed not without reaſon, wrote the following letter concerning him to M. Aurelius, his partner in the empire. "Avi-
"dius Caſſius ſeems to me to aſpire at the empire, as it is
"well known he did in the reign of our father Antoninus
"Pius. I therefore adviſe you to keep a watchful eye over
"him. He cenſures and condemns all our actions, grows
"exceeding rich, and ſpeaks of us both with the utmoſt con-
"tempt, calling you a doating philoſopher, and me a luxu-
"rious fool. Conſider what is to be done: I bear no hatred to
"the

Is an enemy to monarchy.

L. Verus's letter concerning him.

[q] Idem. p. 47. [r] Idem, p. 41—45. [s] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 810.

" the man, but would have you to reflect, that by in-
" veſting ſuch a perſon with power, and truſting him with
" the command of the troops, by whom he is greatly be-
" loved, you may injure both yourſelf and your chil-
" dren." Nothing can give us a greater idea of the vir-
tue truly heroic of this excellent prince, than his anſwer to
this letter, which was couched in the following terms : " I
" have peruſed your letter, in which you betray greater fear
" and uneaſineſs than becomes an emperor, or is conſiſtent
" with the equity of our reign. If the empire is allotted by
" heaven to Avidius Caſſius, it will not be in our power to
" cut him off. You know the ſaying of our grandfather A-
" drian that no man cuts off his ſucceſſor. If Caſſius is
" not deſtined to the empire, he will fall of himſelf, with-
" out our cruelty, into the fatal ſnare. Beſides, we cannot in
" juſtice treat a perſon as a criminal, who is accuſed by none,
" and is, as you write, beloved by the army, and conſe-
" quently a man of merit and a good commander. In caſes of
" treaſon, even when the crime is proved, the world is apt
" to think the ſufferer injured ; which made your grandfather
" Adrian complain of the hard fate of emperors, who are
" never thought to have been in danger till they are killed.
" I chuſe to name Adrian rather than Domitian, who was
" the firſt author of this ſaying, becauſe a thing, however
" well ſaid, has not its due weight and authority when it
" comes from a tyrant. Let therefore Avidius Caſſius purſue
" his own meaſures ; he is an excellent officer, and a man
" of great courage, and uſeful to the ſtate. As for my chil-
" dren, to whoſe ſafety you would have me to ſacrifice him,
" if he deſerves to be more beloved than they, if his life
" promiſes greater advantages to the ſtate than theirs, let A-
" vidius Caſſius live, let the children of M. Aurelius periſh [t]."
The good-natured emperor took no farther notice of what
Verus had wrote to him ; for upon the return of Caſſius from
the eaſt, where he had performed great exploits, he put him
at the head of an army, which he ſent againſt the Sarma-
tians, and afterwards appointed him governor of Syria, as we
have related above. In the mean time the Marcomanni and
other German nations, renewing the war with great vigor,
Caſſius laid hold of that opportunity to ſeize the empire.
Some authors write, that the empreſs Fauſtina, being well
appriſed, that her ſon Commodus was no-ways qualified for
the ſovereign power, and fearing that ſome one might ſeize
it,

M. Aure-
lius's anſwer.

[t] Idem, p. 40. 41.

it, who would deſtroy her and her little children, ſollicited Caſſius to declare himſelf emperor as ſoon as he ſhould hear the news of M. Aurelius's death, and promiſed in that caſe to marry him. They add, that a report being ſpread of the emperor's death, Caſſius immediately cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed in his room, and that, tho' the rumour proved afterwards falſe, he found himſelf too far engaged to recede. Others clear Fauſtina from being any ways privy to the deſign of Caſſius (G), and tells us, that the report of the emperor's death was ſpread abroad by Caſſius himſelf, in order to induce the governors of the eaſtern provinces to join him, M. Aurelius being greatly beloved, and his ſon no leſs hated [u]. Be that as it will, he ſoon became maſter of all the countries beyond mount Taurus, and of Egypt itſelf, Flavius Calviſius, governor of that province, having declared in his favour. The troops in Bithynia were likewiſe inclined to ſide with him, but reſtrained by Clodius Albinus, their commander, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Several foreign princes and nations eſpouſed his cauſe, but none with more zeal than the Jews [w].

He aſſumes the title of emperor.

And is joined by moſt of the eaſtern nations.

MARTIUS VERUS, governor of Cappadocia, was the firſt who gave the emperor notice of this revolt. M. Aurelius concealed it for ſome time; but when he found it divulged by

[u] Vulcat. Gall. in Caſſ. p. 42, 43. [w] Idem ibid. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 718. Albin. vit. p. 81.

(G) Vulcatius Gallicanus, to clear the empreſs from this charge, produces two letters written by her to M. Aurelius on occaſion of this revolt. In one ſhe expreſſes herſelf thus: "My mother "Fauſtina, in the time of the defection of Celſus, adviſed your "father Antoninus Pius to ſhew his kindneſs, in the firſt place to "his own family, and next to others. And truly it is incumbent "upon every good prince to take care of his wife and children. "Your ſon Commodus is yet very young, and your ſon-in-law "Pompeianus is ſtricken in years and a ſtranger. Do not there-"fore ſpare men, who, had they conquered, would neither have "ſpared you, nor your wife and children. You will hear from "Cæcilius, whom I ſhall ſend to you, what reports have been "ſpread of you by the wife of Caſſius, by his ſon and his ſon-in-"law, &c." In the other letter ſhe preſſes him to purſue Caſſius and his accomplices with the utmoſt ſeverity, if he loves her and his children, aſſuring him, that if he neglects to oppreſs them, they will not fail to oppreſs him (15).

(15) Idem ibid.

by public fame, he acquainted the ſoldiers with it in a very judicious and modeſt ſpeech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which Caſſius made him for the kindneſs he ever had, and ſhould ever have, for him, notwithſtanding his revolt, as he hoped to ſhew as ſoon as he had brought him to a ſenſe of his duty. Neither did Caſſius on his ſide utter any injurious reflections againſt M. Aurelius, but only charged him with neglecting the moſt important affairs of the ſtate to attend the ſtudy of philoſophy, and with ſuffering, thro' an exceſs of goodneſs, many diſorders which it was incumbent upon him as emperor to correct [x]. In the mean while, M. Aurelius having terminated the war with the Marcomanni and other German nations, as the time approached for his ſon Commodus to put on the manly robe, he ſent for him from Rome and gave him it, with the uſual ceremonies, on the ſeventh of July, ordering on that occaſion conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among the Roman people [y]. At Rome the ſenate were no ſooner informed of the revolt of Caſſius, than they declared him a public enemy and confiſcated his eſtate, which the emperor ordered to be returned, not into his private coffers, as his predeceſſors had done, but into the public treaſury.

M. Aurelius marches againſt him.

At length M. Aurelius left Germany and ſet out for Illyricum, with a deſign to purſue his march thence into the eaſt and meet Caſſius, declaring, that he was ready to reſign the empire to him, if the gods ſhould judge it expedient for the public good, that Caſſius ſhould reign, and not M. Aurelius: For it is not, added he, any private intereſt or ambition, but the public welfare, that prompts me to undergo ſo many labours, to expoſe myſelf to ſo many dangers.

Caſſius is killed;

He was not advanced far on his march, when news was brought him, that Caſſius had been killed by a centurion named Antonius, and another officer of a ſtill inferior rank, who had the command only of ten men [z]. Dion Caſſius gives us but a confuſed account of his death; and Vulcatius Gallicanus promiſes to inform us how he was killed, and where he was overcome, but is not ſo good as his word. However, from what he writes, it is plain, that a battle or encounter happened between him and the emperor's troops, probably commanded by Martius Verus; for on his bravery the emperor chiefly relied, and had therefore ſent him before him into Syria, giving him the government of that province, inſtead of the government

[x] Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. Dio. l. lxxi. p. 809. 812. [y] Lamprid. in Commod. p. 45. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 32. [z] Dio, p. 812.

government of Cappadocia. We are told, that a great many letters, written to Caſſius by his friends and correſpondents, falling into Verus's hands, the generous commander committed them to the flames, ſaying, he did not doubt but that would pleaſe M. Aurelius; and if it did not, that he choſe, however, to ſave many lives at the expence of one [a]. Others write, that theſe letters were brought to M. Aurelius, who ordered them, ſealed as they were, to be immediately burnt in his preſence [b]. With Caſſius was killed his captain of the guards, and ſoon after his ſon Metianus, whom he had appointed governor of Egypt, to ſecure that important province. No other perſon of diſtinction, at leaſt of the ſenatorial order, periſhed on account of his rebellion; nay, theſe were put to death without the emperor's knowledge and againſt his will; for he was greatly concerned that the blood of any ſenator ſhould have been ſhed during his reign: hence, when the head of Caſſius was brought to him, he expreſſed great ſorrow, turned his eyes away, and cauſed it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of ſhewing his mercy. The reign of Caſſius, or rather his dream, as Dion Caſſius ſtyles it, laſted but three months and ſix days [c]. M. Aurelius himſelf would neither try, impriſon, nor condemn any ſenator concerned in the conſpiracy; but referred the whole to the ſenate, appointing the criminals a day to appear before their judges. In the mean time, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, wherein, after acquainting them, that he had appointed Pompeianus, his ſon-in-law, conſul for the enſuing year, he thus exhorts them to proceed, rather with clemency than rigor, againſt thoſe whom they were to try: "As for what concerns the defec-
" tion of Caſſius, I beg and conjure you, conſcript fathers,
" to have a tender regard to your characters and to mine: let
" no one ſenator be put death; let the blood of no perſon of
" diſtinction be ſpilt; let ſuch as have been already baniſhed
" return, nay, and enjoy their eſtates. I wiſh I could raiſe
" from the dead thoſe who periſhed in the firſt heat of the
" war. Revenge is never commendable in an emperor; it ill
" becomes him in his own cauſe, let it be never ſo juſt. You
" will therefore pardon the children of Avidius Caſſius, his
" ſon-in-law, and his wife. But why do I ſay pardon, when
" they have committed no crime? Let them live in ſafety
" and

And his head brought to the emperor, who is concerned for his death.

His letter to the ſenate.

[a] Dio, p. 813. [b] Val. in excerpt. Dio. [c] Dio, p. 815. Vulcat. Gall. in Caſſ. p. 43. Noris ep. conſ. p. 110.

" and enjoy their paternal eſtate, with all their father's plate
" and furniture. Let them have full liberty to live where
" they pleaſe, that they may be ſo many inſtances of your
" clemency and of mine. I further beg and deſire, that all
" the ſenators and Roman knights in general, who have been
" privy to this rebellion, be by your authority exempted from
" death, proſcription, infamy, in ſhort, from all kind of
" puniſhment. Allow it to be ſaid to your honour and mine,
" that in this rebellion ſuch only periſhed as were killed in the
" hurry of the war" [d]. The ſenate not only complied with his requeſt, but returned him thanks for the regard he had ſhewn even to the moſt undeſerving members of their body.

His kindneſs to the children of Caſſius.

As for the children of Caſſius, the emperor took them under his protection, forbidding any one to reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and ſeverely puniſhing ſuch as did. Vulcatius tells us, that he even raiſed the ſons of Caſſius and Druncianus or Druentianus, who had married one of his daughters, by name Alexandra, to great preferments, which was the more commendable, as the emperor was well appriſed, that Caſſius's wife, children, and ſon-in-law, had, with many ill-natured reflections, endeavoured to bring him into diſcredit with the people and ſoldiery. Of the many perſons concerned in this revolt, only a few centurions were executed, and ſome officers of greater diſtinction baniſhed. Among the latter was Flavius Calviſius, governor of Egypt, who was confined to an iſland; but the emperor would not ſuffer his eſtate to be confiſcated. An impoſtor, who pretended to be inſpired by the gods, and was ſaid to have foretold the revolt of Caſſius, was baniſhed to the iſland of Scyros in the Archipelago. All the accomplices of Calviſius were pardoned, as were likewiſe the cities that had declared for Caſſius. The empreſs Fauſtina, in a letter which ſhe wrote to her huſband on occaſion of this revolt [e], preſſed him to purſue the accomplices of Caſſius with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the emperor, hearkening only to the impulſe of his own good nature, returned her the following anſwer: " I have read your letter

His letter to Fauſtina on this occaſion.

" my dear Fauſtina, wherein you adviſe me to treat the ac-
" complices of Caſſius with the utmoſt ſeverity, which you
" think they well deſerve. This I look upon as a pledge of
" the love you bear to your huſband and children. But give
" me leave, my dear Fauſtina, to ſpare the children of Caſ-
ſius,

[d] Vulcat. Gall. ibid. p. 44. & Jul. Cap. in Aur. p. 33. [e] Vide not. G.

" ſius, his ſon-in-law, and his wife, and to write to the ſe-
" nate in their behalf. Nothing can more recommend a Ro-
" man emperor to the eſteem of the world, than clemency.
" This placed Cæſar among the gods; this conſecrated Au-
" guſtus; this procured to your father the title of Pius. I
" I am grieved even for the death of Caſſius, and wiſh it
" had been in my power to ſave him. Be therefore ſatisfied,
" and don't abandon yourſelf to fear or revenge. Marcus
" Antoninus is protected by the gods" [f]. Some of his friends openly blaming his clemency, and taking the liberty to tell him, that Caſſius would not have been ſo generous, had fortune proved favourable to him, the emperor immediately replied, We have not lived nor ſerved the gods ſo ill, as to think they would favour Caſſius: he added, that the misfortunes of ſome of his predeceſſors were entirely owing to their own ill conduct and cruelties, and that no good prince had ever been overcome or ſlain by an uſurper. Nero, Caligula, and Domitian, ſaid he, deſerved the doom that overtook them; neither Otho nor Vitellius were equal to the empire; the downfal of Galba was occaſioned by his avarice, an unpardonable fault in a prince [g]. Thus the rebellion of Caſſius ſerved only to give new luſtre to the unparallelled clemency, good-nature and generoſity of M. Aurelius, who could not prevail upon himſelf to take away the lives of thoſe who had conſpired againſt his and that of his ſon.

THE rebellion being quaſhed at once by the death of Caſſius, M. Aurelius wrote a letter to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he had named Pompeianus, his ſon-in-law, conſul againſt the enſuing year; adding, that he would have honoured him long before with that dignity, had he not thought himſelf obliged in juſtice to confer it firſt upon ſeveral perſons of extraordinary merit, and well-deſerving of the republic. The ſenate, in their anſwer to the emperor's obliging letter, begged him to return to Rome, and to inveſt his ſon Commodus with the tribunitial power [h]. With the latter requeſt he complied, as appears from ſeveral inſcriptions. But as for the other requeſt, the emperor either did not return to Rome, or his ſtay there was very ſhort; for we are told, that, immediately after the death of Caſſius, he went into the eaſt, and that he had begun his march thither even before

Commodus inveſted with the tribunitial power.

[f] Vulcat. Gall. p. 32. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem in Caſſ. p. 45. [i] Onuph. in faſt. p. 235. P. Pagi, p. 218. Noris de de votis decennalib. imperator. c. 3. & ep. conſul. p. 120.

he had received that news [k]: it is not therefore likely, that he interrupted it to return to Rome. He had ſent Pertinax before him into Syria to make head againſt the rebels; but upon the news of the death of Caſſius, he recalled him, and appointed him governor of Illyricum, in which province he had gained no leſs reputation by his prudence and moderation, than by his many victories over the Germans during the Marcomannic war; ſo that he was greatly eſteemed and revered both by the Romans and foreigners, nay, even by the enemies of the Roman name [l]. The emperor took with him into the eaſt his ſon Commodus and his wife Fauſtina, who died ſuddenly in a village called Halala, at the foot of mount Taurus. She was a woman of a looſe and wanton life, and altogether unworthy of having ſuch a father as Antoninus, ſuch a huſband as M. Aurelius, whom ſome did not believe to be father of Commodus [m]. Dion Caſſius writes, that it was queſtioned whether ſhe died of the gout, or laid violent hands on herſelf, to avoid the ſhame of being named among the accomplices of Caſſius, who, according to that writer, was chiefly prompted by her to take arms and revolt [n]. Her chief gallants were Tertullus, Utilius, Orfitus, and Moderatus, whom nevertheleſs Antoninus, either not giving credit to what was ſaid of the empreſs, or diſſembling her irregular conduct, preferred to ſeveral employments. Her lewdneſs and her intimacy with the above-mentioned perſons, eſpecially with Tertullus, were ſo publicly known, that a mimic having one day aſked his companion upon the ſtage, in the preſence of the emperor, what was the name of the perſon who was too familiar with his wife? the other repeated the name of Tullus three times; whereby the whole audience perceived, that he meant Tertullus, the firſt ſyllable of his name ſignifying three times [o]. Some of the emperor's friends adviſed him to divorce her; but he anſwered, if I divorce her, I muſt return her her dower, that is, the empire, which I have received of her father. In one place he commends her free and open temper, her ſincerity in friendſhip, and her acquieſcence to his will [p]. He bewailed her, according to the emperor Julian [q], after her death, more than was becoming, in a man of his gravity, for a woman of the moſt unblemiſhed character. He pronounced himſelf her funeral oration, and begged the ſenate to rank her among

The emperor goes into the eaſt.

Fauſtina dies.

Her character.

Extraordinary honours paid her by the emperor and the ſenate.

[k] Dio, p. 813. Jul. Cap. ibid. p. 32. [l] Idem in Pertin. [m] Idem in M. Aur. p. 30. [n] Dio, p. 813. [o] Jul. Cap. ibid. [p] M. Antonin. de ſeip. l. i. c. 14. [q] Julian Cæs. p. 13.

among the gods; for which he is deſervedly expoſed and ridiculed by the above-mentioned emperor [r]. He founded a ſociety of young women, whom he brought up at his own expence, and called after the empreſs's name. The village where ſhe died he made a colony and a city, ſtyling it Fauſtinopolis, and erected a temple in it to her honour, which was afterwards conſecrated to Heliogabalus, the moſt lewd and debauched of all the Roman emperors. The ſenate, out of flattery and complaiſance to the emperor, not only ranked among the goddeſſes a perſon unworthy of a place among women of any modeſty and reputation, but erected ſtatues to her and to M. Aurelius, with an altar, ordaining, that young women, immediately after their marriage, ſhould repair to it, and there offer a ſolemn ſacrifice [s]. By this ſcandalous inſtitution, they deſerved that their daughters ſhould all reſemble Fauſtina and their ſons Commodus. Fauſtina being dead, Fabia, the ſiſter of L. Verus, who had been formerly betrothed to M. Aurelius, did all that lay in her power to induce him to marry her; but he, not thinking it adviſeable to ſubject his children to the authority of a ſtep-mother, took in the room of a lawful wife the daughter of one of the deceaſed emperor's domeſtic's [t]; for to that purity, which the chriſtian religion requires and commands, even the moſt virtuous among the pagan philoſophers were utter ſtrangers. As the Syrians, looking upon Caſſius as their countryman, had readily joined him, a law paſſed at this time, enacting, that no one ſhould be ſent with the character of governor into his own country [u].

THE next conſuls were T. Vitraſius Pollio and M. Flavius Aper, both for the ſecond time [w]. Claudius Pompeianus, the emperor's ſon-in-law, and Clodius Albinus, who had reſtrained the legions in Bithynia from joining Caſſius, as we have related above, were likewiſe conſuls this year. M. Aurelius, arriving in the eaſt, freely forgave all the cities and communities there, which had ſided with Caſſius, except Antioch, the inhabitants of that metropolis having diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the reſt by their zeal for Caſſius and their hatred to him. He therefore publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt them, deprived them of all their privileges, ſuppreſſed their public aſſemblies, and took from them their ſhews and ſpectacles, to which they were greatly addicted. But his anger being ſoon appeaſed, before he left Syria, he reſtored them to

The emperor's clemency and goodneſs to the cities that had ſided with Caſſius.

[r] Idem ibid. p. 50. [s] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 813. [t] Vulcat. Gall. p. 34. [u] Dio, ibid. p. 813. [w] Idat. Onuph. &c.

their former condition, and even condeſcended to viſit their city. From Syria he paſſed into Egypt, where he not only forgave, but enriched with ſeveral privileges the city of Alexandria, which had likewiſe ſided with Caſſius. Having viſited moſt of the chief cities in the eaſt, and given every-where innumerable inſtances of his humanity and good-nature, he ſailed from Smyrna, where he had ſtaid ſome time, and had ſeveral conferences with the celebrated ſophiſt Ariſtides, and arrived at Athens, where he was initiated in the Eleuſinian myſteries. He conferred many favours on the city of Athens, and eſtabliſhed there public profeſſors of all ſciences, with handſome allowances to be paid them yearly out of the exchequer [x]. From Athens he ſailed for Italy; and landing at Brunduſium, commanded his ſoldiers immediately to reſume, as he did himſelf, the Roman gown; for neither he, nor any of his officers nor ſoldiers, ever appeared in Italy in a military habit. He returned to Rome with his ſon Commodus, whom he named conſul, tho' at that time but ſixteen, for the enſuing year. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of imperator, which he himſelf aſſumed for the eighth time, probably on account of ſome victory gained by Pertinax, governor of Illyricum, over the Germans. At length, on the twenty-third of December, both he and his ſon Commodus entered Rome in triumph, diſtributing on this occaſion large ſums among the people and ſoldiery, that is, as many pieces of gold a head as he had been years abſent, which, according to Dion Caſſius, were eight [y], but, according to the calculation of others, in our opinion more exact, only ſix. At the ſame time, he exhibited moſt pompous and magnificent ſhews, tho' he took no pleaſure himſelf in ſuch diverſions. The following year Aurelius Commodus Cæſar and Quintillus being conſuls, Commodus was honoured by the ſenate with the title of the father of his country, and by the emperor with that of Auguſtus; on which occaſion M. Aurelius remitted whatever was due from particulars, either to the emperor or to the treaſury, ever ſince the time in which Adrian had forgiven all ſuch debts [z]. The ſame year he preſented the inhabitants of Smyrna with large ſums, enabling them by that means to rebuild their city, which was almoſt utterly ruined by a dreadful earthquake deſcribed at length by Ariſtides in one of his orations [a]. As the emperor continued all

He returns to Rome;

Which he enters in triumph with his ſon Commodus.

Inſtances of his generoſity and good-nature.

[x] Dio, p. 814. Philoſtr. ſoph. xxxvii. Ariſtid. orat. [y] Dio, ibid. Jul. Cap. p. 29. [z] Dio, ibid. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 15. Euſeb. chron. [a] Ariſtid. orat. 20.

all this year at Rome, or in the neighbourhood of that city, he reformed, partly by his example and partly by wholſome laws, ſeveral abuſes. He could not ſuppreſs the combats of gladiators without diſobliging the people; however, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodſhed, he allowed the combatants only blunt ſwords, in the nature of our foils, ſaying, that with them they might equally diſplay their ſkill and dexterity [b]. The next year, when Orfitus and Julianus Rufus were conſuls, the Marcomanni and their confederates renewing the war with great vigor, the emperor reſolved to march againſt them in perſon. But before he left Rome, he married his ſon Commodus to Criſpina, the daughter of Bruttius Præſens; and repairing to the ſenate, deſired leave to take out of the public treaſure the neceſſary ſums for carrying on the war, ſaying, that an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in, but that all belonged to the ſenate and people [c]. He then went to the capitol, where he declared upon his oath, that, ſince his acceſſion to the empire, no ſenator had been put to death by his orders; that ſuch as had periſhed in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowledge; and that he would have ſpared them all, Caſſius himſelf not excepted, had it been in his power ſo to do. As he was eminently ſkilled in philoſophy, many perſons of learning earneſtly entreated him to explain to them, before he left Rome, the moſt difficult and intricate points of the different ſects of philoſophers, which he did accordingly, ſpending therein three whole days. They ſeemed to apprehend, that by his death this knowledge might have been loſt; which ſhews how thoroughly he was verſed in the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers [d]. At length he ſet out from Rome, with his ſon Commodus, on the fifth of Auguſt of the year 178, the eighteenth of his reign. The following year, Commodus Auguſtus and T. Annius Aurelius Verus being conſuls the ſecond time, M. Aurelius gained a ſignal victory over the Marcomanni, Hermonduri, Quadi, and Sarmatians; for which both he and his ſon Commodus, as appears from ſeveral antient inſcriptions, took the title of imperator [e]. All we know of this action is, that the Roman army was commanded by Paternus, and the Germans were utterly defeated [f]; inſomuch, that all Germany, and the different nations

He marches againſt the Marcomanni,

And gains a ſignal victory over them.

[b] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 718. [c] Dio, p. 814. [d] Jul. Cap. in Caſſ. p. 41. [e] Spart. in Comm. p. 50. & Dio, p. 814. [f] Dio, p. 810, Birag. p. 227. Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 34. [g] Dio, p. 810. & 814.

inhabiting it, would have been obliged to ſubmit to the Roman yoke, had not Antoninus been prevented by death from crowning his conqueſts with the reduction of ſo powerful and extenſive a country. He died the following year, Præſens and Sex. Quintilius Condianus being conſuls, on the ſeventeenth of March, after having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of Antoninus Pius, nineteen years and ten or eleven days [h]. Dion Caſſius poſitively affirms, that he was diſpatched by his phyſicians, deſirous to curry favour with Commodus; and adds, that when the tribune came to him the laſt time for the parole, he bid him go to Commodus, and court, not the ſetting, but the riſing ſun [i]. On the other hand, Julius Capitolinus ſeems to aſcribe his death to a contagious diſtemper; for he tells us, that the plague ſtill raged in the army; and adds, that the emperor, with much ado, prevailed upon his ſon and his friends not to abandon him; which he took ſo much amiſs, that he abſtained from all ſort of nouriſhment. Two days before he died, he recommended his ſon Commodus to the army, and conjured his friends to aſſiſt him with their advice. On the ſeventh day of his illneſs, he deſired to ſee his ſon again, but immediately diſmiſſed him, leſt he ſhould be infected with the ſame diſtemper. When he was gone, he compoſed himſelf, as if he deſigned to ſleep, and expired the following night [k]. He died, according to Tertullian [l], at Sirmium, now Sirmich, in Sclavonia; according to the two Victors, at Vendebona, now Vienna, in Auſtria. We need not mention the concern of the ſoldiery and Roman people for the loſs of ſo good and ſo great a prince. His body, or rather his aſhes, were conveyed to Rome, and depoſited in the monument of Adrian. He was immediately ranked among the gods, a temple was erected to him, and an order of prieſts appointed to his honour. Whoever had not ſome image or ſtatue of M. Aurelius in his houſe, was judged a ſacrilegious perſon, ſays Julius Capitolinus, in whoſe time, that is, in the reign of Diocleſian, he was ſtill worſhipped in moſt families among their domeſtic gods [m]. He was, without all doubt, one of the greateſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. His only fault was, according to Dion Caſſius, his too great goodneſs; for tho' he rewarded with great generoſity the good and virtuous, yet he did not reſtrain and puniſh with due ſeverity the

His death.

He is ranked among the gods.

His fault.

[h] Idem ibid. & Theoph Antioch. l. iii. p. 137. Chron. Alex. p. 614. [i] Dio, p. 814. [k] Jul. Cap. p. 34. [l] Tertul. apol. c. 25. [m] Jul. Cap. p. 54.

the vicious and wicked; whence ſome governors of provinces, preſuming upon his good-nature, plundered and often with impunity, the people committed to their care. Julius Capitolinus blames him for winking at the monſtrous exceſſes of his wife, and for promoting to the ſovereign power L. Verus, whom he muſt have known to be quite unequal to, and altogether unworthy of, that high dignity, ſince Antoninus Pius had not ſo much as honoured him with the title of Cæſar. The emperor Julian prefers M. Aurelius to Cæſar, to Auguſtus, and to all the other princes who had reigned till this time; but at the ſame time finds fault with him, for bequeathing the empire to his vicious ſon Commodus, and not to his ſon-in-law Pompeianus, who was a perſon of extraordinary parts, and well qualified for ſo great a truſt [x]. The meditations of M. Aurelius, which have reached our times, are highly commended by all the antients, as an epitome of the beſt rules, which human reaſon or philoſophy can ſuggeſt for the conduct of a virtuous life. Some have queſtioned, whether what has been tranſmitted to us be the whole work, or only an abſtract of it, ſeeing it conſiſts of looſe and unconnected ſentences, whereof the ſenſe is not always complete. But the ableſt critics are of opinion, that M. Aurelius left the work ſuch as it is at preſent, having compoſed it only for his private uſe [y]. It conſiſts of twelve books, of which the firſt ſeems to have been compoſed in the height of the Marcomannic war, while he was encamped on the banks of the Gran in the country of the Quadi [z]. He ended the ſecond book at Carnuntum, of which city we have ſpoken above, where he reſided, according to Eutropius, three whole years. He ſeems to have put the laſt hand to this work before the death of Fauſtina; for in the ninth book he ſpeaks of her as yet living, and ready to ly-in; that is, before the end of the year 175, the fifteenth of his reign [a]. We muſt not confound this book with another, intitled horologium principum, which was publiſhed under the name of M. Aurelius, but is thought to have been compoſed by Antonius Guavara a Spaniſh biſhop [b]. As M. Aurelius was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, eſpecially philoſophers, flouriſhed in his reign. Tatian, the diſciple of Juſtin the martyr, tells us, that the pagan philoſophers were ſo far from practiſing the poverty which they recommended

His meditations.

[x] Julian. Cæſ. 13, 14, 22, 23, 41, 49. [y] Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. [z] M. Aurel. l. i. c. 15. [a] Idem. l. ix. c. 3. [b] Prol. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc.

recommended to others, that, on the contrary, many of them enjoyed large penſions, receiving of the emperor above ſix hundred pieces of gold a year, without rendering any ſervice to the ſtate, or being commended by any other merit, but that of wearing long beards [c]. But of the writers who flouriſhed about this time, we ſhall give a particular account in our notes (H).

[c] Tatian, p. 157.

(H) The moſt celebrated among the philoſophers were, Creſcentius, Celſus, Lucian, Demonax, Alexander the famous impoſtor, Sextus the ſtoic, Sextus the empiric, Numenes, Hermogenes, Ariſtides, &c. Creſcentius was a Cynic philoſopher, and according to the character which Tatian draws of him, entirely abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs (16). He inveighed with great virulence againſt the chriſtians, whom he charged with impiety and atheiſm, tho', in ſeveral conferences and diſputes, he had been convinced of the truth by Juſtin the martyr, who was chiefly at his inſtigation crowned with martyrdom (17.) We do not know that he left any writings behind him. We find two philoſophers bearing the name of Celſus, and both of the ſect of Epicurus, mentioned by Origen (18). Of theſe one flouriſhed under Nero, and the other under Adrian, and his immediate ſucceſſors (19). The laſter wrote ſeveral books againſt magic, much commended by Lucian, who inſcribed to him his hiſtory of the celebrated impoſtor Alexander, which he undertook at his inſtigation (20). Some diſtinguiſh this writer from the author of the diſcourſes againſt the chriſtians, whom Origen confuted; but Baronius, and moſt critics, aſcribe to the ſame writer the books againſt magic, and thoſe againſt the chriſtian religion. It is certain that Celſus, whom Origen anſwers, lived long before his time; but not before the reign of M. Aurelius: for he not only ſpeaks of the Marcioniſts, who firſt appeared about the year 142, the fifth of the reign of Antoninus Pius, but of the followers of Marcellina, a woman of the ſect of Carpocrates, who came to Rome in the year 157, the twentieth of M. Aurelius's reign (21). He probably publiſhed his work againſt the chriſtians during the perſecution of M. Aurelius; for he repreſents them as reduced to conceal themſelves through fear of being dragged to execution (22). Chryſoſtom mentions one Celſus, no doubt the ſame writer, who publiſhed ſome pieces againſt the chriſtian religion before

(16) Tatian p. 157. (17) Euſeb. l. iv. c. 16. (18) Orig. in Celſ. l. i. p. 8. (19) Idem ibid. (20) Lucian pſeud. p. 498. (21) Orig. in Celſ. l. viii. p. 424. & l. v. p. 272. Iren. l. i. c. 24. (22) Idem. ibid.

fore the time of Porphyrius of Batanea (23). Celſus intitled his work againſt the chriſtians, true diſcourſes; but Origen ſhews, that he aimed at nothing leſs than truth, and confutes him with great learning, piety, and judgment. Many writers look upon Origen's anſwer to Celſus, as the beſt apology for the chriſtian religion that ever was publiſhed (24). Euſebius thinks it contains whatever was, or ever will be, ſaid upon that ſubject (25). Origen wrote in the reign of the emperor Philip, who was killed in the year 249 (26.)

The works of Lucian have reached our times, and are deſervedly admired for the eloquence and purity of the ſtyle; but filled with impious and atheiſtical ſentiments: whence he had the ſurname of the Atheiſt, or the Blaſphemer (27). He was a native of Samoſata in Syria, and of a mean deſcent. In his youth he declaimed, and pleaded cauſes, and was in his old age regiſter to the governor of Egypt (28). Suidas writes, that he was thought to have been devoured by dogs, for having ridiculed the chriſtian religion, without ſparing even the author of it; but of ſuch a death no mention is made by any writer who flouriſhed before Suidas. Some ſay, that he embraced, and afterwards renounced the chriſtian religion; but this opinion is founded only on a wrong tranſlation of the word δημηγόρος in Suidas by concionator, and upon Lucian's being better acquainted with the tenets and doctrine of the chriſtians than other pagans. He wrote the life of Soſtrates of Bœotia, a famous philoſopher, who practiſed great auſterities (29); but that work has not reached us. Some have, againſt all reaſon and authority, aſcribed to him the life of Apollonius Tyanæus, which was done by Philoſtratus (30). He wrote, according to Eunapius (31), the life of the philoſopher Demonax, whoſe diſciple he had been. He repreſents him as the greateſt philoſopher of his time; but after all, he was only a Cynic, ſomewhat more poliſhed and civilized than the reſt of his brethren. What we find moſt commendable in him is, that tho' he was of a noble family, rich, eloquent, and well verſed in moſt branches of learning; yet he lived in poverty, practiſed great auſterities, and would not ſuffer any one to attend him. When he grew old, and could no longer live without being aſſiſted by others, he choſe rather to die of hunger, than to ſuffer any one to perform the leaſt office about him. He was a native of Cyprus; but lived at Athens, where he was highly eſteemed

(23) Chryſ. in 1 Corinth. hom. vi. (24) Vide Du Pin. tom. 1. p. 388, 389. (25) Euſeb. l. vi. c. 36. (26) Idem ibid. & Hier. p. 433, 434. (27) Suid. p. 55. (28) Lucian. hiſt. p. 359. & apol. p. 262. (29) Idem, in vit. Demonac. p. 546. (30) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 15. (31) Lucian. in vit. Demonac. p. 546—555.

eſteemed in his life-time, and equally regretted after his death. The Athenians intending to eſtabliſh in their city a combat of gladiators, he told them That they ought firſt to overturn and utterly demoliſh an altar which they had erected to Mercy. The emperor having deſired ſome of his friends to aſk him in his name, what was the beſt method of governing, he anſwered, To ſpeak little, to hear much, and to fall upon no provocation into a paſſion. Lucian, in his dialogue on friendſhip, ſpeaks of ſeveral wars between the Scythians, who dwelt on the banks of the Tanais, and the other northern barbarians, eſpecially thoſe of Boſphorus, who were in Lucian's time governed, firſt by Leucanor, and afterwards by Eubiotes his natural brother. Leucanor probably ſucceeded Rhæmetalces, who was king of Boſphorus in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The ſhips which ſaved Lucian, as we ſhall relate anon, were carrying the embaſſadors of Eupator, king of the ſame country, to Pontus, either to pay there the money which was yearly owing from them to the Romans, or to receive that which the Romans annually paid to them; for the words ἐπὶ κομιδῇ are capable of both ſenſes. Eubiotes, in his war againſt the Scythians, led with him all the Greeks, according to the expreſſion of Lucian (32); that is, as we ſuppoſe, the inhabitants of the Greek cities on the Cherſoneſus, which confirms the opinion of thoſe who maintain, that the kings of Boſphorus were maſters of that country. The account which Lucian gives us of the celebrated impoſtor Alexander is very diverting. He was a native of Abonitichos, a maritime city of Pamphylia, and generally revered on account of his pretended predictions, and counterfeit miracles, as a prophet. Lucian, however, who was not eaſily deceived, looked upon him as an impoſtor, ridiculed his miracles, and expoſed him in all companies; which ſo provoked the pretended prophet, that he endeavoured to ſtir up his countrymen, the inhabitants of Abonitichos, againſt him. Alexander nevertheleſs, ſome time after, pretended to be reconciled to him, and even offered him a ſhip to convey him to Amaſtris in Pontus, whether his affairs called him. Lucian accepted the offer; but was not a little ſurpriſed, when, at a great diſtance from land, he obſerved the pilot burſting all at once into tears, and making various ſigns to the mariners. Lucian imagined the veſſel to be in danger; but was more terrified, when the pilot frankly owned to him, that he had received poſitive orders from Alexander to throw him into the ſea; but could not prevail upon himſelf, after having lived ſo long without reproach, to commit a murder in his old age. He left him, however, in a deſert and barren iſland, where he muſt have ſoon periſhed, had he not been ſaved by the veſſels of the king of Boſphorus, which happened to ſail by. He was for proſecuting Alexander before the governor of

(32) Idem, Toxar. p, 631—638.

of Pontus and Bithynia; but that magiſtrate diſſuaded him from it, telling him, that he could not condemn Alexander, without incurring the diſpleaſure of Rutilianus, who was very powerful at court, and had in his old age married the daughter of the impoſtor, believing the moon to be her mother. Thus Lucian had no other means left of being revenged on Alexander, but by writing his life, and painting him in his true colours. This piece, however, he did not publiſh till the impoſtor's death, which ſeems to have happened in the reign of M. Aurelius.

Sextus was a native of Chæronea in Bœotia, by ſect a Stoic, and had been preceptor to M. Aurelius and L. Verus. Moſt writers ſuppoſe him to have been nephew to Plutarch. M. Aurelius went frequently to hear him after he was emperor, and owns in his meditations, that he was indebted to him for many excellent rules relating to the conduct of a moral and virtuous life (33). Apuleius glories in being deſcended from him by his mother (34). At the ſame time flouriſhed another philoſopher bearing the ſame name, but a native of Libya, and by ſect a Pyrrhonian (35). He is ſtyled by Galen and Diogenes Laertius the empiric. Some of his works have reached our times (36). Suidas confounds him with the other Sextus, and the other with Sextus Condianus, who was conſul in 180. There are ſtill extant four hundred and thirty ſentences of a philoſopher named Sextus or Xyſtus, which were tranſlated into Latin by Rufinus of Aquileia, under the name of St. Sixtus, pope and martyr (37). St. Auſtin was for ſome time deceived by them (38). But St. Jerom, in ſeveral places of his works, aſcribes them to ſome philoſopher of the ſect of Pythagoras (39). About this time Numenes is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed, whoſe writings are often quoted by Euſebius and Theodoretus againſt the pagans. St. Clement of Alexandria quotes him for this famous ſaying, that Plato was but Moſes ſpeaking Greek (40). He was, according to Suidas (41), a native of Apamea in Syria. He ſhews, that Plato copied from Moſes what he wrote concerning God and the forming of the univerſe (42). He has been blamed by the pagans for explaining the myſteries of Ceres and Proſerpine; which goddeſſes are ſaid to have appeared to him in the attire of common proſtitutes, to reproach him by that means with the ſtate to which he had reduced them, by acquainting the world with the ceremonies practiſed in the celebration of their myſteries; which is not much to their honour. He publiſhed ſeveral works, which are frequently quoted by Origen, Euſebius, Eunapius, Theodoretus,

(33) M. Ant. l. i. c. 6. (34) Apul. meta l. i. p. 103. (35) Ruald. vit. Plutarch. c. 5. (36) Vide Jonſ. l. ii. c. 1. (37) Bib. patr. p. 565. (38) Aug. retract. l. ii. c. 42. (39) Hier. ad Cre. c. 2. in Ezech. xviii. &c. (40) Clem. ſtrom. 1. (41) Suid. p. 242. (42) Idem, ibid.

retus and Heſychius; but none of them have reached us (43). He ſeems to have joined together the tenets of Plato, and Pythagoras: whence he is by ſome ranked amongſt the followers of Plato; by others among the Pythagoreans (44). Crones, Ariſtocles, Antiochus, Alexander, Hermogenes, Ariſtides, and Phrynicus, were all contemporaries with Numenes. Crones was one of his diſciples, and wrote a treatiſe of the generation of things, which we find quoted by Origen and Plotinus (45). Ariſtocles was a native of Pergamus, and firſt a Peripatetic philoſopher; but afterwards he abandoned the ſtudy of philoſophy, and applied himſelf to that of eloquence under the celebrated Herodes Atticus. He declaimed in his own country; but did not meet with the applauſe he expected (46). Antiochus was a native of Ægæ in Cilicia, by profeſſion a ſophiſt, and one of the diſciples of Dionyſius the Mileſian, of whom we have ſpoken in the reign of Adrian. Philoſtratus ſeems to have entertained a great opinion of him, and not undeſervedly; for he is ſaid to have had an utter contempt for riches, and to have ſpent his whole eſtate in purchaſing corn for his poor countrymen during a famine (47). Alexander was likewiſe by profeſſion a ſophiſt, and is greatly commended by Philoſtratus. He was born in Seleucia, compriſed at that time in Cilicia; but afterwards raiſed to the metropolis of Iſauria. His mother, tho' married, was thought to have had him by a criminal converſation with Apollonius Tyanæus (48), whoſe chaſtity has, by ſome writers, been mightily cried up. He was one of the diſciples of Favorinus, Adrian's great favourite, and afterwards ſecretary for the Greek tongue to M. Aurelius. Hermogenes, a native of Tarſus, gained ſuch reputation among the ſophiſts, when he was but fifteen years old, that M. Aurelius went in perſon to hear him, was greatly taken with his extraordinary genius, and loaded him with preſents; but as he ſurpaſſed moſt men when he was but a child, ſo when he attained to man's eſtate, he deſerved to be ranked among children, ſays Philoſtratus (49). However, he lived to a great age, deſpiſed by thoſe who had once admired him (50). Ariſtides, one of the moſt celebrated ſophiſts of his time, was a native of Adrianothera in Myſia. He is highly commended, on account of his eloquence, by Phrynicus his contemporary (51), by Philoſtratus (52), and generally by all the antients; but if he excelled, as he is ſaid to have done, all the other ſophiſts, ſeveral of his orations, which have reached our times (53), convince us, that we have no reaſon to regret the loſs of their works. He was ſubject to various infirmities, and conſtantly

(43) Vide Jonſ. l. iii. c. 10, (44) Idem ibid. (45) Idem ibid. (46) Philoſtr. ſoph. xxix. (47) Idem ſoph. xxxi. (48) Idem ibid. (49) Idem ibid. (50) Dio, l. lxxi. p. 802. (51) Phot. c. 158. (52) Philoſ. ſoph. xxxv. (53) Vide Phot. c. 246, &c.

ſtantly indiſpoſed. We read in his journal, which he entitles ſacred diſcourſes, many things relating to maladies and their remedies, which he pretends to have learnt of Æſculapius in his dreams (54). Notwithſtanding his infirmities, he lived to a great age, and died in the reign of Commodus.

Lucius, or, as he is ſtiled by others, Saturantius Apuleius, was a native of Madaura, a Roman colony, on the borders of Numidia and Getulia, the ſon of one of the chief men of that city, and of Salvia, one of the deſcendents of Plutarch (55). He paſſed his childhood partly in Greece, (for his mother was originally of Theſſaly) and partly at Carthage, where he learnt, without the aſſiſtance of an inſtructor, the Latin; but not without much labour, as he himſelf owns. From Carthage he went to Athens, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, geometry, dialectics, and muſic, and thoroughly informed himſelf of the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers; but embraced that of Plato, which, however, did not prevent him from ſtudying magic with great application. He is even ſaid to have been ſo well ſkilled in that art, as to work ſeveral miracles, which the Pagans oppoſed to thoſe of our Saviour (56). Theſe miracles, however, are not well atteſted; and Apuleius himſelf, being accuſed as a magician before Claudius Maximus proconſul of Africa, endeavoured to clear himſelf from that charge, as from an enormous crime, by an excellent diſcourſe, which has reached our times (57). He is thought to have ſtudied that art in Theſſaly, where it was in great requeſt (58). St. Auſtin (which to us ſeems very ſtrange) doubts whether what Apuleius writes of his being, by a magic potion, transformed into an aſs, was true or fabulous (59). The pagans themſelves look'd upon his metamorphoſes as only fit to amuſe children (60). He wrote with great elegance both in Greek and Latin; but his ſtyle is ſomewhat affected: he is fond of antiquated words, coins new ones, and frequently gives new ideas to old ones. He was reckoned one of the moſt eloquent men of his age; but neither his eloquence, nor his other extraordinary accompliſhments, ever raiſed him to any dignity in the empire, tho' he was far from deſpiſing honours, as appears from the manner in which he ſpeaks of a ſtatue erected to him at Oca, a city of the province of Tripolitana, where he married a woman named Pudentilla; and of the office of pontiff conferred upon him in his own country, which gave him a right to exhibit combats of gladiators and wild beaſts. Several pieces of Apuleius's are ſtill extant, and ſome fragments of others, which have been long ſince loſt.

(54) Philoſt. ibid. Suid. p. 426. (55) Apul. met. l. ii. p. 115. & prol. p. 29. (56) Hier. pſ. lxxx. Lax. l. v. c. 3. Aug. epiſt. cxxxvi. (57) Apul. apol. (58) Vit. Apul. p. 15. (59) Aug. civit. Dei l. xviii. c. 18. (60) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. iv. Macrob. in ſom. Scipion. l. i c. 2.

loſt. Of the former ſome are but a bare tranſlation of Ariſtotle, or of other antient writers (61). He is often quoted by the antients, as appears from the collection of ſuch quotations prefixed to his works, but eſpecially by St. Auſtin, who takes great pains to confute his falſe theology (62).

Amongſt the hiſtorians who flouriſhed under M. Aurelius, thoſe of chief note are Polyænus a Macedonian, who inſcribed to M. Aurelius and L. Verus the eight books of ſtratagems publiſhed by Caſaubon (63). He left other works, (and among the reſt a deſcription of the city of Thebes) which have been long ſince loſt (64). Amyntianus wrote and addreſſed to M. Aurelius the hiſtory of Alexander the Great, which was not much admired. He likewiſe publiſhed the life of Domitian, and the lives of ſome other Latin and Greek princes (65); but none of his works have reached our times. Thoſe of Damophilus have undergone the ſame fate: He was a philoſopher and ſophiſt, brought up, as Suidas informs us (66), by Julianus, who was conſul in the year 173, the fifteenth of M. Aurelius's reign. He is frequently quoted by the emperor Julian, who ſuppoſes him to have been a native of Bithynia. Some of his works he inſcribed to Lollius Maximus (67). The hiſtory of Greece written by Pauſanias in ten books has reached us. The author deſcribes with great care and exactneſs the ſituation and antiquities of each city, and all the curioſities which in his time were to be ſeen in a country once ſo famous; but ſome critics find fault with him for interweaving his hiſtory with ſo many fables, which, however, are of great uſe for the right underſtanding of the antient writers (68). It appears from the quotations of Stephanus the geographer, that he deſcribed after the ſame manner Phœnicia and Syria. He beſtows mighty encomiums upon Antoninus Pius, and mentions his wars with the Germans, Sarmatians, and other barbarians; whence it is plain, that he had not done writing in the year 175 (69). He relates nothing poſterior to the reign of M. Aurelius; whence we may conclude, that he either died or ended his work under that prince. Philoſtratus ſpeaks of one Pauſanias a ſophiſt, a native of Cæſarea in Cappadocia, and diſciple of Herodes Atticus. Of this Pauſanias he obſerves, that he ſpent the greateſt part of his life at Rome; that in ſpeaking he changed all the quantities, and did not diſtinguiſh the letters that had a like ſound; which however was common to all the Cappadocians (70). Philoſtratus aſcribes to him only ſome declamations; whence he ought, in our opinion, to be diſtinguiſhed from the hiſtorian of that name, tho' Voſſius and Sylburgius

(61) Apul. prol, (62) Aug. civ. Dei. l. viii. c. 14. (63) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. (64) Suid. p. 559. (65) Phot. c. 131. (66) Suid. p. 640. (67) Vide Jonſ. l iii. c 11. (68) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. (69) Pauſ. l. viii. p. 272. (70) Philoſt. ſoph. xxxix.

gius take the author of the hiſtory and of the declamations to be one and the ſame writer (71); for we cannot think, that Philoſtratus would have paſſed over in ſilence ſo great and important a work, had the ſophiſt been the author of it. Suidas ſpeaks of another Pauſanias, by birth a Lacedæmonian, who wrote the hiſtory of his own country; but we muſt diſtinguiſh him too from the author of the hiſtory of Greece, who rebukes the Lacedæmonians with great liberty, and whoſe dialect comes nearer the Ionic than the Doric, which was the dialect of the Lacedæmonians (72). In the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius flouriſhed one Iamblicus, by birth a Babylonian, and by profeſſion a magician He publiſhed ſeveral works in Greek, and among the reſt one ſtyled Babylonica (73), which is ſaid by Tennulius to be ſtill preſerved in the famous library of the Eſcurial in Spain (74). Perhaps it was conſumed by the late conflagration; for that was the fate of many ineſtimable manuſcripts lodged in that famous library. Leo Allatius publiſhed a fragment of it. Voſſius takes Iamblicus's Babylonica to be nothing elſe but the ſilly romance, of which Photius has been at the trouble of giving us too long an abſtract. Suidas ſeems to inſinuate the ſame thing. Photius tells us, that Iamblicus was originally a ſlave, and relates ſeveral particulars concerning him, copied from an unknown author (75). Theophilus of Antioch has tranſmitted to us a table of the Roman emperors, from Julius Cæſar to the death of M. Aurelius, with the years, months and days of their reſpective reigns. This table was made by one of M. Aurelius's freed-men, named Chryſores, and not Crator, as Voſſius calls him, led into that miſtake by the text of Theophylus, where we read ὃν ὁ μὲν Κρατωρ inſtead of γομενικλάτωρ, as it is corrected by Scaliger (76). The above-mentioned table was copied from a work of Chryſores, containing the names and chronology of all thoſe who had ruled in Rome, from the foundation of the city to the time of M. Aurelius. Scaliger has added it to the chronology of Euſebius. It is likewiſe to be found in the works of Clement of Alexandria, free from moſt of the faults which have crept into that of Theophilus. Æmilius Parthenianus compoſed the hiſtory of all thoſe who attempted to uſurp the ſovereign power. He did not end his hiſtory before the year 175, for he wrote the life of Avidius Caſſius. He is quoted by Vulcatius Gallicanus, who flouriſhed under Dioclefian. Voſſius ranks him among the Latin hiſtorians (77). The grammarian Proculus, who inſtructed M. Aurelius in the Latin grammar, and was on that account raiſed by him to the conſulſhip, publiſhed a work on foreign countries, or,

(71) Voſſ. ibid. (72) Suid. p. 466. (73) Phot. c 49. (74) Voſſ. ibid. l. iv. p. 582. & Samuel. Tennul. in not. ad Iambl. arith. Arnemiæ, an. 1668. (75) Phot. p. 241. (76) Vide Scal. in chron. Euſeb. p. 396. (77) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. iii.

or, as ſome read it, religions, de regionibus, or religionibus (78). He was by birth an African ; but thoroughly verſed in the Latin tongue (79). Hepheſtion and Harpocration, who inſtructed L. Verus in the Greek tongue (80), have both left ſome works behind them. An excellent piece de re metrica, which ſeems to be very antient, and bears the name of one Hepheſtion, a grammarian of Alexandria, has reached our times, and is commonly aſcribed to Hepheſtion the preceptor of L. Verus. Suidas mentions ſeveral other works publiſhed by him (81). Another learned piece is ſtill extant on the ten orators of Athens, done by one Valerius Harpocration, ſuppoſed to have been preceptor to L. Verus (82). At this time flouriſhed Apollonius of Alexandria, ſurnamed Dyſcoles, who publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces. Some of his works have reached our times, viz. four books on the ſyntax, to which is prefixed his life, done by an anonymous writer, and another piece, intituled, ſome falſe hiſtories, or rather wonderful hiſtories (83). He was father to one Herodianus, who lived, according to Suidas, in the time of M. Aurelius, and publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces (84). Ammianus Marcellinus reckons him among the many great men for whom the world was indebted to the muſeum of Alexandria (85). Sylburgius takes him to be the hiſtorian Herodianus, who wrote the lives of the emperors, from the death of M. Aurelius to the reign of Gordian ; that is, to the year 238 (86). But Voſſius ſpeaks of the grammarian and hiſtorian as two different perſons: and truly the hiſtorian might have been born in the reign of M. Aurelius, but cannot be ſaid to have flouriſhed under that prince, ſince he was ſtill writing fifty-eight years after his death (87). Artemidorus, author of ſeveral books on the interpretation of dreams, lived under Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius ; for he is quoted by Lucian ; and he himſelf tells us, that he was acquainted with one who had entered the liſts in the combats that were exhibited by Antoninus Pius at Puteoli, in honour of Adrian. He was a native of Epheſus, and in his other works ſtyled himſelf Artemidorus the Epheſian ; but in that on the interpretation of dreams, he took the ſurname of Daldianus, from Daldis, a ſmall city of Lydia, the birth-place of his mother. He wrote four books on the interpretation of dreams, which have reached us, with a fifth, wherein he relates the iſſue of ſeveral dreams. Of theſe books he inſcribed the three firſt to one Caſſius Maximus a Phœnician, who, it ſeems, was a man of great eloquence, and his particular friend ; and the two others to

(78) Treb. Pollio. hiſtor. trigin. tyrannor. p. 195. (79) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. i. c 12. (80) Jul. Cap. in vit. Ver. p. 35. (81) Suid. p. 1209. (82) Idem, p. 441. (83) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. (84) Suid. p. 379. (85) Ammian. l. xxii. p. 235. (86) In Herodian prol. (87) Voſſ. ibid. l. i. c. i.

to his ſon, named likewiſe Artemidorus (88). Beſides theſe books he wrote ſome others, according to Suidas (89), who ſtyles him a philoſopher, on the manner of foretelling events by birds, and by the lines of the hand. For the compiling of his books on dreams, he read all the authors who had handled the ſame ſubject, and were very numerous; he ſpent many years in travelling through all the provinces, and viſiting all the cities of the empire; he conferred with all thoſe who pretended to any knowledge in divination (90); and the fruit of ſo many labours, journies, enquiries, conferences, &c. was a work the moſt uſeleſs and trifling that ever was publiſhed, as is owned by thoſe who have been at the pains of illuſtrating it with notes (91). The ſame author wrote ſome books on phyſic (92). Marcellus of Ida in Pamphylia wrote, in the reign of M. Aurelius, forty-two books in hexameter verſe on phyſic, and is quoted by St. Jerom (93). Marullus, a Latin poet, wrote ſome ſatires in the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius, not ſparing that prince, nor his predeceſſor Antoninus Pius; but he patiently bore his railleries (94). Apuleius ſpeaks of a poet who lived in his time, and had begun an excellent poem upon Alexander the Great (95). This is probably the writer, whom he calls elſewhere (96) Corvinus Clemens, and who was quæſtor. Aulus Gellius, or Agellius, muſt have flouriſhed about this time; for he was diſciple to Titus Caſtricius, to Favorinus, to Herodes Atticus, and to Cornelius Fronto, who all lived under Adrian and Antoninus Pius (97). Cornelius Fronto had been conſul when Aulus Gellius was yet a youth (98). He beſtows great encomiums on the celebrated philoſopher and apoſtate Peregrinus; but does not mention his death, which rendered him more famous than any thing he had done in his life-time; for he publicly burnt himſelf at the ſports of the two hundred and thirty-ſixth olympiad: whence we conclude, that Aulus Gellius had done writing before that time, that is, before the year 165 of the chriſtian æra, the fifth of the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He ſtudied grammar at Rome, and philoſophy at Athens, under Calviſius Taurus, whence he returned to Rome. He left no work behind him, except his Noctes Atticæ; for thus he ſtyled the collection of ſeveral memorable and amuſing events, which he compiled for the uſe of his children (99). St. Auſtin commends him on account of his eaſy and elegant elocution (100); but moſt critics find fault with his antiquated words, his harſh and improper expreſſions, and, above all, with want of judgment, in chuſing for his collection ſuch events as are for the moſt part of no impor-

(88) Artemidor. l. i. c. 28. l. iii. c. 67. (89) Suid. p. 442. (90) Idem. p. 3, (91) Voſſ. ibid. l. ii. c. 22. (92) Artemidor. prol. p. 4. (93) Voſſ. ibid. (94) Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 52, (95) Apul. flor. p. 344. (96) Idem, apol. p. 338. (97) Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 21. (98) Idem, l. xix. c. 8. (99) Idem, præfat. (100) Aug. civit. Dei, l. ix. c. 4.

importance, and only contain ſome grammatical and trifling remarks. Macrobius, however, often copies him. The annals of Gellius are frequently quoted by the writers of the Roman hiſtory; but the author of theſe annals, by name Cn. Gellius, lived about the year 620 of Rome, and was contemporary with Cicero (1).

(1) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. 1. c. 8. Macrob. ſaturnal. l. i. c. 16.

CHAP. XXII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* M. Aurelius, *to the death of* Alexander, *when the empire was firſt transferred without the conſent of the ſenate.*

Commodus. COMMODUS was the firſt emperor that was born in his father's reign, and the ſecond that ſucceeded his father in the empire. He was born on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt of the year 161, and raiſed to the empire on the ſeventeenth of March of the year 180. He is commonly called L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus, and ſometimes Commodus Antoninus. He was educated with great care by his father; but nevertheleſs proved one of the moſt lewd, cruel and wicked tyrants that ever diſgraced a throne; which confirms in ſome degree the opinion of thoſe, who believed him to be the ſon of a famous gladiator, with whom his mother Fauſtina was

His cruelty. ſaid to have have had a criminal converſation [d]. He gave, when only twelve years old, a remarkable inſtance of his cruelty at Centumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia; where finding the water in which he bathed ſomewhat too warm, he commanded the perſon who attended the bath to be thrown into the furnace; nor was he ſatisfied, till thoſe who were about him pretended to have put his order in execution [e]. After his acceſſion to the empire, he equalled, if he did not exceed, in cruelty Caligula, Domitian, and Nero himſelf, playing, we may ſay, with the blood of his ſubjects and fellow-creatures, of whom he cauſed great numbers to be racked and butchered in his preſence, merely for his diverſion. The antients re-

late.

[d] Jul. Cap. in M. Aur. p. 30. [e] Lamprid. in Commod.

late ſeveral inſtances of his cruelty, very odd and monſtrous: he cauſed one to be thrown to the wild beaſts, for reading the life of Caligula written by Suetonius, becauſe that tyrant and he had been born on the ſame day [f]. Seeing one day a corpulent man paſs by, he immediately cut him aſunder, partly to try his ſtrength, in which he excelled all men, and partly out of curioſity, as he himſelf owned, to ſee his entrails drop out at once. He took pleaſure in cutting off the feet, and putting out the eyes, of ſuch as he met in his rambles through the city, telling the former, after he had thus maimed them, by way of raillery, that they now belonged to the nation of the Monopodii; and the latter, that they were now become Luſcinii, alluding to the words luſcinia, a nightingale, and luſcus, one-eyed. Some he murdered, becauſe they were negligently dreſſed; others, becauſe they ſeemed trimmed with too much nicety. He pretended to great ſkill in ſurgery, eſpecially at letting blood; but ſometimes, inſtead of eaſing by that means thoſe whom he viſited, or who were prevailed upon to recur to him, he cut off, by way of diverſion, their ears or noſes. He aſſumed the name and habit of Hercules, appearing publicly in a lion's ſkin, with an huge club in his hand, and ordering ſeveral perſons, tho' not guilty of any crime, to be diſguiſed like monſters, that, by knocking out their brains with his club, he might have a better claim to the name of the great deſtroyer of monſters. In ſhort, the ſhedding of blood ſeemed to be his chief diverſion [g]. As for his lewdneſs, the author of his life tells us, that even in his father's reign he turned the court into a brothel; and, upon his death, he abandoned himſelf, without reſtraint or ſhame, to all manner of abominations, ſpending whole days and nights in public-houſes amongſt the meaneſt of the people, and in the company of gladiators, buffoons, common proſtitutes, &c. He kept conſtantly three hundred concubines, and the like number of catamites. He debauched all his own ſiſters, and murdered one of them, by name Lucilla, after he had forced her to comply with his inceſtuous deſires. But to give a detail of his infamous practices and pollutions is beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian, and what we cannot help blaming in Suetonius and the Auguſtine writers. He took great delight in ſhooting with the bow, and gave innumerable proofs of his dexterity and ſkill in that art, which we ſhould look upon as fabulous, were they not atteſted by all the antients. He excelled all men in ſtrength, and is ſaid to have run an elephant

His lewdneſs and debaucheries.

His ſkill in archery.

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid.

thro' with his ſpear, and to have once killed in the amphitheatre an hundred lions, one after another, and each of them at one blow. Forgetful of his rank and dignity, he entered the liſts with the common gladiators, having learnt with them in the common ſchools the uſe of their weapons. He is ſaid to have fought in the public amphitheatre ſeven hundred and thirty-five times, and to have always come off conqueror; whence he often ſubſcribed himſelf in his letters, The conqueror of a thouſand gladiators. He ſeemed to be more pleaſed with the applauſe of the populace on theſe occaſions, than any of the antient Roman captains had ever been with a triumph. Imagining one day, that the people rather derided than applauded him, he ordered them all to be maſſacred upon the ſpot, and the city to be ſet on fire; which barbarous ſentence had been put in execution, had not the captain of the prætorian guards with much ado appeaſed him. Having with his extravagancies ſoon drained and exhauſted his exchequer, he betook himſelf to all manner of rapine; loaded the people with taxes; ſold the governments of the provinces and other employments; exempted criminals from the puniſhment due to their crimes, upon their paying him a ſum of money, and allowed others to murder whomſoever they pleaſed; ſo that the city, and indeed the whole empire, was filled with blood and maſſacres, every one purchaſing of the emperor the liberty of murdering ſuch as he feared or hated [h]. But to proceed to the hiſtory of his reign according to the order of time.

He enters the liſts with the common gladiators.

His avarice.

COMMODUS, a few days after his father's death, went to the camp, attended by all the chief officers; and there, after a plauſible and popular ſpeech to the ſoldiers, preſented them with the uſual donative. He was for returning immediately to Rome, panting after the diverſions of the city; but Pompeianus, who had married his ſiſter, repreſenting to him how dangerous and ſhameful a thing it would be for him to return before he had ended the war, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to continue ſome time in Pannonia, where he is ſaid to have gained ſome advantages over the Quadi, which muſt have been very inconſiderable, ſince he did not on that ſcore take upon him the title of imperator. However, both the Quadi and Marcomanni, imagining that he was reſolved to purſue the war, and finding themſelves no longer in a condition to make head againſt his victorious troops, ſent embaſſadors to him, with propoſals of an accommodation; which

[h] Idem ibid.

which he readily hearkened to, and granted them a peace upon the following terms: 1. That they ſhould not ſettle within five miles of the Danube. 2. That they ſhould deliver up their arms, and ſupply the Romans with a certain number of troops when required. 3. That they ſhould aſſemble but once a month, in one place only, and in the preſence of a Roman centurion. And, 4. That they ſhould not make war upon the Iazyges, the Buri, or the Vandali, without the conſent of the people of Rome. On the other hand, Commodus promiſed to abandon, which he did accordingly, all the caſtles and fortreſſes which he held in their country, except ſuch as were within five miles of the Danube [i]. With the other German nations, which his father had almoſt entirely reduced, he concluded a very diſhonourable peace; nay, of ſome he purchaſed it with very large ſums. Having thus rather abandoned than ended the war, he haſtened back to Rome, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with a triumph, with the ſurname of Pius, and with all the marks of diſtinction that had ever been conferred upon the moſt deſerving princes. Having viſited the capitol and other temples, and returned thanks to the ſenate, the people, and the ſoldiery, for their fidelity and attachment to him during his abſence, he was conducted by them to the palace on the twenty-ſecond of October [k].

He concludes a peace with the Marcomanni, Quadi, &c.

THE following year, Commodus entered upon his third conſulſhip, having for his collegue one Birrus, or Burrhus, probably Antiſtius Burrhus, who had married his ſiſter [l]. On one medal of this, and on ſeveral of the following, year, Commodus bears the title of Felix, the Happy; whence it is manifeſt, that Lampridius, whom moſt modern antiquaries follow, was miſtaken, when he wrote, that this title was not by the ſenate decreed to him till the death of Perennis, which happened five years after; that is, in the year 186 [m]. The next conſuls were Mamertinus and Rufus, during whoſe adminiſtration Commodus took the title of imperator for the fifth time, on account of ſome advantages gained by his lieutenants, Albinus and Niger, over the barbarians who dwelt beyond Dacia [n]. The above-mentioned conſuls were ſucceeded by Commodus, the fourth time conſul, and Victorinus the ſecond time. During their conſulſhip, the Caledo-

[i] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 817. Herodian. l. i. p. 461. Aur. Vict.
[k] Lamprid. ibid. Dio, p. 818. Herod. p. 471. Goltz p. 81.
[l] Vit. Commod. p. 48. Onuph p. 238. [m] Birag. p. 246.
[n] Goltz. p. 81. Birag. ibid. Dio, p. 820.

The Caledonians invade the Roman territories; but are repulſed by Ulpius Marcellus.

nians, having paſſed the wall which parted them from the Romans, committed dreadful devaſtations, and cut in pieces a Roman army, with their general; but were in the end repulſed with great ſlaughter, by Ulpius Marcellus, a man of a mean deſcent, but an excellent commander and a ſtrict obſerver of the military diſcipline. Of this war the antients give us no particular account, but only tell us, that it proved very bloody; that the emperor, for the great advantages gained by his lieutenant, took the title of imperator the ſixth time, with the ſurname of Britannicus; and that Ulpius Marcellus, by his gallant and prudent conduct, gained ſuch credit and reputation, that Commodus envying him the glory he had acquired, deſigned to put him to death; but in the end ſpared him [a]. This year Commodus, who had hitherto followed the advice of his father's friends and counſellors, began to deſpiſe them, thinking himſelf ſufficiently qualified to govern without ſo many tutors about him, as he expreſſed it. He therefore diſcharged them all, employing in their room either his debauched companions, or ſuch as were recommended to him by them. Thus Peſcennius Niger was preferred to the command of the armies in Syria, at the recommendation of the wreſtler Narciſſus; and many others were raiſed to great employments by means of the emperor's freedmen, ſlaves, concubines, &c. whoſe imperious and arrogant behaviour drew upon the young prince the hatred and contempt of the ſenate; which he being well appriſed of, began in his turn to put to death, under various pretences, ſome of the moſt eminent members of that illuſtrious body. His ſiſter Lucilla, ſeeing him abhorred, on account of his cruelties, by all the great men in Rome, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, with a deſign to place in his room a perſon whom ſhe favoured, and was thought to love both above her brother and her huſband Pompeianus. She had the title of empreſs, and all the honours attending it, being the widow of the emperor Lucius Verus; but nevertheleſs was obliged to give place to Criſpina, the wife of Commodus; which her haughty ſpirit could not bear. She therefore drew into a conſpiracy Claudius Pompeianus, to whom ſhe had betrothed her daughter, Quadratus, and many other ſenators of diſtinction. It was agreed among the conſpirators, that they ſhould fall upon the emperor while he was going to the amphitheatre through a narrow and dark paſſage; and that Pompeianus ſhould give him the firſt blow. Accordingly they aſſaulted him

Commodus diſmiſſes his father's friends and counſellors.

A conſpiracy formed againſt him by his ſiſter Lucilla and others,

[a] Dio. l. lxxii. p. 821. & in excerpt. Val. p. 725.

him in the appointed place; but Pompeianus ſhewing him, inſtead of ſtriking at once, the naked dagger, and crying out, This preſent the ſenate ſends you, the guards had time to reſcue the emperor and ſeize the conſpirators, who were ſoon after put to death. The emperor baniſhed his ſiſter to the iſland of Capreæ, where he afterwards ordered her to be privately murdered [p]. Herodianus tells us, that one Quinctianus was to give the firſt blow; and Ammianus, who follows him, adds, that Quinctianus actually wounded the emperor, who, by the loſs of blood, fainted away [q]. But we have choſen to follow ſuch writers as lived neareſt thoſe times. This ſame year the empreſs Criſpina was likewiſe confined to the iſland of Capreæ, and there murdered, by the emperor's order's, for imitating him in his debaucheries [r]. Quadratus had a concubine, by name Marcia, and a favourite freed-man, named Eclectus. The latter the emperor created his chief chamberlain; and the former, who was a woman of great beauty, he kept for his concubine, and diſtinguiſhed her with all the honours that were peculiar to the empreſſes, except that of having fire or torches carried before her [s]. She is ſuppoſed to have been a great friend to the chriſtians; and to her power at court, and authority with the emperor, is commonly aſcribed the profound tranquillity, which the church enjoyed in the midſt of ſo many cruel executions [t]. One Anterus, or, as others call him, Saoterus, a native of Nicomedia and the emperor's favourite freed-man, was thought to have put him upon the wicked meaſures which he was purſuing; for he bore a great ſway with the prince. Wherefore the captains of the guards cauſed him to be murdered by one Cleander, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The emperor expreſſed greater concern for his death, than he had done for the conſpiracy formed againſt himſelf; and being informed, that Tarruntinus Paternus, one of the captains of the guards, was privy to it, he removed him from his employment, under colour of creating him a ſenator, and a few days after cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, with Salvius Julianus, to whoſe ſon the daughter of Paternus had been betrothed, pretending, that they had both conſpired to depoſe him and ſeize the empire for themſelves [u]. Salvius Julianus was grandſon to the famous civilian of that name under

Who are all put to death.

The captains of the guard cauſe his favourite freedman to be murdered.

[p] Vit. Commod. p. 46. Herod. p. 474. Dio, p. 818.
[q] Ammian. l. xxix. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Herod l. i. p. 486.
[t] Vide Baron. ann. 112. [u] Vit. Commod. p. 47. Dio, p. 819.

under Adrian, and uncle to Didius Julianus, who was afterwards emperor. The ſame year were falſly accuſed of treaſon, condemned and executed, Velius Rufus, Egnatius Capito, and the two Quintilii, Maximus and Condianus, who had been all conſuls. Sextus Condianus, the ſon of Maximus, who had been conſul in the year 180, and was a young man of extraordinary parts, was condemned with his father and uncle; but eſcaped, at leaſt for ſome time, by cauſing a report to be ſpread, that he was dead; but many atteſting that he was ſtill alive, diligent ſearch was made after him. Many perſons, who had never ſeen him, were accuſed of having harboured and concealed him in their houſes, and, upon that charge, either put to death or baniſhed. Of Sextus himſelf we find no further mention in hiſtory. Emilius Junctus and Attilius Severus were both baniſhed in their conſulſhip, which they held, it ſeems, during the two laſt months of this year, and with them many ſenators and knights of great diſtinction. Under the ſucceeding conſuls, M. Eggius Merullus and Cn. Papirius Ælianus, was accuſed of aſpiring at the empire and put to death, the emperor's favourite miniſter Perennis. He was captain of the prætorian guards, an excellent commander, and, according to Dion Caſſius, a man without reproach [w]. But Herodianus and Lampridius give him a quite different character, and ſpeak of him as one who abuſed the great authority he had with the emperor, ſticking at no violence, murder, or injuſtice, to fill his own coffers, while Commodus was wholly intent upon his pleaſures and diverſions, in which he encouraged him, that he might govern with an abſolute ſway; which he did but for a ſhort while, as we ſhall ſee anon [x]. This year Commodus took the title of imperator the ſeventh time, probably on account of ſome advantages gained by his lieutenants in Britain; for the diſturbances there were not yet entirely quelled [y]. The next conſuls were Commodus the fifth time, and Acilius Glabrio the ſecond [z]. This year, while Commodus was aſſiſting at the Capitoline ſports, inſtituted by Domitian in 86, a perſon in the habit of a Cynic philoſopher, appeared unexpectedly in the midſt of the theatre; and addreſſing the emperor, told him aloud, That while he minded nothing but his pleaſures and diverſions, he was in danger of loſing

Several perſons condemned and executed.

Perennis, the emperor's favourite miniſter, put to death.

His downfal and death differently reported.

[w] Dio, l. lxxi. p. 819. Vit. Comm. p. 47. [x] Dio, p. 821. [y] Herod. l. i. p. 472. Vit. Comm. p. 48. [z] Biſrag. p. 248. Vit. Comm. ibid. [a] Norie. epiſt. conſul p. 116.

loſing both his life and the empire, by the wicked practices of Perennis and his children. Perennis cauſed the pretended Cynic to be immediately ſeized as a madman, who diſturbed the public ſports, and ſoon after ordered him to be burnt alive; which gave the emperor no ſmall jealouſy. Not long after, ſome ſoldiers arriving at Rome from Illyricum, where the ſon of Perennis commanded, ſhewed to Commodus, in a private audience, ſome medals, on which was engraved the image of the ſon of Perennis, as if he had been already emperor; which ſo alarmed the prince, that he commanded the traitor to be immediately put to death [b]. Thus Herodian. But Dion Caſſius and Lampridius relate his downfal in a quite different manner. According to them, the army in Britain, diſſatisfied, either becauſe he had puniſhed them with too great ſeverity on account of ſome ſedition, or becauſe he had removed ſeveral ſenators, and given their poſts in the army to Roman knights his creatures, ſent deputies to Rome, fifteen hundred, ſays Dion Caſſius, (which ſeems altogether incredible) to complain of him, and charge him with a deſign of raiſing his ſon to the empire. They were backed by Cleander and the emperor's other freed-men, who could not brook the arbitrary and haughty conduct of the favourite miniſter. Hereupon Commodus, naturally timorous, abandoned the traitor to the rage of the provoked ſoldiery, who, after a thouſand outrages, tore him in pieces. His wife, his ſiſter, and his two ſons underwent the ſame fate. To his eldeſt ſon, who commanded the army in Illyricum, the emperor wrote an obliging letter, enjoining him to come with all poſſible expedition to Rome, to receive there new marks of the eſteem and affection he had for him and his father. As the young man was an entire ſtranger to what had paſſed, and not yet in a condition to revolt openly, he readily complied with the invitation; but had no ſooner entered Italy, than he was cut in pieces by the ſoldiers who attended him, purſuant to the private orders they had received from Rome [c]. The other brother was probably killed at Rome with his father. Perennis was ſucceeded in the poſt of prime miniſter by Cleander; for the emperor himſelf was ſo taken up with his pleaſures and diverſions, that he could not beſtow one minute on the affairs of the ſtate: he would not even be at the trouble of ſigning his diſpatches; and in ſeveral letters to his friends all he wrote was, Vale, Farewel. Cleander was by birth a Phrygian, and originally a ſlave,

His wife and children undergo the ſame fate.

Perennis is ſucceeded by Cleander.

[b] Herodian. ibid. p. 474, 475. [c] Dio, p. 821. Vit. Commod. 48.

ſlave, having been ſold as ſuch in Rome by auction, as were in thoſe days moſt ſlaves. He belonged at firſt to M. Aurelius, and afterwards to Commodus, who, favouring him above the reſt of his ſlaves, gave him leave to marry Demoſtracia, one of his concubines, brought up the children he had by her in the palace, preſented him with his liberty, and appointed him his chamberlain. He is thought to have procured the death of Perennis, that he might engroſs all the power to himſelf; which he eaſily compaſſed, and abuſed his authority in a more flagrant manner than Perennis had ever done. By him all things were openly ſet to ſale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. Antiſtius Burrhus, who had married one of the emperor's ſiſters, took the liberty to acquaint the prince with the unaccountable conduct of his miniſter; but that liberty coſt him his life, Cleander having charged him with aſpiring at the empire, and prevailed upon the emperor, whom he blindly controuled, to condemn him, and all thoſe who eſpouſed his cauſe, or attempted to defend him. Among theſe was Ebutianus captain of the guards, in whoſe room Cleander perſuaded the emperor to ſubſtitute himſelf, and two others whom he named to him. Upon the death of Perennis, that employment had been given to one Niger, who held it only ſix hours; another enjoyed it but five days, and ſeveral others not ſo long, the timorous emperor changing the captains of his guards daily and hourly. Moſt of theſe officers loſt their lives with their employment, being accuſed of treaſon by Cleander, who courted, and at laſt obtained that important poſt for himſelf [d]. After the death of Perennis, the emperor pretended to be greatly concerned for many things that had been done during his adminiſtration, in order to throw the whole odium upon him. He wrote an obliging letter to Pertinax, whom Perennis had baniſhed into Liguria, his native country, and kept there for the ſpace of three years, appointing him commander of the troops in Britain, which had mutinied, and raiſed great diſturbances in that iſland, neither the Roman ſoldiers, nor the Britons, being able to brook the tyrannical government of Commodus. Upon the arrival of Pertinax, the ſoldiers preſſed him to aſſume the ſovereignty; but he rejected the offer with indignation, brought by degrees the mutinous ſoldiery to a ſenſe of their duty, and reſtored tranquillity to the province, but not without great trouble and danger; for one of the legions openly revolting, much

Who abuſes his authority.

The captains of the guards changed daily and hourly

The Roman ſoldiers in Britain mutiny.

[d] Herod. p. 475. Dio, p. 822. Vit. Com. ibid.

much blood was ſpilt, and Pertinax himſelf was left upon the ſpot for dead. As his ſeverity drew upon him the hatred and ill-will of the ſoldiery, he deſired to be recalled; but the emperor did not comply with his requeſt till three years after *. This year Commodus took the title of imperator for the eighth and laſt time, on account of the advantages, as is conjectured, which Clodius Albinus is ſaid to have gained about this time over the Friſians [e].

The war of the deſerters under the conduct of Maternus.

UNDER the next conſuls, Criſpinus and Ælianus, a common ſoldier, by name Maternus, having fled from his colours, and being joined by many others guilty of the ſame crime, grew in a ſhort time ſo powerful, the banditti flocking to him from all parts, that he over-ran and plundered great part of Gaul and Spain, ſtormed the ſtrong cities, and ſtruck the emperor and people of Rome with ſuch terror, that troops were raiſed and armies diſpatched againſt him. Peſcennius Niger was ſent to make head againſt him in Gaul, where he became very intimate with Severus, who was then governor of the country of Lyons, and wrote a letter to the emperor, commending the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of Niger in purſuing the rebels and deſerters [f]. Maternus, finding himſelf reduced to great ſtreights by the brave Niger, divided his men into ſeveral ſmall bands, and marched privately with them by different ways into Italy, having nothing leſs in view than to murder the emperor, during the ſolemnity which was kept annually in honour of the mother of the gods, and, upon his death, to ſeize the empire. They all arrived at Rome undiſcovered; and ſome of his men had already mixed themſelves with the emperor's guards, when others of his own party betrayed him. He was immediately ſeized and executed, and his death put an end to the diſturbances, which ſome of his followers had begun to raiſe in other provinces [g]. The ſame year, broke out the moſt dreadful plague, ſays Dion Caſſius, that had been known. It laſted two or three years, and raged with moſt violence in Rome, where it frequently carried off two thouſand perſons a day. The emperor, to avoid the contagion, retired to Laurentum, a city of Latium, on the ſea-ſide [h]. The following year, Fuſcianus and Salinus being both conſuls for the ſecond time, the emperor gave out, that he deſigned to paſs over into Africa; but having, under that pretence, exacted very conſiderable ſums, and even

Who is ſeized and executed.

ſuffered

* Vit. Com. ibid. & Pertin. p. 54. [e] Albin. vit. p. 81.
[f] Nig. vit. p. 75. [g] Herod. l. i. p. 575. Vit. Com. p. 51.
[h] Idem. ibid.

ſuffered the people to offer up vows for his ſafe return on the fifth of April, he ſpent the money in banquets and revels, and continued at Rome and in the neighbourhood [i]. About this time, Severus was tranſlated from the government of Pannonia to that of Sicily, whence he returned to Rome, to clear himſelf of a crime with which he was charged, viz. of conſulting the aſtrologers, as if he entertained thoughts of uſurping the ſovereignty. His cauſe was heard by the captains of the guards, the collegues of Cleander; and, as Commodus was hated, ſays Spartian, Severus was cleared, and his accuſer crucified [k]. This year, great part of the capitol, a famous library, and ſeveral contiguous buildings, were utterly deſtroyed by lightning [l]. Euſebius ſays, it conſumed whole quarters of the city, and in them ſeveral libraries. At the ſame time, the city was afflicted with a dreadful famine, occaſioned, as ſome authors write, by Cleander, who, having now nothing leſs in view than the ſovereignty, bought up under-hand all the corn, in order to raiſe the price of it, and gain the affections of the ſoldiery and people, by diſtributing it among them [m]. Other writers tell us [n], that Papirius Dionyſius, whoſe province it was to ſupply the city with proviſions, contributed towards the famine, in order to make the people riſe againſt Cleander. Be that as it will, the populace aſcribed all their calamities and misfortunes to the hated miniſter, who now began to act in a more arbitrary manner than ever, putting to death and pardoning, baniſhing and recalling from exile whom he pleaſed. Several manumitted ſlaves he created patricians, and gave them a place in the ſenate; others he made governors of provinces, and raiſed to the firſt employments. But his reign was ſhort-lived; for the following year, in which Rome ſaw for the firſt, and indeed for the laſt time, twenty-five conſuls, all named by Cleander, and moſt of them his creatures, while the people were celebrating the Circenſian games, a troop of children, having at their head a young woman of an extraordinary ſtature and a fierce aſpect, entering the circus, began to utter aloud many bitter invectives and dreadful curſes againſt Cleander; which being for ſome time anſwered by the people with other invectives and curſes, the whole multitude roſe all on a ſudden, flew in a tumultuous manner to the palace of Quintilius in the neighbourhood of Rome, where the emperor was then reſiding

Severus accuſed and acquitted.

Cleander acts in an arbitrary manner.

The people riſe againſt him.

[i] Vit. Com. p. 49. [k] Spart. in Sever. [l] Euſeb. in chron. Oroſ. l. viii. c. 16. [m] Dio, p. 823. [n] Vit. Com. p. 51.

reſiding with Cleander; and, renewing their curſes and imprecations, demanded the head of the perfidious wretch, by whom they had been ſo grievouſly and tyrannically oppreſſed. Hereupon Cleander ordered the prætorian cavalry to charge the multitude; which they did accordingly, driving them with great ſlaughter into the city; but there the populace diſcharging ſhowers of ſtones, bricks, and tiles from the tops of the houſes and from the windows, and the city-guards, who hated Cleander, joining the multitude, the prætorian horſe were forced to give way and ſave themſelves by a diſorderly flight. The people purſued them to the palace of Quintilius, where the emperor was paſſing his time in the company of ſome lewd women, utterly unappriſed of the tumult, Cleander having forbidden thoſe who were about him to acquaint him with it. However, Marcia, his favourite concubine, thought it incumbent upon her to inform him of what had paſſed; and his ſiſter Fadilla, entering his apartment in a great fright and with her hair diſhevelled, cried out to him aloud, That all was loſt, unleſs he abandoned Cleander to the fury of the incenſed populace. Hereupon the emperor, ſtruck with terror and amazement, ſent for Cleander; and having cauſed his head to be ſtruck off that inſtant, ſent it to the people, the ſight of which put an end to the combat, which ſtill continued with great ſlaughter. His head and body were by the incenſed populace inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner. His wife, his children, and moſt of his creatures were at the ſame time maſſacred, and their bodies firſt dragged through the ſtreets, and then thrown into the common ſewer [n]. Lampridius tells us, that the people were chiefly provoked againſt him, for having cauſed Arrius Antoninus to be falſly accuſed of treaſon and put to death, becauſe he had, while proconſul of Aſia, condemned one of his creatures, by name Attalus [o]. Julianus and Regillus were appointed captains of the guards in the room of Cleander and his collegues; but the emperor cauſed them both to be ſoon after put to death, though he had ever ſhewn a particular kindneſs and affection for Julianus, whom he uſed to ſtyle his father [p]. About the cloſe of this year, Pertinax was, at his own requeſt, recalled from Britain, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions in the room of Papirius Dionyſius, who was likewiſe put to death, with all thoſe who had any ways contributed to the raiſing the price of corn.

The prætorian horſe fall upon them; but are put to flight.

The emperor cauſes his head to be ſtruck off.

THE

[n] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 823. Herod. l. i. p. 479—481. Vit. Comm. p. 48. [o] Vit. Comm. ibid. [p] Idem ibid. & Dio, p. 823.

The following year, Commodus entered upon his ſixth conſulſhip, having Petronius Septimianus for his collegue. The ſeveral conſpiracies, which had been formed againſt himſelf and his miniſters, filling him with jealouſies and ſuſpicions, he abandoned himſelf without controul to bloodſhed and cruelty. He put to death, beſides many others mentioned by Spartian and other writers, Petronius Mamertinus, who had married one of his ſiſters; his ſon Antoninus; Annia Fauſtina, couſin-german to M. Aurelius; Sulpicius Craſſus, proconſul of Aſia, and ſix conſulars on one day. He cauſed all thoſe who were any-ways related to Avidius Caſſius, of whom we have ſpoken above, to be burnt alive. Among the multitudes of all ranks and conditions, who were doomed to be inhumanly maſſacred this year, Dion Caſſius gives us a particular account of the death of one Julius Alexander, a native of Emeſa in Syria, who being informed that the emperor had ſent thither a centurion with a band of ſoldiers to murder him, ſurpriſed them in the night, and killed them all to a man, with ſeveral others, whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies. Having thus filled the city with ſlaughter, he retired on horſe-back, with a deſign to take refuge among the barbarians; and would have made his eſcape, had he not been retarded by a friend of his, who could not keep up with him, and whom he could not find in his heart to leave behind him. Being therefore overtaken by thoſe who purſued him, he firſt killed his friend, that he might not fall into their hands, and afterwards himſelf [q]. This year Severus, who had been one of the twenty-five conſuls of the preceding year, was appointed commander of the troops in Illyricum, and Pertinax was ſent into Africa with the character of proconſul. The following year, Apronianus and Bradua being conſuls, a fire broke out in the night-time in the celebrated temple of Peace, preceded, and, as ſome writers ſuppoſe, produced by a ſmall earthquake; for no thunder was heard [r]. Dion Caſſius writes, that it began in the adjoining houſes. Be that as it will, the temple, with all the buildings round it, was reduced to aſhes. That magnificent ſtructure had been raiſed by Veſpaſian after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and enriched with all the ſpoils and ornaments of the temple of the Jews. The antients ſpeak of it as one of the moſt ſtately buildings in Rome. There men of learning uſed to hold their aſſemblies and lodge their writings, as many others did their jewels, and whatever elſe they had of great value. It was likewiſe made uſe of as

Commodus cauſes many illuſtrious perſons to be put to death.

The temple of Peace conſumed by fire.

[q] Dio, ibid. [r] Herodian. l. i. p. 485. Dio, p. 829.

as a kind of magazine for the ſpices that were brought by the Roman merchants out of Egypt and Arabia; ſo that many rich perſons were at once reduced to beggary, all their valuable effects and treaſures being conſumed, in one night, with the temple [s]. Galen complains, that many of his books were loſt by this misfortune [t]. The fire ſpread with great violence to other quarters of the city, and conſumed a great number of ſtately edifices; among the reſt, the temple of Veſta. The veſtals fled to the palace with the ſtatue of Pallas, which was ſuppoſed to have been brought from Troy, and had never before been expoſed to public view; but the flames ſeized the palace itſelf, and reduced great part of it to aſhes, before their rage could be ſtaid. However, the public papers and regiſters were with much-ado preſerved. The conflagration laſted ſeveral days, in ſpite of the utmoſt endeavours of the people, the ſoldiery, and the emperor himſelf, who, returning on that occaſion from the country, expoſed his own perſon, in order to encourage others to exert themſelves by his example. It ceaſed at length of itſelf, or was extinguiſhed by a ſudden and violent rain, which they all looked upon as ſent by the gods [u]. This year, Pertinax was preferred from the government of Africa to that of Rome, and Didius Julianus ſent to govern Africa in his room. The next conſuls were Commodus, the ſeventh time, and Helvidius Pertinax, the ſecond. This year, the Roman troops were defeated by the Saracens, whom we find now mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory [w]. Commodus being told, that Severus, who commanded in Illyricum, and Nonius Murcus, who had the command of ſome other army, aſpired at the empire, appointed Clodius Albinus, in whom he repoſed an entire confidence, governor of Britain, and wrote a letter to him with his own hand, ſays Julius Capitolinus, giving him leave to aſſume the title of Cæſar, and the ornaments peculiar to that dignity, in caſe any diſturbances ſhould ariſe in the empire. Albinus, adds the ſame writer, prudently declined that honour, fearing to be involved in the ruin of Commodus, which he apprehended to be at hand [x]. The account, which Dion Caſſius and Herodian gives us of the latter end of this prince's reign, is nothing but a detail of his follies, and the ſhews which he exhibited, and in which he himſelf acted the chief part.

And the temple of Veſta with many other buildings.

The emperor's folly, and public ſhews.

Both

[s] Dio, & Herod. ibid. Galen de libris ſuis, p. 363. [t] Galen. ibid. [u] Herod. p. 482. [w] Vit. Nigr. p. 77. [x] Vit. Albin. p. 79.

Both these historians were present; and the former, who assisted at the above-mentioned shews in quality of senator, tells us, that he and the other senators chewed the whole time bay-leaves, that by their bitterness they might be diverted from laughing at the prince's folly; which would have cost them their lives. However, he owns, that the address and skill which the emperor displayed in shooting with the bow, was universally admired and applauded; for a panther having seized a man, and being ready to devour him, Commodus let fly an arrow against the beast with so much skill and force, that the panther fell dead to the ground, before the man received the least hurt [r]. A few days before his death, he changed the names of some of the months, calling August Commodus, September August, October Hercules, November Invincibilis, December Exuperatorius, and January Amazonius; which last title he himself assumed, because he had first fallen in love with Marcia upon seeing her painted in the dress of an Amazon. He was likewise for changing the name of the city itself, and calling it Colonia Commodiana, or The colony of Commodus. Upon this head he wrote to the senate, styling himself in the letter, Imperator Cæsar Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximinus, Britannicus, Pacator orbis terrarum, Invictus Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ Potestatis XVII. Imperator VIII. Consul VII. Pater Patriæ, &c. The senate readily complied with his desire, and not only styled Rome Colonia Commodiana, but the house in which they assembled, The house of Commodus. They had given him before, by way of derision, says Lampridius, the title of Pious, upon his raising to the consulship one of his mother's gallants; the title of Happy, for having compassed the death of Perennis; and that of Hercules, in consideration of his extraordinary strength, and his killing many thousand wild beasts in the amphitheatre. He had often appeared on the public stage in the Amazonian and other fantastical dresses; but this year he was not ashamed to enter the lists with the gladiators, to act, and to dance in the theatre quite naked. Not satisfied with these follies, he resolved to appear on the first day of the ensuing year 193, as consul, and at the same time as gladiator, and, in order to that, to cause Erucius Clarus and Sosius Falco, the two consuls elect, to be murdered. This design he imparted

He changes the names of some months.

His vanity.

He acts and dances in public quite naked.

He designs to appear on the first of January like a consul and gladiator.

[r] Dio, p. 484. Herod. p. 826.

imparted to Marcia, the night before it was to be put in execution, telling her, that the conſuls were to be murdered the following night; and that he intended to march in proceſſion, not from the palace, and with the enſigns of the imperial dignity, as was uſual on the firſt of January, but from the ſchool of the gladiators, armed like one of them, and attended by them alone. Marcia threw herſelf at his feet, and conjured him, with tears in her eyes, to reflect on the danger to which he expoſed his life, by truſting it to men deſtitute of all honour and probity. But Commodus, without giving ear to her remonſtrances, ordered Lætus, captain of the guards, and Eclectus, his chief chamberlain, to get ready the apartment which he had built for himſelf in the houſe where the gladiators belonging to the public were lodged. Theſe two officers did likewiſe all that lay in their power to divert him from ſo ſtrange a reſolution; but to no purpoſe: for the emperor, inſtead of yielding to their entreaties, flew into a great paſſion; and, retiring to his chamber, as if he deſigned to repoſe a little, it being then about noon, he ſet down on a piece of paper the names of many illuſtrious ſenators and other perſons of diſtinction, whom he deſigned to murder, in order to enrich himſelf with their eſtates, and at the head of the fatal liſt the names of Marcia, Lætus, and Eclectus. Having left this paper upon his bed, when he went to bathe before dinner, according to the Roman cuſtom, a little child, with whom he uſed to amuſe himſelf, entering his bed-chamber, innocently took it up to play with it; but Marcia meeting him, ſnatched it out of his hand, imagining it to be ſome writing of conſequence. She was greatly ſurpriſed when, upon viewing it, ſhe found herſelf, Lætus, and Eclectus doomed with the reſt to deſtruction. She immediately acquainted Lætus and Eclectus with the danger that threatened them, who thereupon reſolved to be before-hand with the tyrant [z]. Such is the account which Herodian gives us of this conſpiracy. But Dion Caſſius, who had already related the death of Domitian with theſe very circumſtances, tells us only in this place, that Lætus and Eclectus, no longer able to bear the cruelties and follies of Commodus, and terrified with his menaces, agreed with Marcia to diſpatch him. Julius Capitolinus writes, that they acquainted Pertinax with their deſign, who did not ſtrive to divert them from it [a]. But Dion Caſſius [b] and Herodian [c] aſſure us, that he was altogether

He dooms Marcia, Lætus, and Eclectus to death;

Who conſpire againſt him.

[z] Herod. l. i. p. 486, 487. [a] Jul. Cap. in Pert. p. 55.
[b] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 830. [c] Herod. l. ii. p. 490.

together unappriſed of their attempt, the conſpirators not having time to think of any thing but diſpatching the tyrant and ſecuring themſelves. Be that as it will, the conſpirators agreed, that the ſafeſt and moſt expeditious way was to diſpatch him with poiſon; which was accordingly adminiſtered to him by Marcia, as he returned very hot from bathing, after having killed ſome wild beaſts. The emperor, being ſoon after ſeized with an heavy ſlumber, retired to refreſh himſelf with a ſhort ſleep (for he ſlept, as hiſtorians obſerve, at all hours); and Eclectus, laying hold of that opportunity, ordered the company to retire, hoping by that means to conceal the cauſe and manner of his death; but Commodus awaking, when the company was ſcarce gone, was ſeized with a violent vomiting; and, ſuſpecting that poiſon had been given him, began to threaten all about him with immediate death. Hereupon the conſpirators, fearing he ſhould void the poiſon and eſcape, ſent in haſte for his great favourite Narciſſus, the famous wreſtler, who, being gained over by them with great promiſes, threw himſelf upon the emperor, and, ſeizing him by the throat, ſtrangled him [d]. Thus died Commodus, the laſt night of the year 192, after having lived thirty-one years and four months, and reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He was murdered in a palace which ſtood on mount Cælius, where he then reſided, becauſe he could not ſleep, as he ſaid, in the imperial palace [e]. His body was privately conveyed away and buried in the fields; but was afterwards taken up by Pertinax, who ſucceeded to the empire, and depoſited in the monument of Adrian. The conſpirators gave out, that he died of an apoplexy: which Eutropius ſeems to have believed. His death was no ſooner known, than the ſenate aſſembled, without waiting for the return of day, and declared him a public enemy, loaded him with curſes, ordered his ſtatues to be broke to pieces, his name to be razed out of all public inſcriptions, and demanded his body, that it might be dragged through the ſtreets and thrown into the Tiber. When Pertinax, who had already been declared emperor, anſwered that it was buried, they deſired to know who had been ſo bold as to pay that honour to a gladiator, to a parricide, to a more cruel and bloody tyrant, than Nero or Domitian [f]. Though he was thus generally abhorred as a monſter of cruelty and an enemy

He is murdered.

His ſtatues are pulled down, and his acts annulled.

[d] Idem, l. i. p. 488. Dio, p. 828. Comm vit. p. 52.
[e] Vit. Com. p. 51. Euſeb. chron. p. 226. [f] Vit. Com. p. 53. Dio, p. 830.

enemy to mankind, yet the emperor Severus ſtyled himſelf his brother, cauſed him to be ranked among the gods, appointed prieſts and ſacrifices to his honour, and ordered the anniverſary of his birth to be obſerved with great ſolemnity [g]. However, the empire was greatly indebted to him for eſtabliſhing a company of merchants, and a fleet for conveying corn from Africa to Rome, when any misfortune ſhould befal the fleet that tranſported it from Egypt [h]. Another action we find recorded of his, truly worthy of the ſon of M. Aurelius: One Manilius, who had been ſecretary to Avidius Caſſius and privy to his conſpiracy, having made his eſcape, and concealed himſelf ever ſince his death, was apprehended in the beginning of the reign of Commodus, to whom he offered to diſcover many things of great importance: but Commodus would not ſo much as hear him; nay, he burnt all his letters, without opening any one of them [i]. But this happened in the very beginning of his reign, when he followed the advice of the wiſe counſellors whom his father had placed about him. No mention is made in hiſtory of his children; but it appears from an antient medal, that he had ſome, who muſt have died very young [k]. Of the authors who wrote in his reign, we ſhall give an account in our note (I).

[g] Vit. Com. ibid. & Dio, p. 824. [h] Vit. Com p. 52.
[i] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 725. [k] Spart. l. vii. p. 659.

(I) Julius Pollux inſcribed to Commodus, when he had only the title of Cæſar, his onomaſticon, which is ſtill extant, and conſiſts of ten books. It is a collection of ſynonymous words uſed by the beſt Greek writers to expreſs one and the ſame thing. He was one of the preceptors of Commodus, who, being chiefly taken with his fine and harmonious voice, honoured him with the profeſſorſhip of eloquence lately founded in the city of Athens (41). He was, according to Philoſtratus, who ranks him among the ſophiſts, well acquainted with the Greek tongue, and a good judge of the writings of others, but no great writer himſelf, his ſtyle being quite flat and lifeleſs. He was a native of Naucratis, once a famous city of Egypt, on one of the arms of the Nile, to which it gave its name (42). He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age (43). In the library of the duke of Bavaria is lodged a manuſcript chronicle done by one Julius Pollux, and

(41) Philoſt. ſoph. xxxviii. p. 590 (42) Idem, p. 488.
(43) Suid. p. 559.

Lætus and Eclectus offer the empire to Pertinax.

COMMODUS being dead and his body privately conveyed away, Lætus and Eclectus repaired without delay to the houſe

and extending from the creation to the reign of the emperor Valens, which plainly ſhews, that it is not the work of this Julius Pollux, but of another, who flouriſhed near two hundred years after his time (44). Phrynicus was contemporary with Pollux, and likewiſe inſcribed to Commodus, when he was only Cæſar, a work, of which Photius had read thirty-five or thirty-ſix books. It was a collection of words, phraſes, and ſome ſentences, extracted out of the beſt Greek writers and alphabetically digeſted. But theſe thirty-ſix books might have been reduced, according to Photius, to ſix or ſeven, by retrenching the author's uſeleſs digreſſions and repetitions. In ſome of theſe books Phrynicus addreſſed himſelf to Commodus; in others to Baſilides a ſophiſt of Miletus, and to his other friends (45). A collection of Attic words, done by Phrynicus, has reached us, with a letter to one Cornelianus prefixed to it, wherein he mentions another work compiled by him at the requeſt of Cornelianus, which contained a collection of many Greek words commonly uſed, but not quite pure and Attic. He owns, that ſome of them are to be found in the antients; but maintains, that they were therein faulty, and ought not to be imitated (46). We find one Attidius Cornelianus governor of Syria, in the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius; and to him in all likelihood, the above-mentioned letter is addreſſed (47). Phrynicus is not mentioned by Suidas. Philoſtratus ſpeaks of one Ariſtænetus of Byzantium, who flouriſhed under Commodus, and ranks him amongſt the moſt eloquent men of his time (48). As for Ariſtænetus, the author of ſome letters that are ſtill extant, it is manifeſt, that he wrote after the foundation of New Rome; that is, either under Conſtantine, or after his time. Both he and Apollinaris Sidonius ſpeak of a celebrated mimic, by name Caramallus; whence ſome writers conjecture, that theſe two authors lived at the ſame time; that is, about the middle of the fifth century (49). The author of the letters was, as is evident, a pagan, tho' in his time paganiſm was almoſt utterly aboliſhed, his work being a confuſed heap of follies and abſurdities, altogether unworthy of one who had the leaſt tincture of chriſtianity (50). Thoſe who have been at the trouble of illuſtrating theſe letters with comments, diſtinguiſh the author of them from

Ariſtænetus

(44) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. iv. c. 17. (45) Phot. c. 158. (46) Vide Petr. Hallicum de vit. S. Albericii, p. 114. Duacii, ann. 1636. (47) M. Aur. vit. p. 25. (48) Philoſt. ſoph. xxxvii. p. 587. (49) Voſſ. rhet. p. 115. (50) Vide Ariſtænet. l. i. epiſt. 26. Pariſ. ann. 1686.

houſe of Helvius Pertinax, whom they judged the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſenate and the moſt worthy of the empire. As the death of the emperor was not yet publicly known, Pertinax, rouſed out of his ſleep, (for it was about mid-night) by their entering his houſe, did not doubt but they had been ſent by Commodus to murder him. However, he ordered his domeſtics to let them into his room; and upon their appearing there, without riſing from his bed or betraying the leaſt concern, he told them, That as Pompeianus and he were the only friends of M. Aurelius left alive, he had long expected every day to fall a ſacrifice to the cruelty of the tyrant, and with great firmneſs bid them ſtrike and put their orders in execution. Lætus, admiring his conſtancy and intrepidity, told him, that the tyrant was dead, and that they were come to offer the empire to him, as the perſon in the ſenate the moſt worthy of it. Pertinax, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, even after they had acquainted him with all the circumſtances of the death of the tyrant, ſent ſome of his friends to the place where his body lay; and upon their return, no room be-

Ariſtænetus quoted by Stephanus the geographer (51), and from another of the ſame name, who was conſul with Honorius in the year 404, and frankly own, that they know not who he was. They even ſeem inclined to think it a mere rhapſody, publiſhed under the name of Ariſtænetus, which was prefixed to the firſt letter. The whole work ſeems to be a collection of ſeveral paſſages copied out of Plato, Lucian, and others, and jumbled together, if we may be allowed the expreſſion. Athenæus, whoſe work, entitled, Deipnoſophiſta, has reached our times, lived under Commodus; but did not begin to write, as we may well judge from the liberty with which he ſpeaks of him, till after his death (52). But he muſt have been then very old; for he had known Pancrates, a famous poet in the reign of Adrian, ſince Caſaubon pretends, that Athenæus himſelf ſpeaks in that place, and not Callixenes, whom he had quoted before (53). Suidas, who ſuppoſes him to have flouriſhed under M. Aurelius, ſtyles him a grammarian, and tells us, that he was a native of Naucratis in Egypt (54). We have but an abridgment of his Deipnoſophiſta, made, according to Caſaubon, at Conſtantinople five or ſix hundred years ſince. This writer is highly eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, by ſuch as are fond of the Grecian antiquities. He publiſhed other works; but none of them have reached our times (55).

(51) Steph. p. 203. (52) Athen. l. xii. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 15. (53) Athen. l. xv. p. 677. (54) Suid. p. 111. (55) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 15.

ing left for any further doubt, he yielded to their entreaties, accepted the empire, and went to the camp of the prætorian guards with Lætus their captain, cauſing, in the mean time, a report to be ſpread in the city, that the emperor was dead of an apoplexy, and that Pertinax reigned in his room. The ſoldiers were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee him appear in the camp at that time of night; but Lætus aſſembling them, told them, that the emperor being dead of an apoplexy, he brought them a new prince, the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſenate, who, he was ſure, would be received with great joy, and acknowledged by all the armies of the empire, ſince he had every where given ſignal proofs of his courage, prudence, and other princely virtues. Pertinax himſelf ſpoke after Lætus, and in his ſpeech promiſed to each ſoldier three thouſand drachmas, which would have gained them over to his intereſt, had he not added very unſeaſonably, that he hoped by their means to reform ſeveral abuſes; for they concluded from thence, that he deſigned to reſtore the antient diſcipline, and deprive them of many privileges, which had been granted them by Commodus. This occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent, which, however, they diſſembled for the preſent; and a ſmall number having at firſt ſaluted him with the title of emperor, the reſt followed their example, took the oath of allegiance to him, and, after the uſual ſacrifices, accompanied him, crowned with laurel, to the ſenate; where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable by the new conſuls Quintus Sofius Falco and Caius Julius Erucius, and by all the magiſtrates and other ſenators, who had aſſembled upon the firſt news of the death of the tyrant. Among the reſt came Pompeianus, who, in congratulating him upon his new dignity, could not help bewailing at the ſame time the unhappy end of his brother-in-law Commodus; which Pertinax was ſo far from reſenting, that he preſſed him to accept the empire, and would have willingly yielded it to him, ſays Capitolinus, could Pompeianus have been prevailed upon to accept it. When the ſenators had taken their places, Pertinax, before they had conferred upon him the title of Auguſtus, earneſtly entreated them not to lay ſo heavy a burden on him in his old age, but to pitch upon ſome other more able to diſcharge ſuch an important truſt, and better qualified by his nobility and birth for ſo high a ſtation [t]. He was not ſatisfied with begging them in general to chuſe another,

Who is acknowledged by the prætorian guards, and by the ſenate.

[t] Herod. l. iv. p. 482—493. Dio, lxxiii. p. 830. Vit. Pert p. 55.

ther, but particularly named Acilius Glabrio, who had been twice conſul, and pretended to derive his pedigree from Anchiſes the father of Æneas, took him by the hand, and earneſtly entreated him to place himſelf upon the imperial throne; but Glabrio, and with him all the reſt, declaring, that they would acknowledge no other prince but Pertinax, he was in the end obliged to yield [m]. Capitolinus, though no ways favourable to Pertinax, cannot, however, help owning, that he was raiſed to the empire againſt his will, and that he had ever ſhewn an utter averſion to the ſovereignty, and to all the badges of the ſovereign power; in confirmation of which, he alledges a letter written by Pertinax himſelf, and recorded by Marius Maximus [n]. After the ſenate had ſaluted him with the title of Auguſtus, he returned them thanks in an oration ſuited to the occaſion, which was received with loud acclamations both of the ſenate and people, who were come in crouds to pay their homage to the new prince, whom they highly eſteemed and revered. The conſuls pronounced, according to the cuſtom, his panegyric: after which Falco, who was one of them, upon the emperor's commending Lætus, captain of the guards, and owning himſelf indebted to him for the empire, is ſaid by Capitolinus to have rebuked the new prince, with great freedom, for countenancing one who had been the chief miniſter of the crimes of Commodus. Pertinax heard him without the leaſt emotion, and only told him, when he had done ſpeaking, that he was young, and had not yet learnt to obey; that Lætus had put the orders of Commodus in execution againſt his own inclination, and ſhewn, as ſoon as he was at liberty to act as he pleaſed, what were his private ſentiments [o]. Pertinax received, with the title of Auguſtus, all the other titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, that of the father of his country not excepted, which is ſaid to have never before been given to any prince on the firſt day of his reign [p]. To the reſt he deſired that the title of the prince of the ſenate might be added, which had been laid aſide ever ſince the times of the republic [q]. At the ſame time, the ſenate decreed the title of Auguſta to his wife Flavia Titiana, and that of Cæſar to his ſon. But he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept that honour for his wife, whoſe conduct he diſliked; and as to his ſon, he told the ſenate, that he ſhould enjoy the title they had decreed him, when he deſerved it. He would not even ſuffer his ſon,

He accepts the empire againſt his will.

Is honoured with all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity.

[m] Herod. Dio, ibid. [n] Vita Pert. p. 59. [o] Idem. p. 55. [p] Idem. ibid. [q] Dio, l. lxxii. p. 832.

ſon, who was yet very young, to live with him in the palace; but ſent him and his ſiſter to the houſe of Flavius Sulpicianus, their grandfather by the mother, to be brought up there far from the gaieties and licentiouſneſs of the court. From the ſenate, the emperor went to offer the uſual ſacrifices in the capitol, viſited the other temples, and then, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, repaired to the palace, where he gave a great entertainment, as it was the firſt day of the new year, to all the magiſtrates and the chief men of the ſenate, purſuant to an antient cuſtom, which had been neglected by Commodus [r]. Dion Caſſius ſaw that day, for the firſt time, Pompeianus in the ſenate; for, during the laſt three years of Commodus's reign, he had lived conſtantly in the country, alledging his old age and the weakneſs of his eyes for not aſſiſting at the deliberations of the ſenate. But theſe complaints, ſays Dion, ceaſed when Pertinax was raiſed to the empire, and returned as ſoon as he died [s].

The birth and education of Pertinax.

THUS Pertinax began his reign, to the great ſatisfaction of Rome, and of all the provinces of the empire, where he was proclaimed emperor with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy, no one doubting, but he would ſoon reſtore the ſtate to its former luſtre, and redreſs the abuſes and diſorders introduced by Commodus. He was born on the firſt of Auguſt of the year 126, the tenth of Adrian's reign, in a little village called Villa Martis, at a ſmall diſtance from Alba Pompeia, now Alba, in the duchy of Montferrat. He is commonly ſtyled, by hiſtorians and in moſt inſcriptions, Publius Helvius Pertinax. His father by name Helvius Succeſſus, had either been a ſlave himſelf, or was the ſon of an enfranchiſed ſlave [t], and followed the mean profeſſion of drying wood and making charcoal. We are told, that he gave the name of Pertinax to his ſon on account of his obſtinately adhering for ſome time to the ſame calling, which, however, he was afterwards perſuaded to abandon, and to keep a grammar-ſchool in Rome, his father having taken care to have him inſtructed, when very young, in the Greek and Latin languages. But that profeſſion not anſwering his expectation, he betook himſelf to a military life, and ſerved firſt in Syria, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, as a common ſoldier; but was ſoon raiſed to the rank of a centurion, by the intereſt of Lollius Avitus, or rather Lollius Gentianus, his father's patron. Having in that poſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf under Lucius Verus, M. Aurelius's collegue

His riſe and preferments.

[r] Herod. l. ii. p. 194. Vit. Pert. p. 55. [s] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 729. [t] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 831. Vit. Pert. p. 52. Vict. epit.

collegue in the empire, during the Parthian war, he was rewarded with the command of a cohort in Syria, and afterwards employed in Britain, or as ſome read Bithynia, Mœſia, Italy, and Germany, in which laſt place he commanded the Roman fleet. From Germany he was ſent into Dacia, and there, upon ſome falſe information, deprived of his employment, whatever it was, by M. Aurelius, notwithſtanding the eſteem he had for him. Capitolinus writes, that he was governor of Dacia, and charged with aſpiring at the empire. Be that as it will, M. Aurelius, being ſoon after convinced of his innocence, created him ſenator, honoured him with the enſigns of prætor, and gave him the command of the firſt legion, which he led againſt the Germans, who had made themſelves maſters of Rhœtia and Noricum. Theſe countries he recovered in one campaign, for which eminent ſervice M. Aurelius made him conſul. He was afterwards ſent into Syria againſt Avidius Caſſius; and upon his death recalled from thence to guard the banks of the Danube, and command the army in Illyricum. Having acquitted himſelf in that office to the general ſatisfaction both of the Romans and barbarians, he was afterwards preferred to the government of the two Mœſias, then to that of Dacia, and laſtly to the government of Syria, which he held to the reign of Commodus, when he returned to Rome; but did not continue long there, being ordered by Perennis, who then governed with an abſolute ſway, and ſuſpected all men of merit, to quit the city and retire to Liguria, his native country, where he lived, as it were, in exile, three whole years; during which he embelliſhed the place where he was born with a great number of fine buildings; but would not ſuffer his father's cottage, or rather ſhop, which ſtood in the midſt of them to be pulled down, or any-ways altered. After the downfal of Perennis, he was by Commodus ſent into Britain, to reſtore the antient diſcipline among the troops there, that were ready to revolt; which he compaſſed, not without expoſing himſelf to great dangers. He was recalled from thence at his own requeſt, and upon his return charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions; then appointed proconſul of Africa, and laſtly governor of Rome, which employment he held when Commodus was killed [u]. The conſpirators judged him, as we have related above, of all the great men in Rome, the moſt worthy of the empire. And truly

[u] Vit. Pert. p. 54, 55. Herod. l. ii. p. 493. Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 183. Vict. epit.

truly he was, according to Herodian, in every reſpect well qualified for ſo important a truſt, being a man of great wiſdom, extraordinary valour, and a blameleſs character [w]. Dion Caſſius cries him up on account of his mild temper, his goodneſs, and his application to buſineſs; and adds, that he was grave without being ſullen, mild without indolence, prudent without craft, exact without affectation, frugal without avarice, and great without pride or arrogance [x]. Aurelius Victor ſtyles him a perſon thoroughly acquainted with mankind, and one who admired and imitated the manners of the antient Romans [y]. The other Victor ſays, that he was an enemy to all pomp and outward appearance; that he received perſons of every rank and condition with great affability, and treated them as his equals. Julius Capitolinus is the only writer who gives him but an indifferent character, and charges him with avarice and want of ſincerity; but that writer lived an hundred years after Pertinax, whereas both Dion Caſſius and Herodian were perſonally acquainted with him. The emperor Julian charges him only with having been privy to the conſpiracy [z]; but even from that charge he is cleared by the above-mentioned writers.

His character.

As he found the exchequer quite drained, he ordered all the ſilver ſtatues of Commodus, which had been pulled down by a decree of the ſenate, to be melted and turned into money; and ſold by auction all his concubines and catamites, his arms, his horſes, his gold and ſilver plate, and all his rich moveables; among which particular mention is made of chariots ſo contrived as to ſhew the hour and meaſure the way [a]. By this means he raiſed money wherewithal to pay the prætorian guards what he had promiſed them, to diſcharge ſeveral debts contracted by Commodus, and to give a bounty to the people. At the ſame time, he reſtored to the lawful owners whatever had been unjuſtly taken from them by Commodus, recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed for the pretended crime of treaſon, put them in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſory to their misfortunes. He publicly declared, that he would accept of no legacies or inheritances from ſuch as had children or lawful heirs of their own, ſaying, I had rather be poor, than wallow in riches acquired by diſhonourable methods. He aboliſhed all the taxes laid by Commodus on the rivers, ports, and high-ways; and would not ſuffer his name to be ſet up, according

His conduct and excellent adminiſtration.

[w] Herod. ibid. [x] Dio. p. 832. & in excerpt. Vall. p. 743.
[y] Aur. Vict. [z] Julian. Cæſ. p. 14. [a] Vit. Pert. p. 56.

according to cuſtom, in ſuch places as belonged to the emperors, ſaying, that they did not belong to him, but to the public [b]. Thus by the mildneſs of his government, by his equity and moderation, he gained the affections both of the ſenate and people; but by attempting to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the prætorian guards, he diſobliged both them and their commander Lætus, who at firſt had been ſo zealous in his cauſe. The private men, not doubting, but he would reſtore the antient diſcipline among them, had, three days after his acceſſion to the empire, attempted to ſet up another, viz. Triarius Maternus Laſcivius, a ſenator of an illuſtrious family; but he, eſcaping from them while they were carrying him to the camp, fled to Pertinax, aſſured him of his loyalty, and then withdrew from Rome. This obliged the emperor to confirm to them all the privileges which had been granted them by Commodus. However, he kept them to their duty, which they, inured to the licentiouſneſs of the preceding reign, not being able to brook, attempted to raiſe Falco, the conſul, to the empire. Pertinax, who was then at Oſtia giving the neceſſary orders for ſupplying the city with proviſions, returned in great haſte to the palace; and repairing from thence to the ſenate, complained there of Falco, whom the ſenators were for condemning immediately as a traytor and a public enemy. But Pertinax, riſing up, cried out, that in his reign no ſenator, however guilty, ſhould be put to death; and publicly declared, that he forgave him. Falco, being thus diſmiſſed, retired to his eſtate, where he lived in ſafety. Some writers pretend, that he was utterly unacquainted with the deſign of the prætorian guards, who had agreed to make him emperor, without imparting their reſolution to him. However that be, the ſoldiers, highly exaſperated againſt Pertinax, who laboured to revive the antient diſcipline, and ſtirred up underhand by Lætus, who did not think his former ſervices ſufficiently rewarded, began openly to mutiny, and declare, that they would no longer obey the orders of Pertinax, nor acknowledge him for emperor. To exaſperate them ſtill more, Lætus cauſed ſeveral of them to be publicly executed as privy to the late conſpiracy, pretending, that he obeyed therein the orders of Pertinax, though the prince was quite unapprized of theſe proceedings. By this means the mutiny encreaſing daily, on the twenty-eighth of March a body of about three hundred of the mutineers, more bold than the reſt, leaving the

The prætorian guards diſſatisfied with him.

They revolt, and attempt to raiſe Falco to the empire.

Three hundred of them march to Rome, and enter the palace.

[b] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 832. Vit. Pert. p. 56—59. Herod. l. ii. p. 496.

the camp, and paſſing through the ſtreets of Rome with their drawn ſwords, went ſtrait to the palace, which they entered without oppoſition, the emperor's freed-men and officers either betaking themſelves to flight through fear, or treacherouſly opening all the gates to them. Pertinax, in the mean time, knew nothing of what paſſed, till his wife, in a great fright, brought him word, that the prætorian guards had revolted, and were already in the palace. Hereupon the emperor diſpatched Sulpicianus, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed governor of Rome, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp, and ordered Lætus to ſtop thoſe who had entered the palace. But Lætus, covering his face, that he might not be known, inſtead of obeying the emperor's orders, retired to his own houſe. As the mutineers ſtill advanced, ſome of the emperor's friends, who had remained with him, adviſed him to retire, and conceal himſelf, till the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, could come to his aſſiſtance. But Pertinax rejected their advice, ſaying, that to ſave his life by flight was a thing altogether unworthy of an emperor. He therefore reſolved to go forth and meet them in perſon, believing that, awed by his preſence, they would return to a ſenſe of their duty. Accordingly he appeared unexpectedly before them, and aſked them, without betraying the leaſt fear or concern, whether they, whoſe duty it was to defend the emperor's perſon, were come with an intent to betray and murder him? At the ſame time, he repreſented to them the heinouſneſs of their crime, the ignominy which it would caſt upon their memories, and the fatal conſequences of ſo black a treaſon, with ſuch ſpirit and energy, that many of them, moved by his words, began to ſheath their ſwords and retire. But a Tungrian, by name Tauſius, darting his javelin at the emperor's breaſt, and crying out, The ſoldiers ſend you this, the reſt fell on with great fury, and diſpatched him with many wounds. The emperor made no reſiſtance; but covering his head with his robe, and calling upon Jupiter the avenger, received their blows. Eclectus alone remained with him, and endeavoured to defend him; but after having killed two of the ſoldiers, was himſelf run through, and left dead by his maſter, for whoſe ſafety he had ſacrificed his life. The ſoldiers cut off his head, and carried it upon the point of a ſpear, as it were in triumph, to the camp, whither they retired with great precipitation, before the people could aſſemble, who, they knew, would not fail to revenge the death of a prince whom they ſo tenderly loved. And truly it was no ſooner known, that Pertinax had been murdered, than the enraged

The intrepidity of Pertinax.

His death.

populace

populace flocked together from all quarters of the city; and uttering dreadful menaces againſt the authors of his death, ran up and down the ſtreets in queſt of them. The ſenators were no leſs concerned for his death, than the people; the more, becauſe they were now convinced, that the ſoldiers would ſuffer none to reign but tyrants. However, as they had more to loſe than the common people, they did not offer to revenge his death, but either ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, or in thoſe of the ſoldiers of their acquaintance thinking themſelves there moſt ſafe [c]. Such was the unfortunate and moſt-lamented end of Publius Helvius Pertinax, after he had lived ſixty-ſix years, and ſeven months, and twenty-ſix or twenty-eight days; and reigned, according to Dion Caſſius, eighty-ſeven days, that is from the firſt of January to the twenty-eighth of March [d]. His body, together with his head, was interred with great pomp by Didius Julianus, his ſucceſſor, in the burying-place of his wife's family. The emperor Septimius Severus, with the title of emperor, took the name of Pertinax, which he knew would, above any thing elſe, recommend him to the army in Illyricum and to the Roman people. He puniſhed with great ſeverity all thoſe who had been acceſſory to his death, diſbanded the prætorian guards, honoured his memory with a moſt magnificent funeral, at which was carried the effigies of the deceaſed prince, pronounced himſelf his panegyric, and cauſed him to be ranked in the number of the gods, appointing the ſon chief prieſt to his father. The day of his acceſſion to the empire was yearly celebrated with the circenſian games; and his birth-day, for many years after, with other ſports [e]. He performed great things, ſays Herodian, during his ſhort reign, and would have reſtored the empire to its former luſtre, had he reigned longer [f].

He is univerſally lamented.

Honours paid to him after his death.

PERTINAX had ſent, as we have related above, Flavius Sulpicianus, his father-in-law, to appeaſe the tumult in the camp of the prætorian guards; but, in the mean time, the news of his death reaching the camp, and the three hundred ſoldiers arriving ſoon after with his head ſtuck on a ſpear, Sulpicianus was not aſhamed to apply to the murderers of his ſon-in-law for the empire, and to offer them money for it. But they, reſolved to make the moſt of it, cauſed it to be proclaimed on the ramparts of the camp, that the empire was expoſed

The empire expoſed to ſale.

[c] Dio, p. 834, 835. Herod. l. ii. p. 498. Vit. Pert. p. 58.
[d] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 834. [e] Dio, p. 840—842. Vict. epit. Vit. Pert. p. 59. Herod. p. 495. [f] Herod. ibid.

expoſed to ſale, and the beſt bidder ſhould have it. When news of this ſcandalous proclamation was firſt brought to Rome, Didius Julianus, the wealthieſt man in the city, was entertaining ſome of his friends at a banquet, who, in the midſt of their mirth and jollity, adviſed him, as he had more ready money, than any man in Rome, not to loſe the opportunity of making ſo valuable a purchaſe. Julianus, raviſhed with the dazzling proſpect of rule and empire, hearkened to their advice, roſe from table, and haſtened to the camp; where he repreſented to the ſoldiers, whom Sulpicianus was haranguing in his own behalf, that his competitor would not fail one day to revenge the death of his ſon-in-law; and gave them it under his hand, that he would reſtore all things to the condition they were in under Commodus. This pleaſed the licentious and diſſolute ſoldiery, who had committed in that prince's reign all ſorts of diſorders with impunity. However, they would hear what they both offered, and ſuffered them to bid upon one another, Sulpicianus in the camp, and Julianus at the gate; till the latter, riſing at once from five thouſand drachmas a man to ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty, to be immediately paid, ſilenced the other, was admitted into the camp, and proclaimed emperor, on condition, that he ſhould forgive his competitor, and never take the leaſt notice of his aſpiring at the empire [g]. Spartian relates his acceſſion to the empire in a different manner: according to him, the ſenate aſſembled upon the news of the emperor's death; but Julianus coming too late, and finding the doors ſhut, was accoſted by two tribunes, P. Florianus and Vectius Aper, who encouraged him to ſeize on the empire. Julianus, believing that Sulpicianus had been proclaimed emperor by the prætorian guards, anſwered, that the empire was already diſpoſed of; but they nevertheleſs carried him to the camp againſt his will, where, upon his warning them not to chuſe one who would undoubtedly revenge the death of Pertinax, and his promiſing to reſpect the memory of Commodus, he was proclaimed Auguſtus upon the above-mentioned condition *.

And purchaſed by Didius Julianus.

His extraction, preferment.

M. Didius Severus Julianus, thus raiſed to the empire, was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, come originally from Milan, in which city his grandfather was born. The emperor was the ſon of Petronius Didius Severus and Æmilia Clara, the grand-daughter of the celebrated civilian Salvius Julianus, who flouriſhed under Adrian, and compiled the perpetual edict. He was born on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth of

[g] Dio, p. 835. Herod. p. 499. * Spart. in Jul. p. 60.

of January of the year 133, the ſixteenth of Adrian's reign, and brought up by Domitia Lucilla, the mother of M. Aurelius. That prince, who had a particular affection for him, created him firſt quæſtor, then ædile, afterwards prætor; and when the time of his prætorſhip expired, gave him the command of the twenty-ſecond legion, quartered at that time in Germany. Not long after, he appointed him governor of Belgic Gaul, where, with the few forces he had under his command, he drove back the Chauci, who had made an irruption into the Roman territories; for which ſervice he was rewarded with the conſulſhip. After he had diſcharged that office, he was ſent into Illyricum, which country he defended with great valour againſt the neighbouring barbarians, and was on that account preferred to the government of Lower Germany; whence he was recalled to Rome, and charged with the care of ſupplying the city with proviſions. He narrowly eſcaped being put to death in the reign of Commodus, as privy to the pretended conſpiracy of Salvius Julianus, his uncle by the mother, and was for ſome time confined to the city of Milan. But Commodus, aſhamed of having cauſed ſo many other ſenators to be inhumanly maſſacred, not only diſcharged Julianus, but preferred him to the government of Bithynia, and afterwards to the conſulſhip, in which he had Pertinax for his collegue, whom he ſucceeded in the proconſulſhip of Africa. Hence Pertinax uſed to call him his collegue and his ſucceſſor, which was afterwards interpreted as a preſage of his being ſucceeded by Julianus in the empire [h].

His character.

ALL authors agree, that Didius Julianus was poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth; but diſagree as to his character. Dion Caſſius, who had been named by Pertinax to the prætorſhip, charges him with avarice and gluttony, and paints him as one who was wholly intent upon amaſſing riches by any means, however ſhameful and unjuſt, and at the ſame time ſparing no expence to pleaſe and ſatisfy his palate. He ſpoke without judgment, ſays that writer, and uttered ſuch things in public as made him be pitied by all men of ſenſe. He was underhand a great encourager of diſturbances and troubles in the ſtate, and is ſuppoſed to have privately ſtirred up the ſoldiers againſt Pertinax, though his nephew had married that prince's daughter. Dion Caſſius adds, that he himſelf in pleading had often reproached him in public with his crying injuſtices [i].

Herodian

[h] Spart ibid. [i] Idem. vit. Jul. p. 61. [k] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 835.

Herodian writes, that he was generally deſpiſed on account of his diſorderly life, and that he thought of nothing but his pleaſures and diverſions [l]. Spartian, on the other hand tells us, that in all his governments and employments under M. Aurelius, he acquitted himſelf with great integrity; from which, however, he was ſaid to have ſwerved in the reign of Commodus. He adds, that he was ſo covetous, as not to allow himſelf ſometimes any other food but roots and greens; which is point-blank contrary to what we read in Dion Caſſius and Herodian, both which writers lived at that time in Rome. Spartian, however, owns, that Julianus was charged with eating and drinking to exceſs, with gaming, and uſing ſuch weapons as were peculiar to the gladiators, though in his youth he had never been addicted to any of theſe vices [m]. He ſhewed himſelf, according to that writer, kind, affable, and obliging to all men; and was ſo far from being elevated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he ſeemed rather to debaſe himſelf too much. As ſoon as he was declared emperor, he appointed, at the requeſt of the prætorian guards, Flavius Genialis and Tullius Criſpinus their commanders. At the ſame time, he accepted the name of Commodus, which they begged him to take upon him; and this name is ſtill to be ſeen on ſome of his medals [n]. After the uſual ceremonies, the prætorian guards accompanied him in battle-array to the ſenate. The people did not offer to oppoſe their march; but no acclamations were heard; ſome, who were at a diſtance, even uttered invectives againſt him. As for the ſenators, thoſe among them who were the moſt grieved to ſee him emperor, were the moſt forward in congratulating him with feigned joy on his acceſſion to the empire. Among theſe was, as he himſelf owns, Dion Caſſius the hiſtorian [o]. Julianus made a ſpeech in the ſenate, ſays Dion, who was preſent, worthy of himſelf, wherein he deſired them to confirm what the ſoldiers had done, as if he would hold the empire of them; but told them at the ſame time, that he was the fitteſt perſon they could chuſe. The ſenate immediately paſſed a decree declaring him emperor and his family patrician, and inveſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular power. At the ſame time, his wife Manlia Scantilla and his daughter Didia Clara were honoured with the title of Auguſtæ. From the ſenate he repaired to the palace, where he found the body

He takes the name of Commodus.

He is acknowledged by the ſenate.

[l] Herod. l. ii. p. 498, 262. [m] Julian. it. p. 63. [n] Birag. p. [o] Dio, ibid.

body of Pertinax, which he cauſed to be honourably interred, and paſſed the night in great agonies, reflecting on the fate of Pertinax, which he apprehended might in the end be his own. Thus Capitolinus; Dion Caſſius, who was an eye-witneſs of what paſſed at Rome under Julianus, tells us, that the new prince, entering the palace, and deſpiſing the frugal ſupper which had been prepared for Pertinax, (for that prince was murdered, and he declared emperor, on the ſame day) ordered a magnificent feaſt to be got ready, and paſſed the night in mirth and jollity, leaving the body of the deceaſed prince in the place where he had been murdered [q]. The next morning, the ſenate and the Roman knights coming to wait upon him, he received them in a moſt obliging manner, calling them, ſays Capitolinus, according to their age, his father, his brother, or his ſon. He went afterwards to the ſenate, and returned them thanks for having admitted him to adminiſter, in conjunction with them, the ſovereign power, and for the honours they had conferred on his wife and daughter. On this occaſion he received, according to Capitolinus, the title of the father of his country, which, however, does not appear on any of his medals. From the ſenate he went to the capitol to offer there the uſual ſacrifices, the ſenators, who attended him, ſtriving to ſhew great joy in the height of their grief. But the people, ſtrangers to all diſſimulation, openly loaded him with curſes and reproaches, hoping by that means to oblige him to reſign the power, which he had purchaſed of the ſoldiery in ſo ſhameful a manner. They even diſcharged ſhowers of ſtones at him, and wiſhed aloud, as he was ſacrificing in the capitol, that he might never obtain any favour of the gods. The emperor endeavoured to appeaſe them with great promiſes; but they anſwered boldly, that they ſcorned to receive any thing from ſuch an uſurper and parricide: inſomuch, that to diſperſe them, (for they ſtopt up the way) he was obliged to order the ſoldiers to fall upon thoſe who ſtood neareſt; which they did accordingly, and killed or wounded great numbers of them. This exaſperated the people to ſuch a degree, that they all took arms; and in the circus, where the emperor aſſiſted at the public games, renewed their curſes and imprecations both againſt him and the prætorian guards, imploring aloud the aſſiſtance of the other armies and generals, namely, of Peſcennius Niger, who at that time commanded a powerful army in Syria. All this Julianus bore with great patience, ſays Spartian; and, during his ſhort reign, gave many inſtan-

He receives them in a very obliging manner.

He is hated, and openly curſed, by the people.

[p] Vit. Pert. p. 61. [q] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 836.

ces of an extraordinary ſweet temper [r]. He appointed Re-
His government. pentinus his ſon-in-law, captain of the prætorian guards, in the room of Sulpicianus, father-in-law to the deceaſed emperor; and, to gratify the ſoldiery, re-eſtabliſhed many things, which had been appointed by Commodus and aboliſhed by Pertinax.

Among the many great captains, who commanded at this time the Roman armies in the different provinces of the empire, the moſt famed were Peſcennius Niger in Syria, Septimius Severus in Illyricum, and Clodius Albinus in Britain.
Clodius Albinus, his extraction and preferment. Clodius Albinus was a native of Adrumetum in Africa, but deſcended from the Poſthumian and Ceionian families, two of the moſt illuſtrious in Rome. His father Ceionius Poſthumus gave him the name of Albinus, becauſe at his birth he appeared whiter than new-born children uſually are, the Latin word albus importing white. He was brought up in Africa, where he ſtudied the Greek and Latin languages, in which he was well verſed. The antients cry up his knowledge and learning, and mention with great commendations a treatiſe which he compoſed on agriculture. But his martial genius did not allow him to purſue the peaceable profeſſion of letters. When he was yet very young, he was often heard to repeat, among the children of his age at ſchool, that verſe of Virgil,---Arma amens capio, nec ſat rationis in armis; --- eſpecially the firſt part of it, Arma amens capio, that is, I am for following the profeſſion of arms, right or wrong; I am for a military life at all events. He therefore entered into the ſervice very early, and, by the intereſt of Lollius Serenus, Bæbius Mætianus, and Ceionius Poſthumianus, men of rank and nearly related to him, was firſt raiſed to the command of a troop of Illyrian horſe, and ſoon after to that of the firſt and fourth legions. He commanded the army in Bithynia in the year 175, the fifteenth of the reign of M. Aurelius, and reſtrained them from joining, as they deſigned, Avidius Caſſius, for which ſervice he was rewarded with the conſulſhip. In the reign of Commodus he was appointed governor of Gaul, where he gained great advantages over the Friſians and other neighbouring nations. From Gaul he was tranſlated into Britain which government he held at this time. The emperor Commodus ſuſpecting that Septimius Severus, governor of Illyricum, and Nonius Murcus, who commanded an army in ſome other province, deſigned to revolt, in order to engage Albinus in his cauſe, wrote a letter to him, if Capitolinus is to be credited giving

[r] Vit. Pert. p. 61. [s] Vit. Alb. p. 79—84.

giving him leave to aſſume, if he ſaw occaſion, the title of Cæſar and all the badges of that dignity; which he prudently declined, fearing to be involved in the ruin of that tyrant, which he apprehended to be at hand (K). The ſame writer adds, that ſome time after, a falſe report of the death of Commodus being ſpread in Britain, Albinus, giving credit to it, encouraged his ſoldiers to aboliſh monarchy, and re-eſtabliſh the antient republican government; which gained him the affections of the ſenate, but provoked Commodus to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ſent Junius Severus to ſucceed him in the government of Britain; but he did not arrive there before the death of Commodus was publicly known in that province [t]. M. Aurelius had a particular value for him, and thought him, as appears from one of his letters to the captains of the guards quoted by Capitolinus [u] (L), well qualified, on

[t] Idem ibid. p. 79. [u] Idem, p. 83.

(K) This letter was conceived in the following terms: Beſides the other letters, which I have written to you concerning your ſucceſſor, and the affairs of the public, this you ſee, is a familiar letter, written with my own hand; in which I give you leave, whenever you ſhall ſee occaſion, to take upon you at the head of the army the name and quality of Cæſar. For I hear, that Septimius Severus and Nonius Murcus ſpeak ill of me to the army, in order to eſtrange from me the minds of the ſoldiery, and pave themſelves a way to the throne. I give you leave, when you think fit, to aſſume the name of Cæſar and to preſent the ſoldiers with a donative of three pieces of gold a man. I ſend you letters for my receivers, ſealed with the head of an Amazon, which you will deliver to them, when you have occaſion for the money; otherwiſe they will not ſupply you with it out of the treaſury. That you may not be without the badges of the dignity to which I raiſe you, I give you leave to wear a ſcarlet robe even in my preſence: the purple you ſhall have the firſt time I ſee you, but not enriched with gold, which my great grandfather Ælius Verus never wore, tho' adopted by Adrian (56).

(L) M. Aurelius wrote the following letter concerning him to the captains of the guards: I have entruſted Albinus, of the family of the Ceionii, with the command of two cohorts. He is, 'tis true, an African, but free from the vices of that country. He is the ſon-in-law of Plautillus, and, beſides, a man of great experience, of a grave and compoſed behaviour, and capable of maintaining the neceſſary diſcipline in a camp: at leaſt, I am ſure we need

(56) Vit. Albin. p. 47.

account of his ſeverity and gravity, for the command of an army. But his ſeverity ſeems to have bordered upon cruelty; for he is ſaid never to have pardoned the leaſt fault, but to have crucified even the centurions, when he found them any ways remiſs in their duty. He was unjuſt to his domeſtics, inſupportable to his wife, and to all ſurly and moroſe. He was very proper in his dreſs, but quite otherwiſe in his repaſts, minding nothing but plenty; for he had an extraordinary appetite, and is ſaid by Capitolinus to have often eat at breakfaſt five hundred figs, an hundred peaches, ten melons, twenty bunches of grapes, a hundred beccaficos, and four hundred oyſters [w]. Sometimes he abſtained altogether from wine, and ſometimes drank to exceſs even in the time of war. He was far from being chaſte, but abhorred and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity all ſorts of unnatural luſt. As he was, notwithſtanding his many vices, a man of great courage and ſkill in military affairs, he was commonly called a ſecond Catiline. The harangue he made to his troops in Britain againſt monarchy gained him the affections of the ſenate to ſuch a degree, that no prince, ſays his hiſtorian, was ever loved by them ſo much as he [x].

His character.

Caius Pescennius Niger Justus, as he is ſtyled on ſome medals [y], was deſcended of an equeſtrian family and born at Aquinum. He had but a ſmall eſtate, and little learning; but nevertheleſs raiſed himſelf from the degree of a centurion to the firſt military employments in the empire. He had ſome command in Gaul, where he contracted a great friendſhip

Peſcennius Niger his extraction, preferments and character.

[w] Idem, p. 83. [x] Idem, p. 83. [y] Byrag. p. 264.

need not apprehend any thing from him. I have doubled his ſalary, and deſire you to encourage him, aſſuring him, that his ſervices ſhall not remain unrewarded (57). The ſame prince wrote another letter concerning him, ſoon after the rebellion of Avidius Caſſius, in which he expreſſes himſelf thus: The fidelity of Albinus deſerves the higheſt encomiums; for when the forces in Bithynia were ready to revolt and join Caſſius, he ſpared no pains to maintain them in their duty and defeat their evil deſigns. I therefore think him worthy of the conſulſhip, and accordingly deſign to ſubſtitute him in the room of Caſſius Papirius, who is dangerouſly ill, and, as I am informed, paſt recovery. But of this take no notice till he is dead, leſt it ſhould come to the ears either of Papirius himſelf, or his friends, which would give me great concern (58).

(57) Idem ibid. (58) Idem. p. 48.

ſhip with Septimius Severus, at that time governor of the country of Lions, who recommended him to the emperor Commodus, as an excellent ſoldier and experienced commander. He was afterwards made conſul, at the requeſt of the troops under his command [z]. Herodian calls him a gallant ſoldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illuſtrious conſul, and an unfortunate emperor [a]. He kept the ſoldiers to their duty, and would not ſuffer them to exact any thing from the people, nor the officers from the ſoldiers, upon any account whatſoever. He cauſed two tribunes to be ſtoned for having deducted a very inconſiderable ſum from the pay of the men under their command, and condemned ten ſoldiers to be beheaded for ſtealing a fowl; but the whole army interceding in their behalf, he thought it adviſeable to ſpare their lives, and only oblige them to pay to the countryman each the price of ten fowls. He would not allow his ſoldiers, while they were in the field, to drink wine, nor to uſe plate, or have any gold or ſilver about them, when they went to battle, that the enemy might not, in caſe of any misfortune, ſet themſelves off with their ſpoils. He ſuffered no bakers to follow the army, obliging the ſoldiers to content themſelves with biſket. Some troops, that were in garriſon on the frontiers of Egypt, having one day begged leave to drink wine, he returned them no other anſwer, than that they were but a ſmall diſtance from the Nile. He required nothing of the ſoldiers, but what he practiſed himſelf. In his garb and dreſs he little varied from a common ſoldier, and his diet was the ſame with that of the meaneſt in the army. He always led the march on foot, with his head uncovered in all ſeaſons and climates. He obliged even his own domeſtics to carry burdens on their backs, that they might not ſeem to walk at their eaſe, while the ſoldiers were loaded with their arms and baggage. He had conſtantly before his eyes Marius, Hannibal, and other famed commanders of antiquity; and when, upon his being ſaluted emperor, the perſon, who, according to cuſtom, was appointed to pronounce his panegyric, began to commend him, he immediately interrupted the orator, and deſired him to ſay ſomething in praiſe of Marius, of Hannibal, or of ſome other renowned commander, who was dead. "Tell us, ſaid he, "what they have done worthy of imitation; for to praiſe "the living is an uſeleſs taſk, eſpecially to praiſe an emperor, "who can puniſh, reward, proſcribe, and condemn: as for

[z] Spart. in Nigr. p. 75. [a] Herod. l. iii. p. 501.

" me, I only deſire to pleaſe while I live; when I am dead, " then praiſe me, if I deſerve it." If he had prevailed, no one doubted but he would have reſtored the empire to its former luſtre, without uſing that cruelty for which Severus is blamed [b]. For though he was naturally ſevere, ſays Herodian [c], yet he governed with great mildneſs, and was always ready to contribute to the diverſions of the people; which gained him the affections of the Syrians, eſpecially of the Antiochians, who delighted in nothing but ſhews and ſpectacles. Spartian commends him on account of his chaſtity, which the Gauls, ſays that writer, admired in him above all his other virtues [d]. On the other hand, Victor the younger ſtyles him a man abandoned to all manner of lewdneſs. Dion Caſſius ſpeaks of him as a perſon no-ways remarkable either for his good or bad qualities [e]. However, it is certain, that he was univerſally eſteemed and beloved by the people of Rome, who all wiſhed to ſee him emperor [f].

Septimius Severus. his character.

SEVERUS was a perſon endowed with extraordinary talents, and in every reſpect infinitely ſuperior both to Albinus and Niger. He was generally eſteemed, and not undeſervedly, the moſt active, vigilant, laborious, and enterpriſing man in the whole empire; inured to labour, indefatigable in every duty of war, equal to the greateſt commanders of antient times, a great maſter of civil affairs, prompt in foreſeeing events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, a conſtant friend, a dangerous enemy, and equally violent in his love and hatred. He was a great diſſembler, full of deceit, and ever ready to ſacrifice his reputation, and every thing elſe, to his intereſt and ambition [g]. He was naturally inclined to cruelty and avarice, but more to cruelty; for we find ſome inſtances of his generoſity, but none of his humanity; nay, he is ſaid never to have pardoned a fault, or performed a good-natured action [h]. He was an enemy to all pomp and ſhew, frugal in his diet, contenting himſelf for the moſt part with roots and greens, but ſometimes, though ſeldom, drinking to exceſs. In the field, his diet was the ſame with that of the common ſoldiers; he ſhared with them all their labours, and encouraged them more by his example, than by words, to bear with patience the toils of war, which notwithſtanding his

[b] Vit. Nigr. p. 75—77. [c] Herod l. ii. p. 501. & l. iii. p. 518. [d] Vit. Nigr. p. 76. [e] Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 842. [f] Herod. ibid. Vit. Nigr. p. 74. [g] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 837. & l. lxxvi. p. 869. Herod. l. ii. p. 503. Vict. epit. Tertull. apol. c. 4. [h] Herod. l. iii. p. 527.

his ſeverity, gained him the affections of the ſoldiery [i]. Severus was born at Leptis, a city of Libya Tripolitana, but his anceſtors had been Roman knights, and afterwards admitted into the ſenate; for he was nephew by the father to two conſuls, M. Agrippa and Septimius Severus; the latter was twice conſul. His father, M. Septimius Geta, had another ſon, named likewiſe Geta, and a daughter; but neither her name, nor that of her ſon, has been tranſmitted to us [k]. Severus was born on the eleventh of April in the year 145, the eighth of the reign of Antoninus Pius. He ſtudied firſt in Africa, and afterwards at Rome, the Greek and Latin tongues; declaimed in public, when only eight years old; applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence; and excelled, according to Spartian, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius, in each branch of polite literature. Dion, on the contrary, writes, that he had more inclination than ability to learn the liberal arts [l]; and Spartian owns, that he ſpoke to the end of his life the Latin tongue with the African accent [m]. He was inſtructed in the knowledge of the law, together with Papinianus, by Q. Cervidius Scævola, who publiſhed various books of juriſprudence, whereof ſome fragments are ſtill preſerved in the Pandects [n]. He ſeems to have had likewiſe ſome knowledge of phyſic [o], and is ſaid to have been thoroughly acquainted with judicial aſtrology, a ſcience to which the Africans were generally addicted [p]. In his youth he was accuſed of adultery, but acquitted by Didius Julianus, at that time proconſul of Africa. Afterwards he came to Rome, where, after he had pleaded for ſome time with little ſucceſs at the bar, he was, by the intereſt of his uncle Septimius Severus, admitted by the emperor M. Aurelius into the ſenate, and appointed governor of the iſland of Sardinia; whence he was ſent to command the troops in Africa in quality of lieutenant to the proconſul. Upon his return from Africa, he was created prætor; and after his prætorſhip preferred to the command of the fourth legion, then quartered in Syria. On his journey into that province, he viſited the city of Athens, and received ſome affront there, for which he deprived the inhabitants, when emperor, of many privileges granted

His extraction.

Education,

And employments.

[i] Idem, l. ii. p. 507. [k] Spart. vit. Sev. p. 64. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 742. Grut. p. 268. [l] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 741. [m] Vit. Sev. p. 71. [n] Vit. Caracall. cum not. Caſaub. p. 132. & Jonſ. l. iii. c. 12. [o] Galen. ther. t. ii. p. 457, 458. [p] Get. vit. p. 90. Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 866.

granted them by his predeceſſors. Next, he was raiſed to the government of Gallia Lugdunenſis, or the country of Lions, where, by his affability and obliging behaviour, he gained the affections of all. From Gaul he was removed to Pannonia, which province he governed with proconſular authority, as he did afterwards that of Sicily. Upon his return to Rome, he was accuſed of having conſulted the aſtrologers about his attaining the empire; but, as Commodus began then to be univerſally hated, he was acquitted, and his accuſer crucified. He was raiſed ſoon after to the conſulſhip, and then appointed commander of all the troops employed in Illyricum to defend the banks of the Danube [q]. He married to his firſt wife one Martia; and upon her death Julia, a native of Emeſa, in Syria, for no other reaſon, but becauſe the aſtrologers had told her, that ſhe was to marry a ſovereign. She is ſtyled in ſeveral inſcriptions Julia Domina Auguſta, the mother of the armies, of the ſenate, of her country, &c. By her Severus had Baſſianus, commonly known by the name of Caracalla, born the fourth of April 188, Geta, born in Milan, the twenty-ſeventh of May 189, and two daughters, who were married after their father's acceſſion to the empire. Julia diſhonoured with her lewdneſs her huſband and family, and had the mortification to hear herſelf publicly reproached by a Caledonian lady with the ſame vices which ſhe pretended to condemn in her [r]. She was likewiſe accuſed of conſpiring againſt her huſband, and charged with ſeveral other crimes by Plautianus, who did all that lay in his power to diſcredit her with the emperor; inſomuch that, to retrieve her reputation, ſhe betook herſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and kept continually about her a great number of ſophiſts, philoſophers, mathematicians, geographers, and perſons eminent in the various branches of learning; which has rendered her name famous in hiſtory [t]. Julia had a ſiſter named Mæſa, who was married to one Julius, who had by her two daughters, Soœmis and Mamea, the former the mother of the emperor Heliogabalus, and the latter of Alexander, who ſucceeded him.

His wife Julia.

To reſume now the thread of our hiſtory, and return to Didius Julianus: while he was ſtriving to gain the affections of the Roman people by the mildneſs of his government, news

[q] Vit. Sev. p. 64, 65. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 840. Herod. l. ii. p. 503. [r] Spon. p. 270. Spanh. l. vi p. 628. [s] Aur. Vict. Sever. vit. p 71. Dio, lxxvi. p. 869. [t] Philoſ. vit. Apoll. Tyran. l. i. c. 3. & ſoph. lvi. p. 617.

news was brought him, that Peſcennius Niger had revolted in Syria, and was acknowledged emperor by all the eaſtern nations and the troops under his command. Soon after he received the like tidings from Illyricum, where Severus had been ſaluted, by the army which he commanded there, with the title of Auguſtus. The armies in Gaul likewiſe ſwore allegiance to him, as ſoon as they heard that he had taken upon him the title of emperor. Their example was followed by all the armies, provinces, and cities in Europe, except the city of Byzantium; ſo that Severus having ſecured the provinces behind him, and left ſome troops to guard the banks of the Danube, began his march to Rome. As he was well appriſed, that Albinus, governor of Britain, was in a condition to thwart his deſigns, he wrote an obliging letter to him, wherein he declared his intention of adopting him, and gave him the title of Cæſar, which Albinus aſſumed at the head of his army, with all the badges of his new dignity, beſtowing on that occaſion great encomiums on Severus. As for Niger, Severus did not ſo much as attempt to gain, or rather deceive, him, well knowing, that he would not hearken to any propoſals whatſoever [u]. Julianus, in the mean time, repairing to the ſenate, cauſed Severus to be declared an enemy to his country, and likewiſe his ſoldiers, if they did not abandon him within a limited time. Deputies were even ſent by the ſenate to perſuade the ſoldiers to quit the party of Severus, and join Julianus. Among theſe were Veſpronius Candidus, a conſular of great authority, Valerius Catulinus, who was named to take upon him the command of the troops which Severus had with him, and one Aquilius, a centurion, the chief miniſter of the cruelties of Commodus, with orders to diſpatch Severus as ſoon as his troops had deſerted him. But the deputies, inſtead of exhorting the troops to abandon Severus, joined him themſelves, and encouraged the ſoldiers to purſue their march, and revenge the death of Pertinax. Hereupon Julianus, having firſt paid the prætorian guards the largeſs he had promiſed them, ordered them to their arms, and at the ſame time ſent for the marines, who were on board the fleet at Miſenum, and with the prætorian guards made up a conſiderable army. But as they had been long inured to idleneſs, they ſcarce knew how to make uſe of their arms, and ſhewed great backwardneſs to make head againſt the enemy, who were advancing with long marches, being received every where with loud acclamations, and ſupplied with plenty of proviſions,

Peſcennius Niger declared emperor in the eaſt, and Severus in Illyricum.

Severus declared a public enemy.

In his march to Rome he is every where received with loud acclamations.

[u] Dio, l. lxxiii. p. 837. Herod. l. ii. p. 513.

proviſions, upon their giving out, that they were going to revenge the death of Pertinax, a prince univerſally beloved. Julianus, finding he could not depend upon his troops, cauſed the palace to be fortified, as if he could have maintained himſelf there after loſing all the reſt. At the ſame time, he ordered Marcia and Lætus, the chief authors of the death of Commodus, to be murdered, not doubting but they favoured Severus; diſpatched a great number of aſſaſſins, to try if he could by any means murder Severus, with promiſes of immenſe rewards, if they ſucceeded in the attempt; and cauſed an incredible number of children to be inhumanly butchered, in order to make uſe of their blood in the abominable myſteries of magic [w]. While Julianus was thus loſing his time in uſeleſs preparations, Severus arriving at Ravenna, made himſelf maſter of that city and the fleet riding there; which ſo terrified Julianus, that, diſtruſting his troops, he ordered the ſenate to aſſemble on the twenty-ninth of May, when one of his miniſters deſired them in his name to ſend out the veſtals to meet the enemy, and entreat them to retire; which propoſal being rejected as no leſs ridiculous than ineffectual, Julianus, as ſome authors write, was ſo provoked, that he aſſembled his troops, with a deſign to put all the ſenators to the ſword, if they did not comply with his requeſt. But he ſoon changed his mind, and went to the ſenate in perſon, with a propoſal of a quite different nature, which was, that they would paſs a decree, declaring Severus his partner in the empire. The decree paſſed without oppoſition, and was immediately ſent to Severus, who not only rejected the offered aſſociation, but at the inſtigation of Julius Lætus, ordered Tullius Criſpinus, captain of the prætorian guards, who had brought the decree, to be cut in pieces, a report being ſpread, that Criſpinus had private orders to diſpatch him. Hereupon Julianus, being quite at a loſs what to do, and the ſenate declining to aſſiſt him with their advice, ordered the gladiators at Capua to take arms, under the command of Lollianus Titianus, and wrote an obliging letter to Pompeianus, the ſon-in-law of M. Aurelius, who then led a retired life at Tarracina, offering to take him, as he was an excellent commander, for his partner in the empire. But Pompeianus wiſely declined the offer, pleading his old age and the weakneſs of his ſight; which, however, would have ſerved him well, ſays Dion Caſſius, had he ſeen any effectual means of relieving his diſtreſſed

Julianus cauſes Severus to be declared his partner in the empire.

[w] Dio, p. 838. Vit. Jul. p. 62.

diſtreſſed country [x]. In the mean time, the troops ſent by Julianus into Umbria to guard the paſſes of the Apennine mountains, declared for Severus; and the prætorian guards themſelves, abandoning the emperor whom they ſet up, agreed not to oppoſe Severus, upon his promiſing them impunity, provided they delivered up to him thoſe who had murdered Pertinax [y]. Julianus, ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted by his troops, ſhut himſelf up in the palace, with Genialis, one of the captains of the guards, and Repentinus his ſon-in-law. The guards, in the mean time, having ſeized ſuch of their comrades as had been any ways concerned in the death of Pertinax, acquainted therewith Silius Meſſala, who had been ſubſtituted either to Falco or Erucius, the ordinary conſuls of this year 193. Meſſala immediately aſſembled the ſenate, when a decree paſſed, depriving Julianus of the empire, ſentencing him to death, declaring Severus emperor, and appointing divine honours to Pertinax. This decree was carried to Severus by ſome of the chief men in the ſenate, who entreated him, in the name of the reſt, to haſten his march to Rome. At the ſame time, the ſenate ſent a band of ſoldiers to the palace, with orders to put Julianus to death; whom they found drowned in tears, and ready to reſign the empire, upon condition that they ſpared his life. Some authors write, that at the ſight of the armed band, he only ſaid, What crime have I committed? whoſe life have I taken away [z]? Others tell us that he implored the faith of Cæſar, giving that title to Severus [a]. Be that as it will, his head was ſtruck off by a common ſoldier, and his body, according to Aurelius Victor, expoſed to public view. Such was the end of Didius Julianus, after he had lived ſixty years, four months, and as many days, and reigned two months and ſix days. Severus, upon his arrival at Rome, delivered his body to his wife and daughter, by whom it was buried in the tomb of his anceſtors on the Via Lavicana, about five miles from Rome [b].

Julianus abandoned by all.

Severus declared emperor and Julianus degraded by the ſenate, and put to death.

SEVERUS received the news of his competitor's death, when he was yet ſome days journey from Rome. However, he purſued his march with his troops in battle-array, and encamped every night, as if he had been in an enemy's country; which filled the city with terror and diſmay. The ſenate deputed an hundred perſons of great diſtinction out of their body to congratulate him upon the death of his rival and his acceſſion

An hundred ſenators ſent to meet Severus.

[x] Dio, in excerpt. Val p. 729. Vit. Jul. p. 63. [y] Dio, p. 838. Herod. p. 510. [z] Dio, ibid. [a] Jul. vit. p. 63. [b] Dio, p. 863 Vit Jul. p. 66.

ſion to the empire. Severus received them in his armour, at the head of his troops, and cauſed them to be ſearched, as if he ſuſpected their fidelity; but afterwards entertained them in a very familiar and friendly manner, preſented them with ſeven hundred pieces of gold, and gave them liberty either to depart immediately, or to ſtay and return to Rome with him. He appointed Flavius Juvenalis captain of the guards, with Veturius Macrinus, whom he had named before to that employment. At the ſame time, he diſpatched an expreſs to Plautianus, enjoining him to ſeize the children of Peſcennius Niger, and of all the officers who ſerved under him. He had the good luck to intercept ſeveral letters and edicts ſent by Niger to the ſenate and people of Rome, which he would not ſuffer to be read to them. When he approached Rome, he cauſed all thoſe to be executed, who had any hand in the death of Pertinax; and ſent orders to the other ſoldiers of the guards to meet him without their arms, and in the attire which they were when they attended the emperor in the great ſolemnities. His orders were obeyed, the guards imagining that they were to attend in that dreſs the emperor's entry. When they arrived in the camp, Severus ſent them word to wait in a body till he was at leiſure to receive and harangue them; and in the mean time gave private orders to his own troops to ſurround them at a diſtance, and ſhut them up on all ſides, while they were intent upon hearing his harangue. He then aſcended the tribunal; and betraying great anger and reſentment in his countenance, reproached them in moſt bitter terms for murdering their prince, and ſuch a prince as Pertinax; for ſelling by auction, to the eternal ignominy of the Roman name, the empire; and even for abandoning, like ſo many cowards and traitors, Julianus, whom they themſelves had choſen. He told them, that he could inflict no puniſhment upon them anſwerable to the enormity of their crimes; that nevertheleſs he granted them their lives, but commanded them forthwith to quit their horſes and all their military badges, and retire without delay an hundred miles from Rome, ſolemnly declaring, that whoever among them ſhould be found within that diſtance of the city, ſhould irremiſſibly be put to death, and publicly executed. They were thunder-ſtruck with this order; but forced to comply with it, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the armed troops of Severus, who obliged them to quit their horſes, and ſtripped them even of their tunics. Thus ſtripped and degraded,

He diſbands all the prætorian guards.

[c] Vit. Sever. p. 66. & Nigr. p. 75. Herodian. l. iii. p. 526.

graded, they retired with that ſhame and confuſion, which were juſtly owing to the heinouſneſs of their crimes [d]. Dion Caſſius tells us, that one of their horſes followed his old maſter, throwing down and treading under foot all thoſe who endeavoured to ſtop him; inſomuch that the unhappy ſoldier, finding his horſe would not, by any means, leave him, killed him, and running himſelf through with the ſame ſword, fell dead by him. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that the faithful horſe betrayed a kind of joy in dying by his maſter's hand [e]. Severus entered Rome, attended by all his troops under arms, and with the ſtandards of the prætorian guards reverſed. He came to the gate on horſe-back and in his military habit; but there took his gown, and made his entry on foot, accompanied by the ſenators in their robes, with crowns of laurel on their heads; which the people likewiſe wore, who, on this occaſion were all clad in white. The ſtreets through which he paſſed, were ſtrewed with flowers, the houſes adorned, and covered with rich tapeſtry, and the whole city perfumed with ſweet odours. Severus, having viſited the capitol, and the uſual temples, retired to the palace; but the ſoldiers, taking up their quarters in the temples, porticos, and other public buildings, ſpread themſelves all over the city, and committed every-where great diſorders, threatening to plunder the citizens houſes, if they were not plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, for which they would allow nothing. This alarmed the people, and inſpired them with a great averſion to the new emperor [f]. The next morning, Severus went to the ſenate, attended by all his troops under arms; but he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, when he was interrupted all on a ſudden by dreadful cries of the ſoldiers without, demanding an immenſe ſum of the ſenate, which had been formerly given to the troops that had attended Auguſtus to Rome, and was conſequently, ſaid they, due to them. The ſenate, altogether unappriſed of the cauſe of that uproar, was, as we may well imagine, ſtruck with horror and diſmay. The emperor himſelf betrayed ſome fear; but however, ſtarting up, he went out to them; but could not appeaſe the mutinous multitude, without promiſing them part of what they demanded; that is two hundred and fifty drachmas a man, inſtead of two thouſand five hundred. Then returning to the ſenate, he excuſed himſelf for having aſſumed the title of emperor without their conſent, pretending, that he had done it

His entry into Rome.

The emperor's ſpeech to the ſenate.

The ſoldiers mutiny.

[d] Herod. p. 510. Dio, p. 839. [e] Dio, ibid. [f] Herod. p. 512.

it purely to revenge the death of Pertinax, and deliver them from the tyranny of Julianus. He promiſed to govern with great moderation, and tread in the footſteps of M. Aurelius and Pertinax, adding a ſolemn oath, by which he bound himſelf to the obſervance of all the laws; and particularly ſwore, that no ſenator ſhould, for any crime whatſoever, be put to death in his reign, who had not been firſt tried and condemned by the ſenate; nay, he obliged the ſenate to paſs a decree, declaring ſuch emperors as acted otherwiſe, thoſe who obeyed them therein, and their children, public enemies. This gave great ſatisfaction to the generality of the ſenators; but men of diſcernment, and ſuch as were better acquainted with his dark and reſerved temper, with his falſhood and diſſimulation, gave no credit to his fair promiſes; but, on the contrary, looked upon him as a ſecond Tiberius [g]. However, they unanimouſly conferred upon him all the titles peculiar to the imperial dignity, inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular powers, created him high pontiff, &c. Severus acquainted the ſenate with his having beſtowed on Albinus the title of Cæſar, begged they would confirm it to him, cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck with his name, ſtatues to be erected to him, &c. He diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiery and people, which are taken notice of on ſeveral medals of this year [h]; but what chiefly gained him the hearts of the people, was his conſecrating and inrolling, with extraordinary pomp and ſolemnity, the emperor Pertinax in the number of the gods. This apotheoſis, perhaps the moſt magnificent that had ever been ſeen in Rome, is deſcribed at length by Dion Caſſius [i]. Before he left Rome to march againſt Niger, he cauſed the ſenate to proſcribe all the friends and adherents of Julianus; executed without mercy ſuch of them as were diſcovered, and ſeized, and even attempted, out of hatred to that prince, to aboliſh the decrees of the celebrated civilian Salvius Julianus, his great grandfather. In the next place, he choſe new guards in the room of thoſe whom he had caſhiered, and four times as many, which filled Rome with ſoldiers, and proved very chargeable to the ſtate; for their pay much exceeded that of the other troops. Beſides, the natives only of certain countries, viz. of Spain, Macedon, Noricum, and above all of Italy, had been hitherto admitted to ſerve in the guards; but Severus, without any regard to their countries, choſe the moſt reſolute

The title of Cæſar confirmed to Albinus.

The friends of Julianus proſcribed.

New prætorian guards choſen.

[g] Vit. Sever. p. 66. Herod. p. 512. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 640.
[h] Birag. p. 268. [i] Dio, p. 840.

lute and brave men in his army, and appointed, that, for the future, they ſhould always be taken from among the other troops; by which means the guards, who of late had ſerved only for ſhew, became the flower of the Roman forces; and the hopes of a leſs toilſome, and more honourable and advantageous warfare encouraged the reſt to diſcharge their duty with more punctuality and exactneſs; but on the other hand, the Italian youth, (for the guards had hitherto been moſtly natives of Italy) having no longer that reſource, turned either robbers or gladiators: hence this regulation was no-ways pleaſing, either to the Romans, or to the other inhabitants of Italy [k]. About the ſame time, the emperor gave his two daughters in marriage to Probus and Aetius, and honoured both his ſons-in-law with the conſular dignity. To the former he offered the government of Rome; but he declining that employment, it was conferred upon Domitius Dexter. The emperor, having thus ſettled affairs in Rome, and ſupplied the city with great plenty of corn, ſet out in the beginning of July on his march into the eaſt againſt Niger, whom he had never once named during his ſtay at Rome. His troops mutinied the firſt day at a place called Saxa Rubra, about nine miles from Rome; but the mutiny was ſoon quelled. However, he encamped there the firſt night, when his brother Geta came to wait upon him, expecting ſome great preferment; but Severus ordered him to return to his government, and ſhewed no inclination to employ him. Before he decamped, the children of Peſcennius Niger were brought to him, whom he received and entertained with the ſame kindneſs as if they had been his own. He purſued his march with all poſſible expedition, having diſpatched an expreſs to the commander of the troops in Illyricum, enjoining him to haſten into Thrace, and wait for him there. He ordered Heraclius to attempt the recovery of Bithynia, which province had declared for Niger; and wrote to Albinus in Britain, to hold himſelf ready to march upon the firſt notice [l].

Severus ſets out againſt Niger.

In the mean time, Niger, hearing that Severus had been acknowledged emperor by the ſenate and people of Rome, and was already advancing by long marches againſt him, wrote to the governors of the provinces, enjoining them to guard

Niger prepares for war.

[k] Herod. p. 512. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 840. & in excerpt. Val. p. 733. [l] Vit. Sever. p. 67.

guard the narrow paſſes, eſpecially that of mount Taurus between Cappadocia and Cilicia; raiſed new forces in Antioch and all the other cities of Syria, and ſent deputies to demand ſuccours of the neighbouring princes. He went in perſon to view the fortifications of Byzantium, in which city he left a numerous garriſon, looking upon it as a place of the utmoſt importance. From Byzantium he advanced to Perinthus, called afterwards Heraclea, where, in a ſkirmiſh between his men and thoſe of Severus, whoſe party the city of Perinthus had embraced, a conſiderable number of the latter were ſlain, and among them ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction. Hereupon the ſenate, to curry favour with Severus, declared Niger a public enemy, and likewiſe Æmilianus, then proconſul of Aſia, a perſon of extraordinary talents, long experience, and generally eſteemed the greateſt ſtateſman of his age [m]. Spartian writes, that Niger, improving the advantage he had gained at Perinthus, made himſelf maſter of all Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, and thereupon offered to take Severus for his partner in the empire; which propoſal he rejected with contempt and deriſion [n]. The following year 194, Severus and Albinus were both conſuls the ſecond time, and Niger in all likelihood took upon him the ſame dignity; for on ſome medals he is ſtyled conſul [o]. We know nothing of what paſſed in the war between Niger and Severus, till the arrival of the latter before the city of Byzantium, which he beſieged this year; but meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance from the numerous garriſon, he left ſome of his troops before the place, and ordered the reſt to croſs the ſea and march towards Cyzicus, in the neighbourhood of which city they were met by Æmilianus at the head of a numerous army. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which much blood was ſhed on both ſides; but Æmilianus was in the end defeated, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf firſt in Cyzicus, and afterwards in another city not named in hiſtory, where he was taken, and put to death by the generals of Severus; for the emperor himſelf was not it ſeems, preſent at the battle of Cyzicus [p]. Not long after, another battle was fought between Nicea and Cius, two cities of Bithynia, which proved far more bloody than the former, Niger commanding his own troops in perſon, and Candidus, an officer of great experience, thoſe of Severus. Both armies fought with a fu-

Æmilianus Niger's general, defeated and ſlain.

[m] Herod. l. ii. p. 512, 513. Nig. vit. p. 76. Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 734. [n] Vit. Nigr. p. 67. [o] Birag. 264. [p] Herod. p. 516. Dio, p. 842. Vit. Sev. p. 6

ry hardly to be expreſſed, as appears from Dion Caſſius's account of the engagement; but Niger, in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, was at laſt obliged to ſave himſelf by flight beyond the ſtreights of mount Taurus; which he cauſed to be fortified and well guarded [s]. After this victory, Severus wrote to Niger, offering to let him live in ſafety, provided he laid down his arms and diſbanded his troops; which Niger ſeemed inclined to do; but was diverted from it by Aurelianus, whoſe daughters were betrothed to his ſons. He therefore retired to Antioch, in order to raiſe there troops and money. In the mean time, the cities of Laodicea and Tyre declaring for Severus, Niger detached againſt them a body of Moors, who pillaged the rebellious cities, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſet fire to their houſes, which were in great part conſumed, but afterwards reſtored by Severus. In the mean time, Severus's army, advancing to the foot of mount Taurus, was ſtopped there, and quite diſheartened, at the ſight of the ſtrong works and the great number of troops that defended them; inſomuch, that deſpairing of being able to open themſelves a paſſage, they had ſome thoughts of returning: but an incredible quantity of rain, mixed with ſnow, falling in the night-time, the fortifications were utterly demoliſhed the next day by an impetuous torrent from the mountain; which ſo terrified Niger's men, now perſuaded that the gods favoured the enemy, betook themſelves to flight, and left Severus's troops to enter Cilicia, without offering to make head againſt them. Niger had already raiſed a new army, conſiſting chiefly of the Antiochian youth, who were very zealous and ſanguine in his cauſe; but utter ſtrangers to military diſcipline. However, Niger placed them ſo advantageouſly, that when they were attacked by the regular and well diſciplined troops of Severus, under the command of Valerianus and Anulinus, they not only repulſed them, but would have gained a complete victory, had it not been ſnatched out of their hands by a dreadful and unexpected ſtorm of thunder and lightning; which, diſcharging itſelf in their faces, prevented them from purſuing the advantage they had gained, and diſheartened them to ſuch a degree, that no longer doubting but the gods were averſe to their cauſe, they began to deſpair of ſucceſs and retire. Hereupon Severus's troops, reſuming their courage, renewed the charge, and in the end gained a complete victory. This battle, by far the moſt bloody of the three, was fought on the very ſpot where Alexander the Great

Niger himſelf overthrown.

A third battle, in which Niger is utterly defeated.

s Dio p. 842.

Great firſt vanquiſhed Darius; that is, near the city of Iſſus, at a place called Pylæ Ciliciæ, or the Gates of Cilicia, it being a narrow plain on the confines of Syria and Cilicia, incloſed on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by ſteep mountains, on which Niger's forces were poſted. Niger is ſaid to have loſt in this battle twenty thouſand men. Of the dead on the ſide of Severus no mention is made in hiſtory. Niger, after this overthrow, retired to Antioch; but not thinking himſelf ſafe there, continued his flight towards the Euphrates, with a deſign as was ſuppoſed, of taking ſhelter among the Parthians: but thoſe who purſued him, overtaking him at a ſmall diſtance from Antioch, cut off his head, and carried it on the point of a ſpear to Severus, who cauſed it to be firſt ſhewn to the inhabitants of Byzantium, and then ſent it to Rome [r]. Thus Dion Caſſius and Herodian; but Spartian tells us, that Niger, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken priſoner, and in that condition brought to Severus, in whoſe preſence he expired [s].

Niger is ſlain.

Severus puniſhes without mercy ſuch as had ſided with Niger.

Severus [t] was not preſent at any of theſe battles; but where-ever he was, (for as to that particular we are left by hiſtorians quite in the dark) he ſoon made all thoſe who had ſided with his competitor feel the effects of his reſentment. He put ſuch of the ſenators to death, as had ſerved under Niger in quality of generals or tribunes. He ſpared the lives of the other ſenators; but baniſhed them to the iſlands, and ſeized their eſtates. He cauſed an infinite number of other perſons of an inferior rank to be publicly executed, without conſidering, whether they had engaged in the war by force or conſtraint. Many, who had never ſeen Niger, were involved in this general maſſacre of his friends and partizans [u]. Herodian writes, that Severus perſuaded Niger's generals, by means of their children, whom he had with him, to betray the cauſe which they had embraced; and, after gaining the victory by their treachery, murdered both them and their children [w]. He firſt baniſhed the wife and children of Niger, and afterwards cauſed them and all thoſe of his family to be murdered, and their eſtates to be confiſcated. Spartian names ſix illuſtrious perſons of the Peſcennian family, who were put to death by his orders [x]. However, he would not ſuffer a pompous inſcription

[r] Herod. l. iii. p. 519, 520. Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 843. [s] Nig. vit. p. 76. [t] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 851. & in excerpt. Val. p. 734. [u] Herod. l. iii. p. 521. [w] Vit. Sev. p. 69.

inſcription on the baſis of a ſtatue of Niger at Rome (M) to be erazed, ſaying, Let the world know what an enemy I have conquered [x]. He puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity ſuch cities as had ſided with Niger, eſpecially Antioch, which he deprived of the privileges and title of a city, ſubjecting it as a mere village to Laodicea; which heightened the jealouſy between theſe two neighbouring cities. However, the following year, at the entreaties of his eldeſt ſon, then an infant, he reinſtated the city of Antioch in its former rights and privileges [y]. He obliged ſuch cities as had aſſiſted Niger with money, though not by choice, but conſtraint, to pay four times as much to him; which drew upon him the public hatred: but as he loved money, he was glad of any pretence to raiſe it [z]. The next conſuls were Scapula Tertullus and Tineius Clemens, during whoſe adminiſtration, Severus, paſſing the Euphrates, reduced the inhabitants of Oſrhoene and Adiabene; who, taking advantage of the late diſturbances, had murdered the Roman ſoldiers left among them, and ſhaken off the yoke [a]. He likewiſe entered Arabia; for the Arabians too had either revolted, or joined Niger, but were in the end obliged to ſubmit to Severus [b]. Herodian writes, that he overran all Arabia Felix [c]; and Eutropius and Victor cry up his exploits in that country, ſpeaking of them as if he had been the firſt who reduced Arabia to a Roman province. But Arabia Petræa had long before been made a province by Trajan; and as for Arabia Felix, we do not find it mentioned among the provinces of the empire, either in Severus's time or afterwards. Euſebius tells us, that Severus ſubdued the Adiabenians

He makes war upon the Adiabenians, Arabians and Parthians.

[x] Vit. Nig. p. 79. [y] Herod. l. iii. p. 523. Diog. p. 1021. Vit. Caracal. p. 85. [z] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 737. [a] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 848. [b] Idem, p. 848. [c] Herod. l. iii. p. 528.

(M) The houſe of Niger was ſtill ſtanding in Dioclefian's time, as Spartian informs us, and in one of the rooms his ſtatue done to the life in the black marble of Thebes, with an epigram on the baſis to this purpoſe: Here ſtands the great Niger, the terror of Egypt, the ally of Thebes, who had propoſed a golden age to all. Kings, nations, Rome it ſelf, loved him. He was dear to both the Antoninuſes, and to the whole empire. As his name was Niger, (that is, black) we have cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him in black marble, that it might anſwer his name. This ſtatue was, as Spartian informs us, a preſent from the king of Thebes to Statius Poſthumius.

nians and Arabians, who had aſſiſted Niger [d]. He likewiſe made war upon the Parthians; but did not bring them under ſubjection, as Spartian pretends [e]. For theſe wars the ſenate decreed him the titles of Arabicus, Parthicus, and Adiabenicus, which, with that of imperator the fifth time, are given him in the inſcriptions of this year 195, the third of his reign [f]. He refuſed the triumph which was likewiſe decreed him, that he might not ſeem to have triumphed for victories gained in a civil war. The title of Parthicus he likewiſe rejected, leſt his aſſuming it ſhould provoke the Parthians [g]. The Scythians deſigned to make war upon him, and had already begun their march; but were ſtopped, and deterred from putting their deſign in execution, by a dreadful ſtorm in which three of their chiefs were ſtruck dead with lightning [h]. In the beginning of the following year, when Cn. Domitius Dexter, governor of Rome, was conſul the ſecond time, with L. Valerius Meſſala Thraſea Priſcus, the city of Byzantium ſurrendered after a three years ſiege. It was at this time by far the greateſt, and the moſt populous and wealthy city of Thrace, fortified with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, and defended by a great number of towers, ſeven of which were built with ſuch art, that the leaſt noiſe, heard in one of them, was immediately conveyed to all the reſt [i]. This city Niger ſeized at the firſt breaking out of the war, placed a numerous garriſon in it, and ſupplied the inhabitants with great ſtore of warlike machines, moſt of them invented and built by Periſcus, a native of Nicea, and the greateſt engineer of his age. Severus laid ſiege to this place when he firſt arrived in Thrace, left a conſiderable body of troops to carry it on, and, after the defeat and death of Niger, purſued it with the greateſt part of his army by land, and by ſea with all the ſhips he could aſſemble from the different ports of Aſia. The Byzantines defended themſelves, before the death of Niger, and even after his head had been ſhewn to them, with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expreſſed. They baffled all the attempts of the aſſailants, killed great numbers of them, cruſhed ſuch as approached the walls with huge ſtones, and when ſtones began to fail them, with the ſtatues of their gods and heroes; but in the end they were obliged by famine, after having been reduced to the fatal neceſſity of devouring one

The city of Byzantium taken.

[d] Euſeb. chron. ad. ann. 199. [e] Spart. in vit. Sever. p. 67. [f] Vit. Sever. p. 67. Goltz. p. 84. [g] Vit. Sever. ibid. [h] Dio, p. 849. [i] Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 847.

one another, to ſubmit, and open their gates to the conqueror, who put all the magiſtrates and ſoldiers to the ſword; but ſpared the engineer Periſcus. The city, with its ſtately theatres, baths, and public buildings was laid in aſhes; the inhabitants were ſtripped of all their effects and publicly ſold for ſlaves, and the walls levelled with the ground; thoſe walls, ſays Dion Caſſius, which were the ſtrongeſt rampart of the Roman empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians [k]. The chronicle of Alexandria and the modern Greek writers tell us, that Severus himſelf rebuilt in great part the city of Byzantium, calling it Antoninia, from his ſon Caracalla, who aſſumed the name of Antoninus [l]. After the ſurrender of Byzantium, Severus ſent his army, divided into three bodies, under the command of Lætus, Anulinus, and Probus, to reduce part of Meſopotamia; which they did accordingly: and the country they conquered, perhaps Acabene, or Aretacene, was by Severus made a new province, whereof Niſibis was declared the capital. The government of this new province was, like that of Egypt, given only to Roman knights [m].

And deſtroyed.

AFTER theſe ſucceſſes, Severus began to think of deſtroying Albinus, whom he had lulled aſleep with the title of Cæſar, while he was employed againſt Julianus and Niger. As Albinus was as much beloved by the ſenate, as Severus was hated on account of his cruelty, and many perſons of great diſtinction had even ſolicited him to come to Rome, and there aſſume the title of emperor, Severus thought he could not uſe too much diſpatch in cruſhing him. However, not judging it adviſeable to declare himſelf an open enemy to one who had not given him the leaſt provocation, he had recourſe to treachery, and wrote a pompous letter to the ſenate in his commendation, and another to Albinus himſelf, filled with the moſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip, calling him his deareſt and entirely beloved friend, his brother, his partner in the ſovereign power; but thoſe who brought him this letter had ſecret orders to draw him aſide, under colour of communicating to him in private ſome affairs of the utmoſt importance, and diſpatch him with their daggers. They were likewiſe provided with poiſon, in caſe they could prevail upon any of his domeſtics to adminiſter it to him. After Albinus had read the letter, the aſſaſſins, purſuant to their directions, told him they had ſomething to communicate to him by word of mouth, which required the utmoſt ſecrecy. Hereupon Al-

Severus reſolves to deſtroy Albinus.

Sends aſſaſſins to murder him.

[k] Dio, ibid. Herod. l. iii. p. 523. [l] Chron. Alex p. 620. Suid. p. 724. [m] Dio, l. lxxiv. p. 847——850.

binus deſired them to attend him into a gallery; but obſerving that they took more than ordinary care to prevent others from entering with them, he began to ſuſpect ſome treachery, and cauſed them to be ſeized, and put to the queſtion, when the violence of the torments extorted from them a full confeſſion of the errand on which they were come. Hereupon Albinus betook himſelf to open force; and having aſſembled a mighty army, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in Britain, and thence paſſed over into Gaul, where he was joined by many perſons of great diſtinction, both Gauls and Spaniards. Severus, upon the firſt news of his revolt, leaving the eaſt, haſtened through Thrace and Illyricum into Gaul. Some writers tell us, that before he ſet out on his march, he cauſed a young virgin to be ſacrificed, hoping to learn from her entrails what ſucceſs would attend him in this war [n]. At Viminiacum, a famous city in Upper Mœſia on the Danube, he gave the title of Cæſar to Baſſianus his eldeſt ſon, and on that occaſion diſtributed large ſums among the ſoldiers. At the ſame time, he obliged his ſon to quit the name of Baſſianus, and ſtyle himſelf thenceforth M. Aurelius Antoninus, for whom Severus ever had a great eſteem and veneration [o]. Before Severus reached Gaul, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the troops that had declared for him there and thoſe of Albinus, in one of which, called by Herodian a battle, the generals of Severus were utterly defeated, and their troops diſperſed [p]. This greatly alarmed him, and obliged him to quicken his march, after he had detached part of his troops to guard the narrow paſſes of the Alps, and prevent his competitor from entering Italy. In the mean time, the ſenate declared Albinus a public enemy; after which declaration, one Numerianus, who kept a grammar-ſchool at Rome, haſtening into Gaul, paſſed himſelf there upon the inhabitants for a ſenator ſent by Severus to raiſe troops; and having by this means got together a conſiderable body, he attacked and defeated a detachment of Albinus's horſe, and gained ſome other ſmall advantages; which Severus no ſooner knew, than he wrote to him as a ſenator, believing him to be one, commended his zeal, and commiſſioned him to levy what forces he could. Having therefore raiſed a ſmall army, he continually harraſſed Albinus's men, took many priſoners, and intercepted a great ſum of money, which he ſent to Severus. When Albinus was defeated, he went to wait upon Severus, told

Albinus cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.

Is declared a public enemy.

[n] Suid. p. 257. [o] Vit. Sever. p. 68. [p] Herod. l. iii. p. 524. Sev. vit. p. 68.

told him who he was; but deſpiſing the great riches and honours which the emperor offered him, he accepted only a ſmall penſion, and retiring into the country, ſpent the reſt of his life in quiet and ſolitude [q].

In the beginning of the following year, when Lateranus and Rufinus were conſuls, Severus, having paſſed the Alps in the midſt of winter, approached Lyons, where Albinus then reſided, with a deſign to enter Italy early in the ſpring. He was not a little alarmed at the ſudden and unexpected arrival of Severus; however, having with incredible expedition drawn together his troops quartered in that neighbourhood, he fell upon Lupus, one of Severus's generals, and defeated him with great ſlaughter [r]. Hereupon Severus advanced in perſon againſt his rival; and Albinus not declining the challenge, both armies, to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, were drawn up on the nineteenth of February in the neighbourhood of Lyons, probably in the ſpacious plain between that city and Trevoux. As the fate of the two commanders depended upon this battle, and no leſs a reward was propoſed for the conqueror than the Roman empire; as the Britiſh legions were no-ways inferior either in courage or experience to thoſe of Illyricum, and both armies expected to ſhare the fortune, whatever it was, of their generals, the engagement was one of the moſt ſharp and bloody recorded in hiſtory. After they had fought many hours with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, Albinus's left wing was utterly defeated, and obliged to take ſhelter in their camp, which the enemy entered in that confuſion, and plundered; but, on the other hand, his right wing, having drawn Severus's men into certain ditches, which they had covered with earth, gained ſo great an advantage over them, that the emperor himſelf, who flew to their aſſiſtance at the head of the prætorian guards, was put into the utmoſt confuſion, and obliged, if we believe Herodian, to ſave himſelf by flight, after having quitted, that he might not be known, all the badges of the imperial dignity [s]. Spartian writes, that he was wounded, and believed dead by the army, who were for creating another emperor in his room [t]; and Dion Caſſius, that his horſe was killed under him, and he himſelf in imminent danger of loſing his life [u]. The ſame author adds, that ſeeing his men fly, he threw himſelf ſword in hand upon the fugitives, and forced them to return

Severus marches againſt him.

The two armies engage near Lyons.

Severus in great danger.

[q] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 851. [r] Dio, ibid. [s] Herod. l. iii. p. 524. Dio, p. 851. [t] Vit. Sev. p. 63. [u] Dio, p. 852.

turn to the charge; which they did with ſuch fury, that the enemy, not able to withſtand them, began to give ground; which Lætus perceiving, fell upon them with the whole body of horſe under his command, and completed their overthrow. Lætus had declined engaging ſo long as the victory continued doubtful, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, of ſetting up for himſelf, after the two parties had deſtroyed each other [w]; and hence it was, that Severus, as Herodian informs us, inſtead of rewarding him, as he did his other generals, put him ſoon after to death.

Albinus entirely defeated and killed

Albinus's army, no longer able to keep the field, fled to Lyons, whither they were purſued by the conquerors; who, entering the city with the fugitives, firſt plundered it, and then laid it in aſhes [y]. Albinus, who had concealed himſelf in an houſe on the Rhone, finding no means of making his eſcape, laid violent hands on himſelf [z]. Thus Dion Caſſius. But other authors write, that being mortally wounded either by himſelf, or ſome of his own men, he was brought in that condition to Severus, in whoſe preſence he expired [a].

The cruelty of Severus.

Be that as it will, Severus beheld with great pleaſure the dead body of his competitor, rode over it ſeveral times, cauſing his horſe to tread it under foot, left it lying in its gore before his tent, till it was half putrified, and torn in pieces by the dogs, and then ordered the poor remains of it to be thrown into the Rhone. The head he cauſed to be cut off, and ſent it to Rome, ordering it to be ſet up there on a pole in the forum. He pardoned at firſt his wife and children; but ſoon after, changing his mind, he cauſed them to be inhumanly maſſacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The whole family of Albinus, all his friends, and moſt diſtant relations, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were by Severus's orders barbarouſly ſlaughtered, and their eſtates confiſcated. Moſt of the great men of Gaul and Spain, who had ſhewn an attachment to Albinus, underwent the ſame fate. By means of theſe murders and confiſcations, he amaſſed an immenſe treaſure, enriched his ſoldiers, and, at his death, left greater wealth to his children, than any prince had done before him [b].

AFTER this victory, all the cities that had declared for Albinus, were ſoon reduced, and the inhabitants puniſhed, ſome with death, ſome with the confiſcation of their eſtates; ſo that Severus, ſeeing all quiet in Gaul, and likewiſe in Britain,

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Herod. l. iii. p. 524. [y] Idem p. 525. [z] Dio, p. 853. [a] Vit. Alb. & Sev. p. 68. [b] Vit. Sev. p. 68.

tain, which he divided into two provinces, ſet out for Rome, leading with him his victorious army. His approach filled the city with terror and diſmay, thoſe who had favoured Albinus, expecting no better treatment than the friends of that unfortunate commander had met with in Gaul. Their apprehenſions were heightened by a letter which Severus wrote to the ſenate, when he ſent the head of Albinus to Rome; for in that letter he complained of their affection to Albinus, as if they had all privately favoured and aſſiſted his declared enemy; reproached them with ingratitude; cried up the conduct and government of Commodus, whom he had never mentioned before but as a tyrant and monſter; and, in ſpeaking of the head of Albinus, uſed this expreſſion; I ſend it to you, that you may thereby know you have provoked me, and ſee with your eyes the effects of my reſentment. Both the ſenate and people were thunder-ſtruck with this letter; they expected nothing but a general maſſacre, the more becauſe they were informed, that Severus had ſeized the papers of Albinus, and by that means diſcovered all his friends and correſpondents. However, as he drew near, the ſenate went out to meet him, and received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, attended him to the capitol, and thence to the palace where he ordered great ſums to be diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery. The next day he went to the ſenate, and there read a ſpeech filled with bitter invectives againſt the partizans of Albinus; produced the letters that had been written to him; commended the cruelties of Sylla, of Marius, and of Auguſtus, as neceſſary precautions; aſcribed the ruin of Pompey, and the death of Cæſar, to their unſeaſonable clemency; and mentioning Commodus, ſtyled him a god, and beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon him; adding, that none but infamous and abandoned wretches could cenſure or blame the conduct of ſuch an excellent prince [c]. Having ended his ſpeech, he returned to the palace, and filled the city with maſſacres and bloodſhed. In a few days forty-two ſenators, moſt of whom had been conſuls or prætors, were ſacrificed to his fury and revenge, and an incredible number of perſons of an inferior rank. Herodian tells us, that he cut off all thoſe, who on account of their birth or riches, bore any ſway in the ſenate or the provinces. Many were condemned and executed upon bare ſuſpicions, and many for no other crime but that of being poſſeſſed of great wealth under a covetous and inhuman tyrant [d].

Severus's letter to the ſenate.

His cruelties in Rome.

While

[c] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 526. Vit. Alb. p. 60. & Sev. p. 68. [d] Dio, p. 853. Herod. p. 527. Vit. Sev. p. 69.

While the city was yet floating in blood, he went to the ſenate, and, out of hatred to the ſenators, cauſed them to rank Commodus with the uſual ceremonies among the gods, to appoint prieſts, and inſtitute an annual feſtival to his honour. He condemned Narciſſus, the famous wreſtler, who had ſtrangled him, to be devoured by the wild beaſts, and ſpared none who were ſuſpected of having been any ways privy to his death [e]. After Severus had ſpent ſome months at Rome, and there cut off, not only the partizans of Albinus, but ſuch as gave him the leaſt umbrage, he took leave of the ſenate, and, with his two ſons Caracalla and Geta, ſet out for the eaſt, with a deſign to make war upon the Parthians, who, under the conduct of their king Vologeſes, had made themſelves maſters of great part of Meſopotamia. He embarqued with his army at Brunduſium, and arriving in Syria, marched ſtrait to Niſibis in Meſopotamia, whence the Parthians retired into their own country upon the firſt news of his approach. He was met on his march by Augarus, or Abgarus, king of Oſrhoene, who ſtyled him his prince and protector, delivered up to him his children as hoſtages, and ſupplied him with a conſiderable body of archers to be employed in his intended expedition againſt the Parthians [f]. The following year, Tib. Saturninus and C. Gallus being conſuls, Severus having made vaſt preparations for the war againſt the Parthians, began his march about the end of the ſummer, judging the autumn the moſt proper ſeaſon for that expedition. He followed the courſe of the Euphrates, the greater part of his army being conveyed down in boats, and the reſt marching on the banks of the river. To paſs from the Euphrates into the Tigris, he cauſed the canal Naarmalcha, made formerly by Adrian, to be cleanſed, and by that means arrived in a ſhort time at Seleucia and Babylon, both which places he found abandoned by the enemy, and took without oppoſition. Thence he advanced to Cteſiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian dominions; which he inveſted, and took after a laborious ſiege, during which his ſoldiers, for want of proviſions, were obliged to feed upon ſuch roots as they found in the fields; which bred various diſtempers in the army. However, the place was in the end forced to ſurrender; but the king who had ſhut himſelf up in it, found means to make his eſcape, attended by a ſmall body of horſe; which was a great diſappointment to Severus. The emperor gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who put all the men to

Goes into the eaſt to make war upon the Parthians.

He takes Seleucia, Babylon and Cteſiphon.

[e] Vit. Sev. p. 69. [f] Herod. l. iii. p. 528.

to the ſword; but ſpared the women and children, whom, to the number of one hundred thouſand, they ſold for ſlaves.

After the reduction of Cteſiphon, Severus wrote to the ſenate, giving them a pompous account of his exploits, which he cauſed to be repreſented in painting, and expoſed to public view. The ſenate decreed him a triumph, and honoured him with the title of Parthicus Maximus; which is to be ſeen on ſeveral medals of the next and the following years [g]. Spartian tells us, that the army, in the tranſports of their joy for the reduction of Cteſiphon, proclaimed Caracalla, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, his partner in the ſovereign power, and at the ſame time gave the title of Cæſar to his ſecond ſon Geta [h]; which honours were afterwards confirmed to both by the ſenate. Caracalla had entered the eleventh year of his age on the fourth of April of this year 198. Severus, not thinking it adviſeable either to keep Cteſiphon, or purſue Vologeſes, ſet out on his return into Syria about the beginning of winter, loaded with booty. He is ſuppoſed to have concluded a treaty with the Parthians; for we read of no wars between them and the Romans till eighteen years after, and Vologeſes, reigned peaceably to his death, which happened after that of Severus [i]. While Severus was thus employed in the eaſt, ſome diſturbances aroſe in Britain, where the Caledonians, taking up arms, invaded the Roman dominions, committing every-where dreadful ravages. Lupus, whom Severus had appointed governor of Britain, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt that warlike nation with the troops he had with him, and well knowing, that Severus could not ſend him timely aſſiſtance, was forced to purchaſe a peace of the enemy, and, with large ſums, redeem the Roman territories from their daily incurſions [k].

Caracalla made a partner of the empire.

Diſturbances in Britain.

THE following year, when P. Cornelius Aullinus and M. Aufidius Fronto were conſuls, Severus, on his march back into Syria, attacked the city of Atra, Barſemus, king of that place, having formerly ſent conſiderable ſuccours to Niger; but was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having loſt a great many men and moſt of his warlike engines [l]. About this time, Severus cauſed two officers of great diſtinction to be put to death, viz. Julius Criſpus, tribune of the

Lætus murdered.

[g] Idem ibid. Dio, p. 854. Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 278. Onuph. in faſt. Goltz. p. 85. [h] Vit. Ser. p. 70. [i] Dio, l. lxxv. p. 854. & in excerpt. Val. p. 746. [k] Idem, p. 851, 866. [l] Idem, p. 844.

the prætorian guards, and Lætus, one of his beſt generals; the former for ſaying, that Severus expoſed his troops wantonly to dangers, and obliged them to undergo great hardſhips only to ſatisfy his private ambition and vanity. Lætus's crime was, according to Herodian, his having acted with treachery in the battle of Lyons, as we have related above. But Dion Caſſius, who commends him, both as an excellent citizen and ſoldier, tells us, that Severus put him to death, for no other reaſon but becauſe he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiers, which the jealous emperor could not bear [m]. After he had allowed ſome reſpite to his harraſſed troops, and amaſſed an immenſe quantity of proviſions and warlike engines, he returned before the city of Atra; but all his efforts againſt that place proving unſucceſsful, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege anew, having loſt, during the eighteen days it laſted, moſt of his machines, and an incredible number of men [n]. Thus did one city baffle all the attempts of Trajan and Severus, the two greateſt commanders among the Roman emperors, as it did afterwards thoſe of Artaxerxes, who, about the year 226, re-eſtabliſhed the Perſian on the ruin of the Parthian empire. Severus ſpent moſt part of the following year, when Tib. Claudius Severus was conſul the ſecond time with C. Aufidius Victorinus, in ſearching after ſuch of Niger's partizans as had not yet been diſcovered, and in gleaning, to uſe the expreſſion of Tertullian [o], after the vintage. Many perſons of diſtinction, who believed themſelves to be ſafe, were on this occaſion ſeized and condemned without mercy, ſuch eſpecially as gave the tyrant any umbrage on account of their birth or riches [p]. The next year, when L. Annius Fabianus and M. Nonius Mucianus were conſuls, Severus gave the manly robe to his eldeſt ſon, though he was then but fourteen years old, and named him conſul with himſelf for the year following. They both entered upon their conſulſhip in Syria; and on that occaſion the emperor gave a largeſs to the ſoldiers.

Severus attacks the city of Atra; but is obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

Severus went, during his conſulſhip, into Arabia, and from thence into Paleſtine, where he remitted the taxes with which he had loaded the inhabitants for their ſteady adherence to Niger. While he was in Paleſtine, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, the ſubjects of the empire to embrace either the Jewiſh or Chriſtian religion; which gave riſe to the fifth general perſecution [q]. From Paleſtine

Severus viſits Arabia, Paleſtine, Egypt, &c.

[m] Idem, p. 855. [n] Idem, l. lxxv. p. 555. [o] Tertul. apol c. 35. [p] Vit. Sev. p. 69. [q] Idem, p. 70. Euſeb. l. vi. c. 2.

leſtine he paſſed into Egypt, where he viſited the tomb of Pompey the Great, and then purſued his rout to Alexandria, to which city he granted a public council or ſenate; a mark of diſtinction which they had often begged in vain of other emperors [r]. During his ſtay in Egypt, he viſited all the cities, and viewed with great attention the curioſities of that antient kingdom, eſpecially the pyramids, the labyrinth, the ſtatue of Memnon, &c. He examined with great care the books he found in the temples, and cauſed ſuch of them as contained any ſecret knowledge to be conveyed into the ſepulchre of Alexander the Great, which he ordered to be ſhut up, that no one might for the future either ſee the body of that prince, or peruſe thoſe books [s].

THE next conſuls were Septimius Geta, the emperor's brother, and Fulvius Plautianus, his great favourite. Some writers call Plautianus the emperor's kinſman; others ſay, that he was only his countryman, being a native of Africa, as was Severus. Be that as it will, all agree, that he was of a very mean deſcent; and ſome add, that in his youth he had been baniſhed, for ſtirring up and heading the populace in a ſedition. However, the emperor favoured him above all the great men in Rome, and was ſo paſſionate for him, that, not in converſation only, but in public, in his ſpeeches to the ſenate and people, he extolled him more than Tiberius had ever done his favourite Sejanus. He created him captain of the prætorian guards, and ſhared with him the power and wealth of the empire; for Plautianus was ſaid to be poſſeſſed of as great riches as Severus himſelf, and thought to be no leſs powerful; at leaſt greater court was paid to his power, than to that of the emperor. The ſenators and ſoldiers ſwore by the fortune of Plautianus; public vows and ſacrifices were offered for his ſafety, as if he had been emperor, and Rome was filled with his ſtatues, moſtly erected by the authority of the ſenate. His table was better ſerved than the emperor's, and his equipage far more magnificent. As there was no acceſs to honours but through his favour, his houſe was conſtantly crouded with ſenators, knights, and great part of the people, all ſolicitous for admiſſion to Plautianus, who was harder of acceſs than the emperor. Geta, the brother of Severus, and the empreſs Julia ſtood no leſs in awe of him than the reſt, well knowing, that his authority was of far greater weight than theirs. This exorbitant power was moſt notoriouſly

Plautianus his chief favourite.

His great power.

[r] Vit. Sev. p. 70. [s] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 737. Vit. Sev. ibid.

notoriouſly abuſed by the favourite miniſter, who condemned, baniſhed, and even put to death many illuſtrious perſons, whom he hated or ſuſpected, without conſulting the emperor, nay, without his knowledge; for though whatever the emperor ſaid or did was immediately carried to Plautianus, yet Severus was quite unacquainted with the crimes and arbitrary proceedings of his miniſter; and hence, looking upon him as a man without reproach, he continued to heap upon him all ſorts of honours. He had already diſtinguiſhed him with the conſular ornaments, and created him ſenator, without removing him from the command of the prætorian guards; and this year he not only appointed him conſul, but, to the great ſurprize of Rome and the whole empire, declared his intention of marrying his eldeſt ſon Caracalla to Fulvia Plautilla, the daughter of Plautianus; which he did accordingly this very year, ſoon after his return to Rome; for, having ſettled the affairs in the eaſt, he arrived unexpectedly at Rome about the latter end of May, and, according to Herodian, entered the city in triumph [t]. Spartian writes, that he declined the triumph decreed him, becauſe he could not ſit in the triumphal chariot by reaſon of the gout; but ſuffered his ſon Caracalla to triumph over the Jews, who had, it ſeems, revolted, but had been again brought under ſubjection by Severus [u]. The emperor, upon his return, diſtributed immenſe ſums among the ſoldiers and people, ten pieces of gold a man more than any other prince had ever been known to give, and added to this extraordinary largeſs moſt magnificent ſhews, which laſted ſeven days [w]. When the ſhews were over, the nuptials of Caracalla and Plautilla were celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. Dion Caſſius writes, that what Plautianus gave his daughter on this occaſion, would have been a ſufficient dower for fifty queens; and adds, that he appointed an hundred perſons of good families to attend her, whom he had for that purpoſe privately cauſed to be made eunuchs, tho' ſome of them were married, and even had children; which, as that writer obſerves, highly provoked both the ſenate and people againſt him [x]. About this time, Severus gave the manly robe to his ſecond ſon Geta, who had entered the fourteenth year of his age on the twenty-ſeventh of May of this year 203, the tenth of his father's reign [y]. The following year, L. Fabius Septimius

Severus marries his ſon Caracalla to the daughter of Plautianus.

[t] Herod. l. iii p. 529. [u] Vit. Sev p. 63. [w] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 859, 860. Herod. ibid. [x] Dio, p. 859. [y] Vit. Sev. p. 69.

Septimius Cilo being conſul the ſecond time with L. Libo, the emperor, notwithſtanding his great kindneſs for Plautianus, being offended at the great number of ſtatues erected to him in all the public places of the city, cauſed ſome of them to be taken down. Hereupon a report being ſpread, that he was diſgraced, ſeveral governors of provinces, looking upon him already as a public enemy, cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down in their governments; but paid dear for their over-

The emperor orders ſome of his ſtatues to be pulled down.

haſty zeal, ſome of them being deprived of their employments, and others tried by the ſenate and condemned to baniſhment. Among the latter was Racius Conſtans, governor of Sardinia, who was tried by the emperor in perſon, in conjunction with Dion Caſſius and ſeveral other ſenators. Severus on this occaſion ſolemnly declared, that he would never ſuffer the leaſt affront or injury to be offered with impunity to Plautianus; but nevertheleſs, before a year was over, he changed his ſentiments, and ſuffered him to be put to death in his preſence. His ruin was chiefly owing to Caracalla, who, not able to bear with the haughty and imperious temper of his wife Plautilla, hated both her and his father-in-law Plautianus, openly declaring, that if ever he obtained the ſovereign power, they ſhould both ſoon feel the effects of his reſentment. Hereupon Plautianus reſolved to be beforehand with him, not doubting, but upon his death he ſhould be able to ſeize the empire for himſelf, as Severus was now ſtricken in years, and troubled with the gout. In the mean time, Geta, the emperor's brother, being taken ill, and find-

Caracalla the occaſion of his ruin.

ing there was no hope of his recovery, deſired to ſee Severus before he died, and acquainted him with the haughty, imperious, and tyrannical conduct of his favourite miniſter. Thenceforth the emperor began to look upon him with a jealous eye, and to leſſen by degrees his overgrown power; which he was no ſooner appriſed of, than he reſolved to exert the authority he ſtill enjoyed, and ſecure, by the murder both of the emperor and his ſon, the ſovereignty to himſelf; at leaſt Saturninus, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, declared to Severus, that Plautianus had charged him to aſſaſſinate them both, and ſhewed him his orders in writing. Herodian [z] and Ammianus Marcellinus [a] ſeem not to queſtion in the leaſt the truth of his depoſition; but Dion Caſſius looks upon the whole as a contrivance of Caracalla to deſtroy Plautianus, whoſe haughty behaviour he could no longer

[z] Herod. l. iii, p. 531, 533. [a] Ammian. l. xxix, p. 368.

longer brook [b]. Be that as it will, they all agree, that Plautianus, coming to the palace of his own accord, or ſent for by the emperor, as Dion will have it, and entering the emperor's room, where Caracalla then was, in order to clear himſelf from the crime laid to his charge, the young prince ruſhed upon him with a great fury, ſnatched his ſword from his ſide, which he wore as captain of the guards, and ordered thoſe who were preſent to diſpatch him, being prevented by the emperor, who began to relent, from doing it himſelf. His body was caſt into the ſtreet; but ſoon after taken, by the emperor's orders, and interred [c]. Severus immediately aſſembled the ſenate; but without uttering any invectives againſt Plautianus, only bewailed the unhappy lot of mankind, ſince ſome loved to exceſs, and others abuſed the love that was ſhewn them. He did not ſeem to believe, ſays Dion Caſſius, that Plautianus had ordered the tribune to murder him; but nevertheleſs proſecuted, and condemned, either to death or baniſhment, all his friends and creatures. His daughter Plautilla and his brother Plautius were baniſhed to the iſland of Liparis, where they were murdered by order of Caracalla, ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire [d]. Herodian writes, that they were baniſhed to Sicily, and there generouſly ſupported by Severus during his life-time [e]. This year, the 957th of Rome, the 204th of the chriſtian æra, and the twelfth of the reign of Severus, were celebrated with extraordinary pomp the ſecular games [f].

He is murdered by his orders.

THE next conſuls were the emperor's two ſons, Caracalla, the ſecond time, and Geta, the firſt. During their adminiſtration, Severus continued either at Rome or in the neighbourhood, and applied himſelf wholly to the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he did with great impartiality, following therein the advice of the celebrated civilian Papinianus, whom he appointed captain of the guards; for at this time the chief province of that officer was to decide law-ſuits with the emperor, or in his name. Papinianus in the diſcharge of this important office, employed as his counſellors Paulus and Ulpianus, two men eminently accompliſhed in the knowledge of the laws. As the empire now enjoyed a profound peace, Severus was at leiſure to reform many abuſes; which he did accordingly: but is blamed by moſt of the antients on account of his exceſſive ſeverity, eſpecially by the emperor Julian, who thinks his cruel inflexibility, as he ſtyles it, his greateſt fault;

Papinianus made captain of the guards.

Severus reforms ſeveral abuſes, enacts good laws, &c.

[b] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 861. [c] Idem ibid. Herod. p. 534. [d] Dio, p. 862. [e] Herod. l. iii. p. 535. [f] Cenſor. c. 17. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 669.

fault [g]; for he never pardoned the leaſt tranſgreſſion. He enacted ſeveral laws, which are mightily cried up, by the writers of thoſe times, as equally juſt and neceſſary. Many of them are ſtill extant in the Code. He allowed no power to his freed-men; nor would he ſuffer the ſenate to diſtinguiſh them with any honours. He choſe for governors of the provinces men of unblemiſhed characters, and was always ready to hear with great patience the complaints of his people. No prince ever managed the public money more frugally; and by that means he left the exchequer exceeding rich at his death, though he had found it quite empty, and had been engaged in ſeveral expenſive wars. When he died, corn was found in the public granaries ſufficient to ſupply the city for ſeven years, and oil in the ſtore-houſes, which he built at a vaſt charge, for the conſumption of five years, reckoning not only the city of Rome, but all the places in Italy that produced no oil. He even left wherewithal to ſupply for ever the indigent people of Rome with a certain quantity of oil every day, which was in part to be ſent yearly by the inhabitants of Libya Tripolitana, who of their own accord ſubmitted to that burden out of regard to Severus, who was of the ſame province, and had obliged them, by utterly extirpating a neighbouring nation, that often invaded their country and laid waſte their fields [h]. But this contribution proving in proceſs of time very burdenſome to them, Conſtantine remitted it. Severus repaired moſt of the public edifices of Rome, and raiſed an incredible number of new ones in Rome, in Antioch, in Alexandria, in Byzantium, and in moſt of the great cities of the empire. The following year, when Numius Albinus and Fulvius Æmilianus were conſuls, was remarkable for the death of many illuſtrious ſenators, inhumanly maſſacred by the emperor's orders. Among theſe were Quintillus Plautianus and Apronianus, both perſons of unblemiſhed characters and of great authority in the ſenate, but hated by the emperor on account of their illuſtrious birth and extraordinary accompliſhments. They were both accuſed of having conſulted the aſtrologers about the death of Severus and their own fate, and condemned, without ſo much as being heard. Bæbius Marcellinus, another ſenator of great diſtinction, was condemned by the ſenate, and that inſtant hurried to execution, upon the depoſition of a ſingle evidence, who charged him with having liſtened while Apronianus was conſulting the aſtrologer. The evidence had been ſuborned by

Several ſenators put to death.

[g] Jul. Cap. p. 14. Vit. Sev. p. 71. [h] Vit. Sev. 67. Dio, p. 869.

Pollenius Sebennus, who was himſelf ſoon after condemned at the ſuit of the people of Noricum, whom he had tyrannically oppreſſed, while he governed that province [i]. The following year, when Aper and Maximus were conſuls, the northern inhabitants of Britain invaded the Roman territories, and, putting to flight the legions that guarded them, committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. Virius Lupus, then governor, or as Ulpian calls him, preſident of Britain, not thinking himſelf in a condition to withſtand the enemy, retired before them, and in the mean time acquainted the emperor with the ſtate of affairs in that province; who, apprehending that the whole iſland, unleſs awed by a powerful army, would ſoon revolt and ſhake off the yoke, reſolved to go thither in perſon; and accordingly, having made the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, he ſet out for Britain the enſuing year, while his two ſons were conſuls, Caracalla, the third time, and Geta, the ſecond. Before he left Rome, he inveſted his ſon Geta with the tribunitial power, and conferred upon him the title of Auguſtus, which he had beſtowed three years before on his eldeſt ſon Caracalla; ſo that there were now three Auguſtuſes at a time, which had never happened before. The emperor took both his ſons with him, being glad of that opportunity to remove them from Rome, where they abandoned themſelves to idleneſs and debauchery, and to inure them to the toils and fatigues of war. The Britons were no ſooner informed of his arrival in their iſland, than, dreading his power, they ſent embaſſadors to him, offering to ſubmit upon honourable terms. Severus detained the embaſſadors till he was ready to take the field, and then diſmiſſed them, without granting them their requeſt. He paſt the firſt winter, it ſeems, in the ſouthern parts of Britain, whence he marched early in the ſpring of the enſuing year, when Pompeianus and Avitus were conſuls, againſt the Mæatæ, who bordered on the Roman dominions, and the Caledonians, who dwelt more to the north. No battle was fought in this expedition; but nevertheleſs, what by the enemy's ambuſcades, what by the hardſhips the Roman ſoldiers underwent, and the toils they endured in cutting down woods, building bridges, and drying marſhy grounds, fifty thouſand of them are ſaid to have periſhed [k]. Herodian writes, that the Caledonians inceſſantly haraſſed the army on their march, attacked them unexpectedly, cut many thouſands of them in pieces, and then retired into their fens and woods, whither the Romans could not follow

The Britons revolt.

Geta inveſted with the tribunitial power and declared Auguſtus.

Severus's expedition into Britain.

[i] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 741, &c. [k] Dio, l. lxxvi, p. 867.

low them [l]. The emperor, though ſtricken in years and troubled with the gout, purſued his painful march, ſurmounting with great chearfulneſs all difficulties, till he reached the moſt diſtant and northern coaſts of the iſland, laying the country waſte far and wide, and putting all to fire and ſword; inſomuch, that the Caledonians were in the end obliged to purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the Romans part of their country, and delivering up their arms. Dion Caſſius adds, that Severus, during his ſtay in the moſt northern parts of Britain, obſerved with great exactneſs the length of the days and nights, of the ſummer and winter [m]; which he could not do, without continuing there, that is, in the north of Scotland, at leaſt ſix months. Having thus concluded a peace with the Caledonians, he returned to the ſouthern parts of Britain, where he had left his ſon Geta to adminiſter juſtice during his abſence. For this expedition he was honoured by the ſenate with the title of Britannicus Maximus, and his two ſons with that of Britannicus [n].

He overruns the whole iſland.

SEVERUS ſpent great part of the following year, when Man. Acilius Fauſtinus and Triarinus Rufinus were conſuls, in building a wall in Britain from ſea to ſea, to ſecure his conqueſts, and part the Roman territories from thoſe of the more northern Britons not ſubject to Rome. No mention of this wall is made either by Dion Caſſius or Herodian, who lived at that time, and give us a very particular account of the exploits of Severus in Britain. However, Spartian ſpeaks of it, and calls it the chief ornament of Severus's reign; nay, he pretends, that on account of this wall he was honoured by the ſenate with the title of Britannicus [o]. There is a great diſagreement among authors, both as to the nature of this work and its ſituation. Some writers take it to have been a wall, and others only a ditch, fortified on the Roman ſide with a rampart and paliſades. Spartian ſtyles it a wall or ditch [p]. Oroſius ſuppoſes it to have been a ditch defended by a rampart and a great number of towers at a ſmall diſtance from each other [q]. Beda thinks it was a wall, built not with ſtone, but turf, and ſupported by a rampart and ſharp ſtakes driven deep into the ground [r]. The ſame writer is of opinion, that it was raiſed by Severus in the ſame place where a new wall was built by the Romans about the middle of the fifth century, when they entirely abandoned the iſland; that is, ſo far as

His wall in Britain.

In what place it was built.

[l] Herod. l. iii. p. 867. [m] Dio, p. 869. [n] Goltz. p. 83.
[o] Pagi, p. 207. [o] Vit. Sev. p. 71. [p] Idem, p. 73.
[q] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 17. [r] Bed. hiſt. Ang. l. i, c. 5.

we can judge from the context, on the iſthmus, which he deſcribed before, between the friths of Forth and Clyde [r]. Buchanan likewiſe places this wall on the ſame iſthmus [s]; and adds, that, in his time, ſome remains of it were ſtill to be ſeen. On the other hand, Cambden maintains Severus's wall to have ſtood a great way more to the ſouth, that is, between the mouth of the Tyne and Solway frith. The learned Uſher is of the ſame opinion, and alledges very ſtrong reaſons to ſupport it [t]. However, we cannot perſuade ourſelves, that Severus, after having marched from one end of the iſland to the other, and obliged the enemies of Rome to yield to him part of their country, ſhould have abandoned to them a conſiderable portion of the Roman dominions, viz. the countries lying between Northumberland or Cumberland and the friths of the Forth and Clyde. For that theſe countries belonged to the Romans before Severus's time, Uſher himſelf owns and maintains [u], that Antoninus built his wall on the above-mentioned iſthmus. We do not find, that the northern Britons ſeized any part of the Roman dominions in the reign of M. Aurelius, nor in that of Commodus; for though they paſſed the wall in the time of Commodus, yet they were driven back by Ulpius Marcellus, and reſtrained within their antient bounds, that is, according to Uſher, within the two above-mentioned friths. Is it therefore probable, that Severus thus curtailed the Roman empire, and abandoned to the barbarians, as they are called by the Roman writers, ſuch an extenſive country, after having, at immenſe charge and with the loſs of fifty thouſand men, obliged them to yield part of theirs? Beſides, Spartian tells us, in expreſs words, that Severus's wall reached from ſea to ſea; and Eutropius, that it was but thirty-two miles in length [y]; which proves, that it ſtood on the above-mentioned iſthmus, and could ſtand in no other part of the whole iſland. Severus, having ended his wall, retired with his army to Eboracum, now York, where he was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper, occaſioned, as was believed, by his grief and affliction for the wicked life of his eldeſt ſon, who, notwithſtanding the extraordinary affection Severus had ever ſhewn him, had, during the late expedition, with a boldneſs hardly to be matched, attempted to murder him in the ſight of the whole army. For while the emperor, at the head of his troops in battle array, was concluding a treaty

Caracalla attempts to murder his father.

[r] Idem ibid. c. 12. p. 116. & l. v. p. 135.
[s] Idem ibid. p. 1024.
[t] Buchan. rer. Scot. l. i. p. 16. l. iv.
[u] Uſh. Britan. eccleſ. antiquit. p. 606.
[y] Eutrop. l. viii. c. 10.

treaty with the Britons and receiving their arms, Caracalla, who ſtood behind him, drawing unexpectedly his ſword, in the ſight both of the Roman and Britiſh army, advanced to ſtab him, and would have put his wicked deſign in execution, had he not been deterred from it by the outcries of thoſe who ſtood next to the emperor. Severus, turning about that inſtant, ſaw his ſon with a naked ſword in his hand; but, without betraying the leaſt ſurprize, or uttering a ſingle word, purſued the buſineſs in hand, received the arms of the Britons, and ſigned the treaty. When he returned to his tent, he ſent for his ſon; and, in the preſence of Papinianus, captain of the guards, and Caſtor, his chief chamberlain, firſt reproached him with his black and wicked attempt; then offering him a drawn ſword, "If your ambition to reign alone "prompts you", ſaid he, "to imbrue your hands in the "blood of your father, execute your impious purpoſe rather "in this place, than in the ſight of the whole world, and "in the preſence both of our friends and enemies: if you "are not yet abandoned to ſuch a degree as to murder your "father with your own hand, order Papinianus to commit "the parricide: you are emperor; he muſt obey you." We do not find, that Caracalla was touched with remorſe, or any-ways affected, by this ſpeech.

The Mæatæ and Caledonians revolt.

THE following year, when Gentianus and Baſſus were conſuls, the Mæatæ and Caledonians, underſtanding that the emperor was indiſpoſed and not in a condition to take the field, without any regard to the late treaty, flew to arms; and aſſembling their forces, attempted to paſs the new wall, and invade the Roman dominions; which ſo provoked Severus, that he ordered Caracalla to lead the whole army againſt the enemy, and, entering their country anew, to put all he met to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. The young prince, ſeeing himſelf, contrary to his expectation, intruſted with ſo great a command, made it his whole ſtudy to debauch the officers and ſoldiers, with a deſign to depoſe his father. Many tribunes and centurions, hearkening to him, publicly declared, before the army ſet out from York, that they would no longer obey an old man, worn out with infirmities, lame, and diſabled by the gout from marching at their head, and diſcharging the duties of an emperor. Theſe ſpeeches were ſoon carried to Severus, who, immediately ſummoning the army to aſſemble, cauſed himſelf to be taken up, and placed upon his tribunal; whence, in moſt bitter terms, he reproached with folly, ingratitude, and treachery, ſuch of

Caracalla attempts to depoſe his father.

[z] Dio, p. 868.

the officers as had ſeconded the wicked attempts of his ſon; ordered them all to be beheaded that inſtant in his preſence; and then, addreſſing himſelf to the army, ſtruck with terror and diſmay at the ſight of ſo many executions, aſked them with an imperious and majeſtic air, whether they were yet ſatisfied, that the head ruled, and not the feet [a]? Some writers tell us, that he would at the ſame time have put his ſon to death, had he not been diverted from it by the captains of the guards [b]; others, on the contrary, ſay, that the captains of the guards adviſed him to deliver himſelf, by the death of his unnatural ſon, from the dangers that threatened him, but that he could not by any means prevail upon himſelf to follow their advice [c]. After this, his diſtemper being greatly encreaſed by the uneaſineſs of his mind, he was ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity; when he ſent for his two ſons, cauſed the ſpeech of Micipſa to his children, in Salluſt, to be read to them, exhorted them to concord and unity, and recommended to them this tyrannical maxim; to enrich the ſoldiers, and gain their affections, without caring whether they were beloved or hated by the reſt of their ſubjects [d]. When he found his end approaching, he cried out, I have been every thing, and every thing is nothing [e]. Then ordering the urn to be brought to him, in which his aſhes were to be incloſed, on ſeeing it, Little urn, ſaid he, you ſhall contain one, for whom the whole world was too little [f]. Before he expired, he ordered the golden ſtatue of Fortune, which always ſtood in the emperor's room, to be carried into the rooms, firſt of his eldeſt, and then of his youngeſt, ſon [g]. As his pains encreaſed, eſpecially in his feet, he called for poiſon; but no one daring to adminiſter it to him, he is ſaid to have glutted himſelf with coarſe meats, which ſoon put an end to his
Severus dies. life [h]. He died at York on the fourth of February of the year 211, after having lived, according to Dion Caſſius [i], ſixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, and reigned ſeventeen years, eight months, and three days. His body was burnt at York with great ſolemnity, and his aſhes conveyed by his two ſons to Rome, in a golden urn, or, as others will have it, in an urn of porphyry. It was received in all the provinces with extraordinary pomp, and depoſited at Rome in the ſtately mauſoleum of the emperor Adrian.

He

[a] Vit. Sev. p. 71. Aur. Vict. [b] Vit. Caracall. p. 89. [c] Dio, l. lxxvi. p. 868. [d] Dio, p. 868. [e] Vit. Sev. p. 73. [f] Dio, p. 869. [g] Vit. Sev. p. 74. [h] Vict. epit. [i] Dio, ibid.

He was ſoon after ranked among the gods, with the uſual ceremonies, deſcribed at length by Herodian [k]. Severus was, without all doubt, a perſon of moſt extraordinary parts; but all his good qualities were quite eclipſed by his exceſſive cruelty and inſatiable avarice. Some writers endeavour to excuſe his cruelty, which they ſoften with the name of ſeverity, and pretend, that, without violent remedies, the many evils that had long prevailed in the ſtate could never have been rooted out. It was ſaid of him, if Spartian is to be credited, as it had been formerly ſaid of Auguſtus, That he ought never to have been born, or never to have died. He was, according to the ſame writer, greatly eſteemed, nay, and generally loved after his death, when no one dreaded his cruelty, and all felt the effects of his excellent regulations [l]. Galen tells us, that his greateſt pleaſure was to do good to all; and adds, that he kept conſtantly by him a great ſtore of treacle, and other expenſive remedies, to relieve ſuch as wanted them; by which means he ſaved the lives of many perſons, namely, of Antipater, his Greek ſecretary; of the ſon of Piſo, to whom Galen inſcribed his treatiſe on treacle; and of a lady of diſtinction, named Arria, for whom Severus had a particular value, becauſe ſhe applied herſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy and the reading of Plato [m]. But after all, the moſt we can ſay in his commendation is, that Severus deſerves to be ranked among the great, but not among the good, princes. Of the writers, who flouriſhed in his reign, we ſhall give an account in our note (N).

His character.

SEVERUS

[k] Herod. l. iv. p. 540. [l] Vit. Sev. p. 71. [m] Gal. de ther. l. ii. p. 457, 458.

(N) Among the writers who flouriſhed at this time, we may reckon the emperor himſelf; for he wrote the hiſtory of his own life, which was a kind of apology for his great ſeverity. Spartian commends it as a ſincere and impartial account of the tranſactions of his reign (59); and Victor ſpeaks of it as an elegant and judicious performance. It has been long ſince loſt. The ſophiſt Antipater, a native of Hierapolis in Aſia, wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of Severus's reign, and was for that work firſt appointed the emperor's Greek ſecretary, afterwards charged with the care of educating his two ſons, Caracalla and Geta; then honoured with the conſulſhip; and laſtly, preferred to the government of Bithynia; from which employment he

(59) Vit. Sev. p. 65.

Is ſucceeded by his ſons Caracalla and Geta.

SEVERUS was ſucceeded by his two ſons Baſſianus and Geta, whom he had inveſted with the ſovereign power, during

he was ſoon removed, on account of his exceſſive cruelty (60). His hiſtory has not reached our times. Galen, the prince of phyſicians, was ſtill alive in Severus's time; for he lived, according to Suidas, ſeventy years (61). He was a native of Pergamus, and the ſon of one Nico, a celebrated architect and geometrician. He was likewiſe well verſed in the other branches of mathematics, and pretended to underſtand and teach the Greek tongue in its greateſt purity. His ſon Claudius Galenus was born in the year 131, the fifteenth of Adrian's reign, as appears from F. Labbe, who collected out of Galen's works, and publiſhed in 1660, all the paſſages in which that writer makes any mention of himſelf (62). He came to Rome while L. Verus was making war upon the Parthians in the eaſt, being at that time thirty-two or thirty-three years old (63). He ſtaid in Rome about three years, and then returned to his own country; whence three or four years after, he was invited into Italy by M. Aurelius, that is, about the end of the year 169. He refuſed to attend that prince into Germany, and continued at Rome, where he is ſuppoſed to have ſpent the remaining part of his life. He left behind him a great many works on different ſubjects, viz. on phyſic, rhetoric, philoſophy, and ſome grammatical pieces (64). Jonſius takes the treatiſe on treacle not to be his, becauſe he does not mention it among his other works (65). The ſame writer maintains the hiſtory of the philoſophers, aſcribed to Galen, to be nothing elſe but the five books of Plutarch upon the opinions of philoſophers (66). Some find fault with Galen for crying down all thoſe of his profeſſion, who in his time were in any repute at Rome (67). Diogenes Laertius, the author of the lives of the philoſophers compriſed in ten books, flouriſhed, according to Voſſius, under Antoninus Pius; but according to Jonſius, whoſe conjectures ſeem to us better grounded, under Severus (68). He was a native, as Jonſius conjectures, of Laertes, a ſmall city of Cilicia, and thence took the ſurname of Laertius. After he had taken great pains to inform himſelf of the different tenets of the various ſects of philoſophers, he embraced the worſt of all, that is, the Epicurean. His work is greatly eſteemed by the learned, but in many places ſtrangely corrupted. Caſaubon aſcribes many of the faults, which are to be found in the work, to the author himſelf, who,

(60) Herod l. ii. p. 514. Philoſtr. ſoph. 50. Galen. ther. t. ii. p. 458. (61) Suid. p. 509. (62) Gal. vit. Jonſ. l. iii. c. 11. (63) Gal. prog. c. 3. (64) Suid. ibid. (65) Jonſ. l. iii. c. 12. (66) Idem ibid. (67) Vide Salmaſ. not. in Spart. p. 732. (68) Jonſ. l. iii. c. 12.

ing his life-time, and by his laſt will appointed to reign jointly after his death. The former, commonly known by the

who, according to him, wanted either memory, judgment, or time, to digeſt the materials which he had collected (69). Before he wrote the lives of the philoſophers, he publiſhed a great number of epigrams in all kinds of verſes, which he ſtyled Pammetra, that is, all ſorts of meaſures (70). Neſtor, a native of Laranda in Lycaonia, flouriſhed, according to Suidas (71), under Severus, and wrote ſeveral Greek poems. Piſander, who, in the reign of the emperor Alexander, wrote ſome hiſtories, or rather fables, in Greek verſe, was his ſon. Hermocrates, the ſophiſt, would have proved the moſt eloquent orator of his age, had he had time to improve his extraordinary talents; but he died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. Severus often heard him, and with great pleaſure. The emperor obliged him, while he was in the eaſt, to marry the daughter of the ſophiſt Antipater; but he divorced her ſoon after (72) Julius Titianus, the father of the orator of the ſame name, who was preceptor to the ſon of Maximinus, about the year 235, publiſhed many pieces mightily cried up by the antients; and, among the reſt, a deſcription of all the provinces of the empire; and a book of letters, in which he imitated the ſtyle of Cicero; for he had an extraordinary talent in imitating the different ſtyles of authors, and was thence called the ape of his time (73). C. Julius Solinus, whoſe deſcription of the earth, under the title of Polyhiſtor, has reached us, flouriſhed, according to ſome writers, under Severus; but others, with Voſſius, are quite at a loſs about the time in which that author wrote. All we know for certain is, that he lived after Pliny the elder, and before St. Jerom; that is, after the firſt century; and before the end of the fourth (74). Dodwel obſerves, that no author quotes him before the fourth century; and concludes, from ſome conjectures, that he flouriſhed after Cenſorinus, who wrote in the year 238 (75). His work is, for the moſt part, copied, and not very judiciouſly, from other writers, eſpecially from Pliny the elder. Under Severus flouriſhed Philoſtratus, author of the life of Apollonius Tyaneus; which work he undertook at the requeſt of the empreſs Julia, the wife of Severus. Photius commends the elegance and ſoftneſs of his ſtyle; but thinks his conſtruction not always agreeable to the rules of grammar (76). We have ſhewn, in the foregoing volume, how little credit his life of Apollonius deſerves

(69) Diog. Laert. not. Caſaub. p. 18. (70) Hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 13. (71) Suid. p. 211. (72) Philoſtr. ſoph. 51. (73) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 1. (74) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. iii. p. 720, 721. (75) Dod. append. ad differt. Cyprian. c. 15. (76) Phot. c. 44.

the nickname of Caracalla, a Gauliſh word for a kind of caſſock uſed in Gaul, and by him firſt introduced among the Romans, gave, from his infancy, many inſtances of an extraordinary ſweet and mild temper; but, as he grew up, abandoned himſelf to all manner of cruelty, and proved in the end a moſt inhuman and bloody tyrant; where-as the latter, who in his tender years ſeemed no leſs void of humanity than his father, changed, we may ſay, by degrees, his temper, and became, in regard of his affability, moderation, and complaiſance towards all, the darling both of the people and ſoldiery. They ſhewed, from their childhood, an utter averſion to each other, and were continually quarrelling, even in their common ſports and diverſions. This natural antipathy encreaſed as they grew in years, notwithſtanding all the entreaties, rebukes, and exhortations, both of their father and their preceptor Antipater, who were continually laying before them the many evils that muſt neceſſarily attend the diviſion and diſagreement of brothers. But all to no purpoſe; for Severus no ſooner expired, than Caracalla ſtrove to have his brother excluded by the officers of the army from any ſhare in the ſovereignty; but the ſoldiers proteſting, that they would equally obey both the ſons of Severus, ſince he had appointed both to ſucceed him, he was forced to acknowledge his brother partner in the empire, and ſuffer the ſoldiers to take the uſual oath of allegiance to both. After this, Caracalla led his army towards the borders of the

Their different tempers

Mæatæ

deſerves (77). In that hiſtory he promiſes to clear his hero in another work, from the aſperſions of the philoſopher Euphrates (78). But, if he was as good as his word, that performance has not reached us. He was, according to Euſebius, a native of Athens, and the ſon of Philoſtratus Verus, who publiſhed a great many works, and, among the reſt, one againſt the ſophiſt Antipater (79). Beſides the life of Apollonius, Philoſtratus wrote four books of pictures, or deſcriptions, a treatiſe on heroes, letters on friendſhip, and the lives of the ſophiſts in four books. All theſe works have reached our times. Under Severus lived two other writers of the ſame name, viz. Philoſtratus, the ſon of Nervianus, to whom ſome writers aſcribe the lives of the ſophiſts; and Philoſtratus, a native of Lemnos, who wrote ſome deſcriptions; of theſe, the former was great nephew, and the latter grandſon by the mother, to the author of the life of Apollonius (80).

(77) Hiſt. Univerſ. vol. XIV. cap. 19. ad fin. (78) Philoſ. vit. Apoll. l. i. c. 10. (79) Euſeb. in Hier. p. 435. (80) Vide Caſaub. in Spart. p. 30.

Mæatæ and Caledonians, who had begun hoſtilities a-new; but inſtead of attacking thoſe warlike nations, he concluded a treaty with them, withdrew his men from the forts erected in their country, and reſtored to them the lands, which Severus had obliged them to yield to him [n]. Before he left Britain, he diſcharged Papinian, captain of the guards; cauſed Caſtor, his father's chamberlain and chief favourite, to be put to death, together with Evodius, another of the deceaſed emperor's freed-men, and formerly his own preceptor; and diſpatched aſſaſſins into Italy to murder Plautilla, who had been his wife, Plautius her brother, and a celebrated charioteer of the faction in the circus oppoſite to that which he favoured [o]. Herodian tells us, that, before he left Britain, he diſpatched, under various pretences, the phyſicians who had refuſed to poiſon his father, and all the deceaſed emperor's friends, eſpecially ſuch as endeavoured to promote a good underſtanding between him and his brother [p]. Such was the beginning of the reign of Caracalla. The two brothers left Britain about the middle of the ſummer, and ſet out for Rome, with their mother Julia and the aſhes of their deceaſed father. Caracalla attempted on the road to murder his brother Geta; which attempt encreaſed their mutual animoſities and jealouſies to ſuch a degree, that thenceforth they both marched with their ſeparate guards, and with no leſs warineſs than if they had been in an enemy's country, lodging conſtantly in different houſes, and carefully watching the motions of each other. They were received with great ſolemnity at Rome, where they performed with extraordinary pomp the obſequies of their father, and then withdrew to the palace, which they divided into two; for it was larger, if Herodian is to be credited, than any city in the whole empire, except Rome. This diviſion between the two princes rent the whole city, nay, and the empire into factions; inſomuch, that, to avoid the many inconveniencies and diſorders thence ariſing, a diviſion of the empire was propoſed. To this expedient they both hearkened; Geta, who loved a quiet life, declaring, that if Caracalla would but yield to him Aſia and Egypt, he would retire to Antioch or Alexandria, and leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of the reſt of the empire. But this ſcheme was defeated by their mother Julia, throwing herſelf at their feet, and begging, with many tears, that

Caracalla concludes a ſhameful treaty with the Britons.

Miſunderſtanding between the two brothers.

[n] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 882, & ſeq. Carac. & Get. vit. p. 87, & 91. [o] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 870, & l. lxxvi. p. 867. [p] Herod. l. iii. p. 538.

that they would divide her too between them [q]. Towards the cloſe of this year, Caracalla attempted a-new to murder his brother, during the feaſt of Saturn; which occaſioned almoſt an open war between the two princes, and a great deal of bloodſhed [r].

THE following year, when the two brothers Julius and Caius Aſper were conſuls, Caracalla, unalterably fixed in his wicked purpoſe of deſtroying his brother and ruling alone, but finding him guarded both againſt poiſon and open force, pretended a deſire of being reconciled with him, and, by means of their common mother Julia, invited him to an interview in her chamber. Geta readily accepted the invitation, and repaired, without guards, to the appointed place, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery in a propoſal which came from his mother, who loved him with great tenderneſs. But he had no ſooner entered her chamber, than ſome centurions, whom Caracalla had found means to convey privately into an adjoining room, ruſhing in, ſword in hand, fell upon Geta, and diſpatched him, with many wounds, in his mother's arms, who, in endeavouring to ſave him, was wounded in the hand [s]. Caracalla himſelf ſeems to have imbrued his hands in the blood of his brother; for Dion Caſſius tells us, that he afterwards conſecrated in the temple of Serapis the ſword with which he had murdered him [t]. Such was the end of this unhappy prince, after he had lived twenty-two years and nine months, and reigned, from the death of his father, one year and twenty-three days; for his father died on the fourth of February of the year 211, and he was killed the year following, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month [u]. He no ſooner expired, than Caracalla, leaving the palace with great haſte and precipitation, flew through the city to the camp of the prætorian guards, pretending great fear and diſmay, and crying out aloud, that his life was in danger; that a bloody conſpiracy had been formed againſt him; that he muſt have fallen a victim to the rage of his enemies, had not his innocence protected him. Upon his arrival in the camp, he went ſtrait to the place where the enſigns and banners were kept, which was a kind of temple and aſylum; and there, throwing himſelf upon the ground, returned thanks to the gods for delivering him from ſo great and imminent a danger. To the ſoldiers, who crouded about him, he expreſſed himſelf

Geta murdered in the arms of his mother.

[q] Idem. p. 539—543. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 871. [r] Dio, p. 871. [s] Herod. l. iii. p. 543. [t] Dio, p. 880. [u] Vit. Get. p. 91.

ſelf with the ſame ambiguity; but by degrees let them know, that he was ſole ſovereign, and in a condition to beſtow upon them what wealth and honours he pleaſed; and that they might immediately feel the effects of his generoſity, which he ſaid was no longer checked or reſtrained, he doubled their pay, already very high, and added a largeſs of two thouſand five hundred drachmas a man, which he gave them leave to take that inſtant out of the public treaſury. Thus was the exchequer, which his father had, by innumerable murders, and unjuſt confiſcations, been filling for the ſpace of eighteen years, emptied in one day. Caracalla having, by this extravagant largeſs, ſecured the affections of the ſoldiery, told them in the end, that his brother Geta had attempted to murder him, but had loſt his life in the attempt. Hereupon Caracalla was ſaluted ſole emperor by the whole army, and the unhappy Geta declared a traytor and a public enemy [w]. There was at this time another camp in the neighbourhood of Alba, now Albano, where the murder of Geta was highly reſented; but Caracalla, haſtening thither, ſoon appeaſed them, by exaggerating to them the pretended treachery of his brother, and promiſing them an immenſe donative. Caracalla paſſed that night in the camp of the prætorian guards, and the next day went to the ſenate, with a cuiraſs under his robes, guarded by all his troops, ſome of whom he even placed among the ſenators, to be ready in caſe any of them ſhould attempt to revenge the death of Geta. His ſpeech turned upon the wicked deſigns of Geta, whom he ſaid he had ſlain unwillingly in his own defence, leſſening the heinouſneſs of his crime by the example of Romulus and others, who had revenged with death injuries offered them by their brothers. In withdrawing from the ſenate, he pronounced aloud the following words: "I give leave to all thoſe who are in baniſhment, to "return home; I except none, by what crimes ſoever they "may have deſerved that puniſhment [x]." From the ſenate he returned to the palace, leaning upon Papinian and Chilo; whence he cauſed the body of his deceaſed brother to be with great pomp conveyed to the tomb of the Septimian family on the Appian way; and when the funeral ceremonies were over, prevailed upon the ſenate, to rank him with the uſual ſolemnity among the gods [y]. Finding, upon his return to the palace, his mother Julia, bewailing with other women the death

Caracalla gains the ſoldiery with an immenſe largeſs.

His ſpeech in the ſenate.

Performs the obſequies of his brother, and cauſes him to be ranked among the gods.

[w] Dio, p. 872. Herod. l. iv. p. 544. Vit. Get. p. 91 & Carac. p. 86. [x] Vit. Car. p. 86. [y] Car. vit. p. 86. & Get. vit. p. 91, 92.

death of her ſon, tranſported with rage, he was at firſt for putting them all to death; but in the end got the better of his paſſion, and even ſhewed great kindneſs to Julia, ordering the ſame honours to be paid to her as to himſelf. Spartian and ſome other writers pretend, that ſhe gained his favour by ſacrificing to him what ought to have been dearer to her than her life. But neither Herodian, nor Dion Caſſius, charge Julia or Caracalla with any ſuch crime; and thoſe, who do, ſuppoſe Julia to have been only ſtep-mother to Caracalla, which is now by all writers agreed to be a groſs miſtake. We are told, that Caracalla, on hearing the name, or beholding the images or ſtatues, of Geta, uſed to burſt into tears; but this affected grief did not prevent his maſſacring, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or quality, all the friends of Geta [z].

Orders all his friends to be maſſacred.

Dion Caſſius writes, that he began this general maſſacre by ordering all his domeſtics, to the number of twenty thouſand perſons, to be inhumanly butchered. It was death to utter his name; inſomuch, that no one durſt uſe it thenceforth, even on the ſtage, where it was commonly given to ſlaves. He likewiſe ordered all the money with his name to be melted down, and the inſcription eraſed. Among many illuſtrious perſons, whom the inhuman tyrant ſacrificed to his rage and jealouſy, as the friends of Geta, no one was more univerſally, or more deſervedly, regretted, than the celebrated Papinian, the greateſt civilian, in the opinion of Zoſimus [a], and Cujas [b], that ever was, or ever will be. As Severus had recommended chiefly to him his two ſons, he ſpared no pains to reconcile them, and often defeated the wicked attempts of Caracalla; on which account he was by him reckoned among the friends of Geta. Beſides, the tyrant deſiring him, after the murder of his brother, to compoſe a ſpeech for him, excuſing the crime, which he deſigned to pronounce in the ſenate, Papinian, whoſe love for juſtice, to uſe the expreſſion of Zoſimus, was equal to his knowledge of it, anſwered with great firmneſs, It is not ſo eaſy a thing to juſtify a parricide as to commit it; and it is a ſecond parricide to defame an innocent perſon, after having taken away his life. The emperor, provoked at this anſwer, ordered his head to be immediately ſtruck off, and likewiſe his ſon's, who was then quæſtor, and had but three days before exhibited moſt magnifi-

The death of Papinian.

cent ſports [c]. L. Fabius Chilo, another of Severus's great fa-

vourite

[z] Vit. Get. p. 92. Herod. l. iii. p. 546. [a] Zoſ. l. i. p. 637. [b] Cuj. in cod. Theod. [c] Vit. Car. p. 88. Dio excerpt. Val. p. 742.

vourites, for whom Caracalla himſelf had a particular eſteem, (for he uſed to ſtyle him his true friend, his benefactor, his father) was in the next place doomed to deſtruction, for having, together with Papinian, endeavoured by all means to promote union and concord between the two brothers. A tribune was ſent with a band of ſoldiers to ſeize him in his houſe, drag him to the palace, and there butcher him in the preſence of the emperor. But the people, and the city-guards, whom Chilo had commanded while governor of Rome, moved with compaſſion in ſeeing a perſon of his rank thus ignominiouſly treated by the inſulting ſoldiery, like a common malefactor, reſcued him out of their hands, uttering dreadful menaces againſt the authors of ſuch outrages; which ſo frightened Caracalla, that he declared he had given no ſuch orders; and, to appeaſe the multitude, cauſed both the tribune and ſoldiers to be immediately put to death [d]. He ſpared Chilo, but vented his rage without controul upon many other illuſtrious perſons, both of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order, not ſparing any for whom either his father or brother had ever ſhewn the leaſt kindneſs or eſteem. Among theſe unhappy victims were a daughter of the emperor M. Aurelius, whom the other emperors had treated with the utmoſt reſpect, but Caracalla ordered to be ſtrangled for ſhedding a few tears, when news was brought her of the death of Geta, brother to the late emperor Severus, to whom Caracalla had ſent the day before a diſh from his own table, as a token of his friendſhip; Pompeianus, who had been twice conſul, had commanded armies in ſeveral wars, and was grandſon to the emperor M. Aurelius, by the empreſs Lucilla; Helvius Pertinax, ſon to the emperor of that name, and therefore greatly beloved by the people, and no leſs hated by the jealous tyrant, whom he had likewiſe provoked with a ſatyrical jeſt; for when the titles of Parthicus and Sarmaticus were decreed to him by the ſenate, Pertinax moved, that the ſurname of Geticus might be added to the other two, alluding not ſo much to the victory which Caracalla pretended to have gained over the Getæ, as to the murder of his brother Geta [e]. Some of Geta's enemies fared no better than his friends; but the death of no man occaſioned greater ſurprize in the city, than that of Lætus, one of Caracalla's moſt intimate friends, and the firſt who had adviſed him to diſpatch his brother. He did not even ſpare the veſtal virgins, ſome of whom he ordered to be

Many illuſtrious perſons inhumanly maſſacred.

The cruelty of Caracalla.

[d] Vit. Car. p. 86. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 872. [e] Vit. Car. p. 87.

be ſtrangled for having bewailed the death of Geta. In ſhort, no ſex, rank, or age, eſcaped his cruelty. The people he loaded with taxes in all the provinces of the empire, and at Rome cauſed great numbers of them to be put to death, ſometimes out of revenge, and ſometimes only for his diverſion; for he delighted in nothing ſo much as in feats of cruelty, and in bloodſhed. The people having one day rallied, at the Circenſian games, a charioteer whom he favoured, he commanded his guards to ruſh in among the multitude, and put all the delinquents to the ſword; but as the ſoldiers could not in ſo great a croud diſtinguiſh them from the reſt, they fell indifferently upon all, ſword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the diſarmed multitude, ſparing only ſuch as had money enough about them to redeem their lives [f]. No prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raiſing money than Caracalla, or ſquandered it away with more prodigality. He often uſed to ſay, that money ought not to be lodged in private hands, but only in the prince's. Purſuant to his maxim, he impoveriſhed his ſubjects in all the provinces of the empire, loading them with exceſſive impoſts and taxes; for which, as well as his extravagant expences, when his mother took the liberty to blame him, he like a true tyrant, ſhewed her his naked ſword, ſaying, As long as I have this, I ſhall never want. However, he gave away ſuch immenſe ſums, moſtly to perſons who leaſt of all deſerved them, viz. to his guards, buffoons, players, gladiators, charioteers, freedmen, &c. that he was in the end obliged to coin falſe money, which he ſpent at home, while he employed what true gold and ſilver he could extort from his ſubjects in keeping the barbarians quiet, who were conſtantly threatening him with war [g]. He ſhewed on all occaſions the utmoſt contempt for the ſenate, entirely neglected the adminiſtration of juſtice, took no care of the provinces, and raiſed to the higheſt employments the meaneſt, and in every reſpect the moſt infamous and unworthy, perſons of the empire. Thus he gave the government of Rome to an eunuch, named Sempronius, who was by birth an Iberian, by profeſſion a poiſoner and magician, who had been baniſhed by his father Severus, and confined to a deſert iſland. He appointed one Theocritus captain of the guards, who had been firſt a ſlave, and afterwards a dancing-maſter and ſtage-player. One Epagathus, another manumitted ſlave, bore likewiſe great ſway at court, and with the other two ruled

Loads his ſubjects with taxes.

Is controuled by his freedmen.

[f] Herod. l. iv. p. 546.

[g] Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 758. & l. lxxvii. p, 875.

ruled and controuled both the empire and the emperor, ſetting all things to ſale, offices, provinces, public revenues, public juſtice, and the lives of men, both innocent and guilty [h]. Caracalla was author of the famous law declaring all the free ſubjects of the empire Roman citizens. This conſtitution is commonly aſcribed to M. Aurelius; but that it was publiſhed not by that prince, but by Caracalla, we are told in expreſs terms by Dion Caſſius [i], whoſe authority is of far greater weight with us, than that of Aurelius Victor, who was, as we conjecture, led into that miſtake by the words of Ulpian, aſcribing the above-mentioned law to Antoninus [k], though from the context it is manifeſt, that Ulpian ſpeaks in that place of Antoninus Caracalla, and not of M. Aurelius Antoninus. St. Chryſoſtom, whom ſome writers have followed, ſuppoſes Adrian to have been the author of this law [l]. Though the name and privileges of Roman citizens were by this conſtitution made common to all the ſubjects of the empire, yet the antient diſtinction of colonies, of Latin, municipal, and free cities, ſubſiſted long after, as appears from the Theodoſian code [m] and digeſts [n]. But to clear up this difficulty, which has puzzled the beſt civilians, is not the province of an hiſtorian.

Declares all the ſubjects of the empire Roman citizens.

CARACALLA, finding himſelf generally hated at Rome, on account of his cruelties, reſolved to leave the city, and viſit, after the example of Adrian, all the provinces of the empire. Purſuant to this reſolution, having in the third year of his reign taken upon him his fourth conſulſhip, and named Decius Cælius Balbinus, afterwards emperor, for his colleague, he ſet out for Gaul, where he cauſed the proconſul of the province of Narbonne to be put to death, and made ſuch havock of the people, that he was more hated and abhorred there, than he had ever been at Rome. He did not even ſpare the phyſicians, who had taken care of him during a dangerous malady, with which he was ſeized; but, upon his recovery, cauſed them to be put to death [o]. In the beginning of the following year, when Meſſala and Sabinus were conſuls, he returned to Rome, bringing with him an incredible quantity of habits made after the Gauliſh faſhion,

His cruelties in Gaul.

[h] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 877. [i] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 755.
[k] Digeſt. 1. t. 5. l. xvii. [l] Chryſ. in act. apoſt. hom. xlviii.
[m] Cod. Th. 2. t. 21. p. 189, 190. l. iv. t. 9. l. iii. p. 370.
[n] Digeſt. 50. t. 15. l. i. p. 1921. &. l. viii. p. 1923. [o] Vit. Car. p. 87.

which he wore himſelf, diſtributed among the people, and would ſuffer none to wait upon him but in that dreſs. From this habit the emperor was nicknamed Caracalla, or Caracallus, for ſuch was its Gauliſh name [p]. Hence Scaliger derives, how rightly we leave the reader to judge, the word caſſock, the caracalla being a kind of caſſock. At Rome it was called Antoniniane from Antoninus, which was one of the emperor's name. His ſtay at Rome was very ſhort; for this very year the Catti, the Alemanni, whom we find now mentioned for the firſt time in hiſtory, and ſeveral other German nations, taking up arms, began to make inroads into the Roman dominions. The Alemanni, inhabited at this time the preſent duchy of Virtemberg, and were, as appears from their name, a mixed multitude of all the neighbouring nations [q]. They had entered into an alliance with the Catti, whom we have frequently mentioned in the foregoing reigns, and made daily incurſions into the Roman territories. Caracalla therefore marched againſt them, but in that expedition approved himſelf a better ſoldier than commander. For though he behaved with great courage, and even challenged the braveſt of the enemy to a ſingle combat; yet, for want of conduct, he was obliged to purchaſe a peace with vaſt ſums, and the liberty of retiring with ſafety into the Roman dominions [r]. Having aſked ſome women, whom he had taken in the countries of the Catti and Alemanni, which they choſe, to be ſold for ſlaves or put to death, they all preferred death to ſlavery. The emperor nevertheleſs ordered them to be ſold; but they all laid violent hands on themſelves, and ſome of them after having put to death their children [s]. It was no ſooner known in Germany, that he had bought a peace of the Catti and Alemanni, than all the nations inhabiting that extenſive country flew to arms, threatening him with deſtructive war, unleſs with them too he ſhared his treaſures; which he did accordingly, paying them yearly penſions, and by that means reducing himſelf to ſuch ſtreights, that he was obliged, as we have hinted above, to coin falſe money. When he received the deputies of the barbarians, he ſuffered no one to be preſent except the interpreters, whom he cauſed to be immediately put to death, leſt they ſhould divulge what had paſſed. However, the barbarians themſelves,

Whence the name of Caracalla.

His expedition againſt the Catti and Alemanni.

[p] Dio, l. lxxvii p. 890. Spartian. p. 72. Euſeb. chron. p. 230. [q] Vide Vorburg. hiſt. Rom. Ger. p. 473. & Buch. Belg. l. vi. c. 7. [r] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 876. [s] Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749, 750.

ſelves, when he was murdered, owned, that he had encouraged them to invade Italy, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal him, and to march ſtrait to Rome, which, he ſaid, they might take with great eaſe [t]. During his ſtay in Germany, he cauſed Gaiobamarus, king of the Quadi, to be treacherouſly murdered; and having ordered all the youth of Noricum to take arms and join him, he commanded his troops, on what provocation we know not, to put them to the ſword [u]. For his pretended victories over the Alemanni, he took the title of Germanicus and Alemannicus [w].

THE following year, when Lætus was conſul, the ſecond time, with Cerealis, Caracalla, leaving Germany, led his army into Dacia, where he gained ſome ſmall advantages over the Getæ, and then purſued his march through Thrace to the Helleſpont, which he croſſed, not without danger of being ſhipwrecked; and arriving in Aſia, haſtened to Pergamus, hoping to be delivered by the god Æſculapius, worſhipped in that city, from all the maladies, ſays Herodian, both of his body and mind; but the god, continues that hiſtorian, was deaf to his prayers; ſo that he left Pergamus, after having enriched it with many privileges, as if he deſigned to bribe the deity, and purſued his journey to Ilium, where he viewed the remains of antient Troy, and viſited the tomb of Achilles, paying extraordinary honours to the memory of that hero, though an implacable enemy to the Trojans, from whom the Romans pretended to derive their origin. From Ilium he went to Nicomedia, where he ſpent the winter. In that city he invited Dion Caſſius to ſup with him, during the feaſt of Saturn; for he obliged moſt of the ſenators to attend him in all his journies, to defray his travelling charges, and to build in the cities, where he paſſed the winter, theatres, circuſes, and amphitheatres, for public ſports [x]. Hiſtorians obſerve, that, to gain the affections of the foreign nations, he dreſſed after the manner of the countries through which he paſſed: thus in Germany he aſſumed the German habit, and choſe ſuch of the German ſoldiers as were moſt ſtrong and active for his guard. When he entered Macedon, from a German he became a Macedonian in habit and behaviour. For pretending to be a great admirer of Alexander, he adopted, not only the habit in which that conqueror was repreſented, but his air and mien, affecting an awful and threatening coun-

He paſſes over into Aſia.

His levity.

[t] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 891. [u] Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 749, & 754. [w] Car. vit. p. 89. Goltz. p. 93. Birag. p. 293.
[x] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884.

tenance, and bending his head ſomewhat to one ſide. He ordered ſeveral ſtatues to be ſet up in Rome to the honour of that hero; and among the reſt, ſome with two faces, one reſembling Alexander, and the other himſelf. He ordered himſelf to be ſtiled Alexander, and Antoninus the Great, called a ſquadron of his army a phalanx, and gave to his officers the names of the commanders of Alexander. He had no ſooner entered Aſia, than he forgot Alexander, and ſtudied in all things to reſemble Achilles, whoſe tomb he had viſited. Thus he travelled, more like a player than an emperor, being the laughing ſtock of other nations, and the ſhame and diſgrace of his own. The following year, when C. Atius Sabinus was conſul, the ſecond time, with Cornelius Anullinus, Caracalla, leaving Nicomedia after the fourth of April, (for he celebrated his birth-day there) croſſed Bithynia, Aſia, and the other provinces on his journey to Antioch, in which city he was received with extraordinary pomp. During his ſtay there, he wrote to the ſenate, that he was well appriſed they did not approve of his conduct; but ſo long as he had an army at his command, he neither valued their reproaches, nor feared their hatred [y]. He was very deſirous of picking a quarrel with the Parthians, who were involved in a civil war, occaſioned by the ambition of the two ſons of the late king Vologeſes; but they complying with all his demands, he poſtponed his intended expedition againſt them, and bent his mind on the reduction of Oſrhoene and Armenia, though the kings of theſe two countries lived in perfect amity with the Romans. However, Caracalla, having invited them to Antioch, as friends and allies of the Roman people, cauſed them to be arreſted there, and impriſoned, without the leaſt colour or pretence for ſo doing. Hereupon Oſrhoene immediately ſubmitted, and was, according to ſome writers, reduced to a Roman province; though others maintain, that it was long after governed by its own princes [z]. All we know for certain is, that Caracalla eſtabliſhed a Roman colony at Edeſſa, the capital of Oſrhoene [a], and that, in the fourth century, the whole country was ſubject to the Romans. The Armenians, notwithſtanding the captivity of their king, made a vigorous reſiſtance; gave a total overthrow to Theocritus the comedian, who was ſent againſt them at the head of a numerous army; baffled all the efforts of Caracalla; and maintained themſelves

He treacherouſly ſeizes and impriſons the kings of Oſrhoene and Armenia.

[y] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 879. Herod. l. iv. p. 519. [z] Vide Spanh. l. ii. 86. & Syncel. p. 359. [a] Spanh. l. ix. p. 775.

themſelves in poſſeſſion of their antient liberties [b]. From Antioch the emperor proceeded to Alexandria, where he made a dreadful havock of the inhabitants, being highly provoked againſt them for the many lampoons, which, agreeable to their ſatirical humour, they had publiſhed on occaſion of the death of Geta. He gave private order to his numerous troops, who were diſperſed all over the city, to fall upon the inhabitants in the night-time, to enter and pillage their houſes, and put all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition. His cruel orders were executed with ſuch barbarity, as can hardly be expreſſed; the whole city floated in blood; every houſe was filled with carcaſſes; and the return of the day diſcovered in every ſtreet the ſad monuments of the mighty butchery: but the tyrant, not yet ſatiated with blood, commanded the ſlaughter to be continued all the day following, that he might have the pleaſure of beholding it from the temple of Serapis, where he had paſſed the preceding night, imploring, during the general maſſacre, the protection of that deity. When the ſoldiers were tired with ſlaughter, Caracalla wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he had revenged the affronts offered him by the Alexandrians; but that it was not neceſſary to ſpecify the number of the dead, nor their condition, ſince none had periſhed but ſuch as were guilty. Before he left the city, he ſtripped it of all its privileges; ſuppreſſed the celebrated aſſembly of learned men; ordered all ſtrangers who lived there to abandon the place; and that ſuch as had eſcaped the general maſſacre, who were very few, might not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing one another, he cut off all communication of one ſtreet with another, by walls built for that purpoſe, and guarded by the troops he left there [c]. However, as the tyrant died ſoon after, Alexandria ſpeedily recovered its former ſplendor, and continued to be the firſt city of the empire after Rome.

Orders a general maſſacre at Alexandria.

FROM Alexandria, the emperor returned to Antioch, with a deſign to make war upon the Parthians, and by ſome memorable exploit, deſerve the ſurname of Parthicus, which he ſeems to have preferred to all others. In order to have ſome pretence for declaring war, he ſent an embaſſy to Artabanes with rich preſents, to deſire his daughter in marriage, not doubting, but the Parthian would deny him his requeſt; which happened accordingly, Artabanes alledging, that his daughter, brought up after the Parthian manner, could never be

His treachery towards the Parthians.

[b] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 875. [c] Herod. l. iv. p. 549. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 879, 880. Vit. Car. p. 87.

be reconciled to the cuſtom of the Romans [d]. Herodian writes, that Caracalla perſiſting in his demand, Artabanes at length complied with it; ſuffered him to enter his dominions; diſpatched orders to his governors to receive and entertain him every-where with the utmoſt magnificence; and went out himſelf in perſon to meet him, as he approached the royal city of Cteſiphon, where the nuptials were to be ſolemnized. Artabanes was attended by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and a numerous body of guards, all unarmed, and in their gayeſt attire. But Caracalla, abuſing the confidence they repoſed in him with a treachery hardly to be matched, gave the ſignal to his ſoldiers to fall upon them ſword in hand; which they did accordingly, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the unarmed multitude, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch a reception. However, the king had the good fortune to make his eſcape unhurt. After this exploit, worthy of ſuch an emperor as Caracalla, the cruel and perfidious monſter, enraged that Artabanes had eſcaped him, wrecked his fury on all the countries through which he paſſed on his return to Syria, leaving every-where diſmal monuments of his barbarous cruelty and inſatiable avarice [e]. Thus Herodian. But Dion Caſſius writes, that Caracalla, upon the Parthian king's refuſing him his daughter, entered his dominions, without any further declaration of war; ravaged great part of Media; deſtroyed ſeveral cities; took Arbela; and there demoliſhed the tombs of the Parthian monarchs, inſulting their remains in a moſt outrageous manner. The ſame writer adds, that as the irruption was ſudden and unexpected, he no where met with the leaſt oppoſition, or even ſaw the face of an enemy [f]. Spartian indeed ſpeaks of a tumultuary engagement between the Parthians and Romans, in which Caracalla let looſe wild beaſts againſt the enemy [g]. But with us his authority is of no weight, when claſhing with that of Dion Caſſius. The emperor returned from this memorable expedition to Edeſſa, whence he wrote boaſting letters to the ſenate, as if he had ſubdued the Parthians, and reduced all the eaſt. The ſenate, though informed of what had paſſed, yet decreed him a triumph, and the title of Parthicus, which above all he ſeemed to covet [h]. The following year, when C. Bruttius Præſens and T. Meſſius Extricatus were conſuls, a bloody doom at length overtook this man of blood. He had

Honoured by the ſenate with the title of Parthicus.

[d] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 896. [e] Herod. l. iv. p. 551—553.
[f] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 881. [g] Vit. Car. p. 87. [h] Dio. ibid. Herod. p. 553.

had often rallied as a coward, and threatened with death, Macrinus captain of the guards; beſides, about this time a ſoothſayer declared publicly in Africa, that Macrinus and his ſon Diadumenus were deſtined to the empire. Hereupon the ſoothſayer was immediately ſent to Rome, where he repeated and maintained the ſame thing before Maternianus, captain of the city-guards, whom the emperor, as he repoſed in him an entire confidence, had enjoined to employ all poſſible means, even the deteſtable myſteries of magic, in order to diſcover, whether any one privately aſpired at the empire. Maternianus therefore did not fail to write immediately to the emperor what he had learned of the ſoothſayer; but the letter being delivered to Julia, whom Caracalla had left at Antioch, with full power to open and read all his diſpatches, (for he himſelf was ſtill at Edeſſa, where he had paſſed the winter) Macrinus, who attended the emperor, was acquainted with the contents of it, before Julia could tranſmit it from Antioch to Edeſſa. This intelligence was conveyed to him by Ulpius Julianus his intimate friend, who delivered the letter to a courier diſpatched from Rome ſtrait to the court at Edeſſa [i]. Herodian writes, that a pacquet being brought to the emperor, while he was buſied in driving a chariot at the public ſhews, he ordered Macrinus to read the letters, and acquaint him with the contents of them afterwards; and that Macrinus found among the reſt the letter of Maternianus. Be that as it will, Macrinus was, as all authors agree, informed before the emperor of what Maternianus had wrote; and therefore being ſenſible, that he could not uſe too much diſpatch [k], he immediately gained with great promiſes two brothers, Aurelius Nemeſianus and Aurelius Apollinaris, both tribunes of the guards; Julius Martialis, an exempt, whom the emperor had provoked, by refuſing him the poſt of a centurion; Martius Agrippa the admiral; Rhætianus, tribune of the ſecond legion, and ſeveral others, who put their deſign in execution on the eighth of April of this year 217, while the emperor was going on horſe-back with a ſmall retinue from Edeſſa to viſit a temple of the moon at Carrhæ; for being obliged to ſtop by the way to eaſe nature, and all withdrawing except one of the prince's domeſtics, as he was ready to mount again, Martialis, loth to let ſlip that opportunity, ran haſtily to him, gave him with his dagger ſuch a ſtab in the throat, that he expired immediately, and returning to the reſt mixed with the croud, before they were appriſed of what had paſſed; but when the

Macrinus conſpires againſt him.

Caracalla murdered.

emperor's

[i] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 182. [k] Herod. ibid. p. 554.

emperor's death was publicly known, a Scythian, who belonged to the guards, obſerving Martialis with a bloody dagger in his hand, which, in that confuſion, he had not the precaution to conceal, and thence concluding him to be the author of the murder, ſhot him through with an arrow. Caracalla was killed after he had lived twenty-nine years and four months, and reigned ſix years, two months, and four days, from the death of his father [1] (O). The ſoldiers

[1] Dio, p. 891. Herod. p. 556.

(O) The authors who lived under Caracalla, were Q. Severus Sammonicus, who wrote a great number of books, which were much admired by Geta; and hence Sammonicus was by Caracalla's orders murdered, while he was at ſupper as a friend to Geta (81). None of his works have reached our times, except ſome books in Latin verſe on phyſic, and a few paſſages quoted by Macrobius out of a book in proſe, which he inſcribed to the emperor Severus (82). Voſſius is of opinion, that he publiſhed ſome hiſtorical pieces (83). His library conſiſted of ſixty-two thouſand volumes, which his ſon, who bore the ſame name, bequeathed to young Gordian, whoſe preceptor he had been (84). The emperor Alexander is ſaid to have taken great delight in reading the works of Horace and Serenus Sammonicus, with whom he had been acquainted (85); but this muſt have been the ſon. Ælius Maurus, whom Spartian quotes in relating the death of Severus (86), wrote in the reign of Caracalla, being then very old; for he had been a ſlave to Phlegon, the celebrated freed-man of the emperor Adrian (87). Voſſius ranks him among the Latin hiſtorians; becauſe Spartian does not ſay, that he wrote in Greek (88). Oppian the celebrated Greek poet, lived under Antoninus, the ſon of Domna; that is, under Caracalla, the ſon of Julia Domna, as he himſelf informs us (89), and not under Antoninus the Philoſopher, as we read in the chronicle of Euſebius and St. Jerom (90). He was a native of Anazarbus, a town of Cilicia, as appears from a ſhort account of his life, which is prefixed to his works (91). His father being baniſhed by Severus to the iſland of Malta, or to that of Meleda near Raguſa, Oppian accompanied him to the place of his exile, and there

(81) Car. vit. p. 86. & Get. vit. p. 92. (82) Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 52. & Macrob. ſaturn. l. ii. c. 12. (83) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 2. (84) Gord. vit. p. 159. (85) Alex. vit. p. 124. (86) Vit. Sev. p. 71. (87) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 2. (88) Idem ibid. (89) Oppian. de venat. l. i. p. 129. (90) Euſeb. chron. p. 121, 122. (91) Oppian. vit.

diers immediately gathered about the body of the deceaſed prince, conveyed it to Edeſſa, and there proceeded, even before they had performed the funeral obſequies, to the election of a new emperor. They were in ſuſpenſe that and the two following days; but on the fourth, the eleventh of April and the birth-day of Severus, the prætorian guards, who were at Edeſſa, at the inſtigation of the tribunes, who had been privy to the conſpiracy of Macrinus, declared him emperor; for no one, except his accomplices, imagined him to have been-any-ways acceſſory to the death of Caracalla, which they aſcribed to Martialis alone, as if he had committed the murder out of private paſſion and revenge. Macrinus pretended at firſt to decline ſuch an heavy burden; but was eaſily prevailed upon to ſubmit to it; diſtributed on that occaſion large ſums amongſt the ſoldiery; made them ample promiſes; and granted a general pardon to all perſons accuſed of, or condemned

Opelius Macrinus declared emperor by the ſoldiery.

there compoſed his poems, which he afterwards rehearſed at Rome, where they were received with extraordinary applauſe, and pleaſed the emperor Severus to ſuch a degree, that he recalled his father from baniſhment, and rewarded the poet with as many pieces of gold as there were verſes in his poem on the art of fiſhing; whence he uſed to call thoſe verſes, golden verſes (92). He inſcribed that poem to Antoninus, that is, to Caracalla, about the year 204, according to Scaliger, and the other on the chace to the ſame prince, after the death of his father Severus (93). The latter poem ought to conſiſt of five books as well as the former, though there are but four in the Paris edition of 1555, and in that of Plantin in 1597, both which editions are evidently imperfect. St. Jerom cries up the poem on the art of fiſhing as a wonderful performance (94). Scaliger ſtyles it a divine work; but Sozomenus, not ſo laviſh of his praiſes, calls it only an indifferent poem (95). We learn from his life, that beſides the two above-mentioned works, he compoſed ſeveral other admirable poems, as the anonymous author ſtyles them (96). He tells us himſelf, that he deſcribed in verſe the Parthian war, and the taking of Cteſiphon, no doubt by Severus. He is ſaid to have retired with his father to Anazarbus, their native city, and to have died there of the plague in the flower of his age, being but thirty years old (97). The inhabitants of Anazarbus, his countrymen, erected a ſtatue to him, with a pompous inſcription.

(92) Sozom. l. i. p. 394. (93) Oppian. de piſc. l. ii. p. 54. & de venat. l. i. p. 129. Euſeb. chron. p. 222. (94) Hier. chron. (95) Sozom. ibid. (96) Oppian. vit. (97) Ibid.

condemned for, crimes of majeſty or high treaſon [m]. Herodian writes, that the army firſt choſe Adventus, Macrinus's collegue in the command of the prætorian guards, who excuſed himſelf on account of his great age [n]. But, according to Dion Caſſius, Adventus only bragged, that, in regard to his ſeniority, he had a better right to the empire than Macrinus, declaring at the ſame time, that he willingly yielded it to him [o]. Adventus was an excellent commander; but altogether unqualified for a ſtateſman, exceeding old, no leſs meanly born than Macrinus, and illiterate to ſuch a degree, that he could not even read [p]. However, Macrinus created him ſenator, appointed him governor of Rome, and the following year choſe him for his collegue in the conſulſhip.

His birth and preferments.

As for the new emperor Opilius, or rather Opelius, Macrinus, he was a native of Cæſarea in Mauritania, now Algier, and of a very mean deſcent. We are told, that many things concerning his birth, his education, and firſt employments, were invented by his ſucceſſor Heliogabalus, and by his orders inſerted as true in his life. Hence, without taking notice of what we read in Julius Capitolinus, who was ſtrangely prejudiced againſt him, we ſhall chiefly follow Dion Caſſius, who flouriſhed under him, and ſeems quite free from all perſonal hatred and perſonal affection. According to that writer, he was a perſon of a moſt mild and humane temper, which gained him the affections both of the people and ſoldiery, and covered the meanneſs of his birth and firſt employments. He was pretty well verſed in the laws, which induced Plautianus to commit to him the care of his eſtate; that is, to appoint him his ſteward. Afterwards Severus charged him with the care of the poſts in Italy; but ſoon after baniſhed him, for what tranſgreſſion we know not, into Africa, where he ſupported himſelf with pleading cauſes of ſmall conſequence. He returned to Rome after the death of Severus, when Caracalla gave him an employment in the exchequer, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the ſame prince named him to ſucceed the celebrated Papinian in the command of the prætorian guards. His chief province in that office was to decide cauſes with the emperor, or in his name; which he did with great equity, when Caracalla himſelf was not preſent [q]. He married one Nonia Celſa, a woman of a very indifferent character, and had by her a ſon, born

[m] Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 893—895. [n] Herod. l. iv. p. 535.
[o] Dio, p. 894. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem, l. lxxviii. p. 892, 893.

born on the nineteenth of September of the year 208, and commonly called by the Latin hiſtorians Diadumenus; but by Dion Caſſius, by Herodian, and in moſt inſcriptions, Diadumenianus [r]. With the empire he took the names of Severus and Aurelius, which are ſtill to be ſeen on ſeveral of his medals [s]: but on none appears that of Antoninus; whence we conclude Capitolinus to have been miſtaken in giving him it. Before he left Edeſſa, he cauſed the body of Caracalla to be burnt with the uſual ſolemnity, and ſent his aſhes, incloſed in an urn, to his mother Julia at Antioch, who not caring to outlive him, eſpecially after Macrinus had ordered her to leave that city, on account of her bitter invectives againſt him, and her private intrigues, in order to ſeize the empire for herſelf, abſtained from all food, and died ſtarved. Her body was ſent to Rome, and depoſited in the tomb of Caius and Lucius Cæſars, the grandſons of Auguſtus, and from thence conveyed afterwards by her ſiſter Mela to the mauſoleum of Adrian [t]. Macrinus was no ſooner declared emperor, than he ſent for his ſon Diadumenus, who was then at Antioch. The ſoldiers who attended him, and were entirely addicted to Macrinus, gave him, purſuant to their private inſtructions, as it were of their own motion, the title of Cæſar; which, upon his arrival at Edeſſa, was confirmed to him by the whole army, his father giving on that occaſion another bounty to the ſoldiery. The new prince did not fail to acquaint the ſenate immediately with the death of Caracalla, and his acceſſion to the empire, by a letter, in which he ſpoke with great reſerve of the deceaſed emperor, neither commending nor diſcommending him: he only ſaid, that ſince the doom which he ſeemed to have deſerved had at length overtaken him, and the army had choſen him to command in his room, he would acknowledge himſelf indebted to the ſenate alone for the empire, if they thought fit to confirm that choice. Though the ſenate had heard before the news of the death of Caracalla, yet apprehending it to be only a falſe report, they had carefully concealed their ſentiments; but being now aſſured of the truth by Macrinus's letters, they loaded him with dreadful curſes; ordered all his gold and ſilver ſtatues to be melted down, his name to be eraſed out of all inſcriptions; annulled his acts, and declared his memory infamous, ſtyling him no longer Antoninus, but Baſſianus, Caracalla, and Tarantus, which was the name of a little

The death of Julia.

Diadumenus declared Cæſar.

The hatred of the ſenate to Caracalla.

[r] Idem, p. 888. Herod. p. 566. Goltz. p. 100. [s] Goltz. p. 95. [t] Dio, p. 899.

a little, deformed, and cruel gladiator [u]. They were ſo tranſported with joy in ſeeing themſelves delivered from the tyranny of Caracalla, that, overlooking the meanneſs of Macrinus's birth, they declared him emperor without the leaſt heſitation, heaping upon him all the honours, which they had ever conferred upon any prince. His family was ranked among the patrician families, his ſon proclaimed Cæſar, and his wife, Nonia Celſa, honoured with the title of Auguſta. In their anſwer to his letter, they earneſtly entreated him to puniſh, according to their deſerts, the miniſters of the late tyrant, and utterly to extirpate the whole tribe of informers. Macrinus complied in ſome degree with their requeſt; for he ſuffered them to condemn, not to death, but to baniſhment, three ſenators, and many others of an inferior rank, and ordered all the ſlaves and freed-men, who had informed againſt their maſters or patrons, to be crucified. The new emperor in the mean time, leaving Edeſſa, led his army to Antioch; and there, in the preſence of all his troops, gave his ſon the name of Antoninus, a name highly revered, and, in a manner, adored by the ſoldiery [w]. On this occaſion the whole army demanded with loud cries the deification of Caracalla; a demand which greatly ſurprized Macrinus, who nevertheleſs was in the end forced to comply with it, and command the ſenate to rank among the gods one, whom he himſelf had cauſed to be murdered, and who was deſervedly looked upon by all, except the ſoldiery, as a profeſſed foe to human race, a monſter gorged with blood, a parricide, and the moſt inhuman tyrant that could ever wear and diſgrace a diadem. The ſenate, purſuant to the emperor's orders, immediately decreed him divine honours, a temple, altars, prieſts, ſacrifices, and all the apparatus of divinity. The new emperor was even obliged to cauſe one Aurelianus to be condemned and executed, for having privately removed ſome of the deceaſed emperor's ſtatues [x]; ſo great was the authority which the army had, by degrees, uſurped both over the ſenate and prince.

Macrinus acknowledged emperor by the ſenate.

Caracalla deified.

The Parthian war.

WHILE theſe things paſſed at Antioch and Rome, Artabanes, king of the Parthians, having aſſembled a powerful army, advanced at the head of it, with a deſign to invade the Roman territories, and retaliate the injuries he had received. Macrinus, prompted partly by his natural timidity, (for he was not a man of courage) and partly by motives of juſtice and equity, endeavoured to appeaſe him, by ſending back all the priſoners

[u] Idem, p. 892. [w] Idem, p. 896. Herod. l. iv. p. 561.
[x] Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 892. Vit. Macr. p. 95.

priſoners taken by Caracalla, and with them embaſſadors to propoſe a peace, on terms equally honourable to both nations; but Artabanes declaring, that he would hearken to no propoſals, unleſs the Romans engaged, by way of preliminary, to rebuild all the cities they had deſtroyed, to give up Meſopotamia, and to pay an immenſe ſum, to be employed in repairing the tombs of the Parthian monarchs overturned by Caracalla, and making good the loſſes his ſubjects had ſuſtained by the late unjuſt invaſion. Macrinus, aſhamed to comply with ſuch high demands, took the field, and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of Niſibis [y]. Herodian tells us, that the battle which enſued laſted two whole days, night alone putting an end to the conteſt, and both parties challenging the victory. He adds, that the third day, the two armies, not being able to approach each other on account of the dead bodies, which formed a kind of wall between them, retired to their reſpective camps [z]. But Dion Caſſius writes, that the Romans, inured under Caracalla to an idle and effeminate life, were overcome in two engagements; inſomuch, that Macrinus, not daring to venture a third, ſent embaſſadors with rich preſents for Artabanes, and all the grandees of his court, and by that means obtained a peace, which coſt him, according to our hiſtorian, fifty millions of drachmas [a]. However, the ſenate decreed him the ſurname of Parthicus, which he accepted, as appears from ſome of his medals [b]; but declined the triumph which was decreed him at the ſame time [c]. As for the Armenians, whom Caracalla had likewiſe provoked, Macrinus appeaſed them, by reſtoring their king Tiridates to the throne, and to him thoſe lands which they had formerly poſſeſſed in Cappadocia [d]. Capitolinus ſpeaks of a war with the people of Arabia, in which Macrinus ſignalized his courage, and was attended with great ſucceſs [e]; but of this war no mention is made by any other hiſtorian. Macrinus, having thus concluded a peace both with the Parthians and Armenians, returned to Antioch; and there, by means of many excellent laws, endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuſes which had prevailed in the reign of his predeceſſor. He declared all the reſcripts and deciſions of the emperors void and null, unleſs they were found agreeable to the antient and known laws of Rome, ſaying, It was a ſhameful thing, that the caprice of a Commodus or a Caracalla ſhould be

The Romans defeated.

Macrinus concludes a peace with the Parthians and Armenians.

[y] Vit. Macr. p. 96. Dio, ibid. p. 890. [z] Herod. l. iv. p. 557. [a] Dio, ibid. p. 866. [b] Noris. de Dio, p. 19. [c] Dio, ibid. p. 900. [d] Idem, p. 887. [e] Vit. Macr. p. 95.

be held for laws. He puniſhed crimes with great ſeverity. When any perſons, of what rank ſoever, were convicted of adultery, he cauſed the delinquents to be tied together, and, thus tied, to be burnt alive. He obliged fugitive ſlaves to fight like gladiators: ſometimes he ordered criminals to be ſhut up and ſtarved to death. He puniſhed with death ſuch informers as could not make good their accuſations; when they did, they had the uſual reward, that is, the fourth part of the criminal's eſtate; whence they were called Quadruplatores; but at the ſame time Macrinus declared them infamous. He revived, according to Capitolinus, who betrays a ſtrange prejudice againſt him, the puniſhment of Mezentius, who is ſaid to have tied the living to the dead, that they might both putrify together. Hence the people, commending once in the circus the mild temper of his ſon Diadumenus, publicly repeated the verſe of Virgil in commendation of Lauſus the ſon of Mezentius; Dignus cui pater haud Mezentius eſſet, It was a pity he had a Mezentius for his father [f]. He took from the inhabitants of Pergamus all the privileges which had been lately granted them by Caracalla, and appointed Dion Caſſius the hiſtorian governor of that city and of Smyrna [g]. A conſpiracy being diſcovered againſt him, he puniſhed ſome of the authors of it; but pardoned Arbianus, Thuſcus, and Gellius, of whom the former is ſtyled duke of Armenia, and the two latter lieutenants of Aſia and Arabia; nay, he continued them in their employments, hoping to gain them by that means. We are told by Capitolinus, that Diadumenus wrote on this occaſion to his father, and likewiſe to the empreſs his mother, complaining of the indulgence which the emperor had ſhewn them, and begging that they might be executed without mercy [h] (P). But we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that Diadu-

Macrinus's ſeverity againſt criminals.

An inſtance of his clemency.

[f] Vit. Macr. p. 96. [g] Dio, p. 897. [h] Diad. vit. p. 100.

(P) The letter which he is ſaid to have written to his father, was conceived in the following terms: "I cannot be ſilent on "the preſent occaſion, without being wanting to my duty. You "were ſurely quite unmindful of your own ſafety, when you "ſpared the authors of the late rebellion. Men, whoſe minds "are once exulcerated, will never be reclaimed by mercy; and "friends, when they once begin to hate, are of all enemies the "moſt cruel, the moſt implacable; beſides, they are ſtill in a condi-"tion to do miſchief, they have ſtill troops under their command:

Si

Diadumenus, then only nine or ten years old, was capable of writing ſuch letters.

WE have hitherto ſeen nothing in Macrinus blame-worthy: however, he was not without his faults; for, in the firſt place, as he himſelf was of a mean deſcent, he deprived of their employments thoſe who were nobly born, and raiſed to the higheſt poſts perſons of his own condition, though, generally ſpeaking, void of all merit. Thus he appointed Adventus, of whom we have ſpoken before, governor of Rome, and prince of the ſenate, even before he was a ſenator, though altogether unequal to that high poſt, being incapable of ſpeaking in public, and ſo illiterate, that he could not ſo much as read. He recalled from the government of Pannonia and Dacia Sabinus and Caſtinus, men of merit and diſtinction; and ſent Marcius Agrippa, a manumitted ſlave, formerly baniſhed by Severus for treaſonable practices, to ſucceed the former; and ſubſtituted Decius Tricianus, a man of no rank, in the room of the latter. In the ſoldiers he puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſion or neglect of duty with ſuch ſeverity, that, inſtead of Macrinus, he was called by them Macellinus, from the word macellum, ſignifying ſhambles. In the reign of Caracalla, they had been quartered in the cities, where they indulged themſelves with impunity in all manner of licentiouſneſs; but Macrinus obliged them to live under tents in the fields, and would not ſuffer them to approach or enter any city, in order to inure them to a regular and military life. This they could not endure, the more becauſe the emperor himſelf wallowed in pleaſures at Antioch, while they in the field often wanted neceſſaries. They therefore began to regret the loſs of Caracalla,

Raiſes only perſons of a mean deſcent, and no merit.

He diſobliges the ſoldiers by his exceſſive ſeverity.

> Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
> Aſcanium ſurgentem, & ſpes hæredis Iuli
> Reſpice, cui regnum Italiæ Romanaque tellus
> Debentur———————————

"You muſt put them to death, if you deſire to live in ſafety, "Your ſparing them will encourage others (ſuch is the perverſe-"neſs of mankind!) to follow their example." In his letter to his mother, he expreſſed himſelf thus. "The emperor my fa-"ther, by ſparing his enemies, ſhews that he neither loves you nor "himſelf: therefore exert your ſelf on this occaſion, and take care "they be executed; for tho' my father ſpares them, they will "not, when occaſion offers, ſpare us (98)".

(98) Vit. Diad. p. 100.

calla, to hate the very name of Macrinus, and publicly to reproach him with the meanneſs of his birth and former life. At the ſame time they were informed, that he had been the chief author of the murder of Caracalla; which incenſed them againſt him to ſuch a degree, that they only wanted a favourable opportunity to revolt from Macrinus, and appoint another emperor in his room; which they did accordingly the following year, when Macrinus and Adventus were conſuls. This revolution was brought about by the contrivance and artifices of Mæſa, ſiſter to the late empreſs Julia, a woman of great craft, dexterity, experience, and even courage. She had lived at court with her ſiſter during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla, and had acquired there great knowledge of affairs, and likewiſe immenſe wealth; which Macrinus ſuffered her to enjoy after the murder of Caracalla, but ordered her to quit the court, and retire to Emeſa in Phœnicia, her native city. She had two daughters, viz. Julia Soœmis, or Soœmias, and Julia Mamæa. Of theſe the latter had a ſon named Alexianus, and the former one called Varius Avitus Baſſianus. When Mæſa retired by Macrinus's orders to Emeſa, ſhe took her two grandſons with her, Avitus being then thirteen years old, and Alexianus only nine, and cauſed them both to be conſecrated to the ſun, the chief deity of the inhabitants of Emeſa, who had erected a ſtately temple to him, under the name of Eleagabalus. Baſſianus, the eldeſt of the two, was appointed pontiff of that deity, and thence called Eleagabalus, or as he is commonly ſtyled by hiſtorians, Heliogabalus [i]; for his name has occaſioned great diſputes among the learned. As the temple of the ſun was but at a ſmall diſtance from Macrinus's camp, the Roman ſoldiers, coming frequently to viſit the deity of the place, were mightily taken with the comelineſs of the young pontiff, who, in his perſon, was tall and genteel, well-ſhaped, and had ſomething in his air and looks extremely gracious and pleaſing. Mæſa, obſerving her grandſon thus admired by the ſoldiery, reſolved to improve the opportunity, giving out, that Heliogabalus was the ſon of Caracalla; that ſhe poſſeſſed immenſe treaſures, and would willingly enrich with them ſuch as ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of the deceaſed emperor's ſon. The ſoldiers, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Emeſa, believing Heliogabalus to be truly the ſon of Caracalla, and allured by the mighty promiſes of Mæſa, invited her with her grandſon to the

[i] Herod. l. v. p. 562. Dio in excerpt. Val. p. 111. Macr. vit. p. 96.

the camp; and, upon their arrival, proclaimed Heliogabalus emperor, by the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, and inveſted him with all the enſigns of ſovereignty [k]. Macrinus, who was then at Antioch, when informed of this revolt, inſtead of marching in perſon to quaſh it at once, as he might have eaſily done, contented himſelf with ſending Ulpius Julianus, one of the captains of the guards, with ſome troops, againſt them. Julianus attacked their camp with great reſolution, and might have made himſelf maſter of it the very firſt day, the ſoldiers under his command being moſtly Moors, and conſequently greatly attached to Macrinus their countryman; but Julianus checking their ardour, and putting off the aſſault to the next day, in hopes they would in the mean time ſubmit of their own accord, the beſieged raiſed new works during the night, ſuſtained the aſſault the next morning with great reſolution, and by ſhewing Heliogabalus on the ramparts, and with him the treaſures they had received from Mæſa, induced the Romans who were with Julianus, and highly diſſatiſfied with Macrinus, to murder their own officers and join them. Julianus betook himſelf to flight, and lay for ſome time concealed; but being at length diſcovered, one of the ſoldiers ſtruck off his head, and carried it to the emperor, wrapped up in a linen cloth, and ſealed with Julianus's own ſeal, pretending it to be the head of Heliogabalus; and made his eſcape while the emperor was unfolding it. Macrinus, perceiving whoſe head it was, and thence concluding, that he had been betrayed and defeated, haſtened to the camp of the Albanians; that is, of the ſoldiers who had their fixed quarters at Alba, and were then encamped in the neighbourhood of Apamea; acquainted them in a very injudicious ſpeech with the revolt of the troops near Emeſa; declared Heliogabalus, his couſin Alexianus, both their mothers, and their grandmother Mæſa, public enemies; and proclaimed his ſon Diadumenus Auguſtus, and his partner in the empire, promiſing on that occaſion to each ſoldier five thouſand drachmas, and paying them of that ſum one thouſand on the ſpot. At the ſame time, he wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the revolt of the troops and the promotion of his ſon, and enjoining them to promiſe to the people in his name one hundred and fifty drachmas a man. The ſenate, by whom Macrinus was greatly beloved, confirmed the title of Auguſtus to his ſon, and declared Heliogabalus a public enemy. From Apamea the emperor returned to Antioch, inſtead of marching

Heliogabalus is by ſome proclaimed emperor.

Julianus, ſent againſt him, is betrayed by his own men, and murdered.

[k] Dio, p. 902. Herod. p. 564. Vit. Macr. p. 96.

without loſs of time againſt the rebels at Emeſa, which city was but at a ſmall diſtance. He was ſcarce gone, when the Albanians, and the other troops encamped in that neighbourhood, declared for Heliogabalus, who thereupon marched ſtrait to Antioch, to attack Macrinus, before he had time to aſſemble his other forces. The emperor, upon the news of his approach, marched out of Antioch at the head of the prætorian bands; and the two armies meeting on the confines of Syria and Phœnicia, a bloody engagement enſued, in which the troops of Heliogabalus, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, began in the end to give ground; but were brought back to the charge by Mæſa, Soœmis, the mother of Heliogabalus, and by Heliogabalus himſelf, who ſignalized his valour on that occaſion in a very eminent manner. The fight being thus renewed with more fury than ever, Macrinus's men would have gained the day, according to Dion Caſſius, had they not been abandoned by their leader, who, as he was naturally timorous, betook himſelf to flight, when he ſaw the troops of Heliogabalus return to the charge. The prætorian guards kept their ground, even after his flight, till Heliogabalus aſſured them upon his oath, that they ſhould not be diſcharged, but ſhould enjoy under him all the privileges and exemptions which had been granted them by other emperors; then they declared for him, as the other troops had already done [1]. Macrinus retired to Antioch, and there giving out that he had gained a complete victory, ordered his ſon to ſhelter himſelf in the country of the Parthians; and, before the news of his defeat was publicly known, fled himſelf in diſguiſe, taking with him letters for thoſe who had care of the poſts, as if he had been ſent by the emperor upon ſome important affair that required diſpatch. Thus he croſſed undiſcovered the provinces of Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia. To avoid Nicomedia, he embarqued at a port in the neighbourhood of that city, called Eribolus, with a deſign to go by ſea to Chalcedon, and from thence to croſs over to Byzantium; but being driven back by a contrary wind to Chalcedon, when he was upon the point of landing at Byzantium, he was there unfortunately taken ill, and diſcovered by thoſe whom Heliogabalus had ſent to purſue him. The ſoldiers, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed, put him into a chariot, in order to carry him to Heliogabalus; but he having thrown himſelf out of it, when he was informed that his ſon too had been taken, and by the fall broken his ſhoulder-bone, the

Moſt of the troops revolt.

Macrinus abandons his men in an engagement, who join Heliogabalus.

[1] Dio, p. 889. Herod. l. v. p. 565.

the ſoldiers put an end to his pain and life, by cutting off his head, which they carried to Heliogabalus, who ordered it to be expoſed on the point of a ſpear to public view [m]. Such was the end of Macrinus, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned four months wanting three days; for we reckon his reign ended on the day of his defeat, which was the ſeventh of June of the year 218. His ſon Diadumenus was publicly executed by the new emperor's orders, as a common malefactor, and his head carried about, with that of his father, on the point of a ſpear. We are told, that ſome of the ſoldiers, conſidering his youth, (for he was but ten years old) were for ſaving him; but the letters, which he was ſuppoſed to have written againſt Arabianus and his accomplices, being produced, they conſented to his death. Baſilianus, governor of Egypt, and Marius Secundus, governor of Phœnicia, (for that province had at this time its peculiar governor) refuſed to acknowledge Heliogabalus, even after the death of Macrinus; which occaſioned ſeveral ſeditions in thoſe countries, in one of which great numbers of the people and ſoldiery were killed, and among the reſt Secundus himſelf. Baſilianus fled to Italy, and lay ſome time concealed in the neighbourhood of Brunduſium; but was in the end betrayed by one of his old friends, to whom he had written for ſome relief, and by Heliogabalus's orders executed at Nicomedia, where that prince paſſed the firſt winter after his acceſſion to the empire [n].

Both he and his ſon Diadumenus put to death.

HELIOGABALUS, immediately after the defeat and flight of Macrinus, entered Antioch, and from thence wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the defeat of Macrinus and his acceſſion to the empire, and promiſing to conform in every thing to the excellent inſtitutions of Auguſtus and M. Aurelius, and to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the ſenate, whoſe authority ſhould be ever ſacred to him. However, as he ſtyled himſelf Auguſtus the ſon of Antoninus, that is, of Caracalla, and the grandſon of Severus, and likewiſe aſſumed the proconſular and tribunitial power, and the titles of Happy and Pious, before they had been conferred upon him by the ſenate, his letter occaſioned a general conſternation in the city; nevertheleſs they confirmed to him all the titles he had aſſumed; declared Macrinus, tho' by them greatly beloved, a public enemy, and honoured both Mæſa and Soœmis with the title of Auguſtæ. Thus was Varius Avitus Baſſianus, commonly known in hiſtory by the name of Heliogabalus,

Heliogabalus acknowledged emperor by the ſenate.

[m] Dio, l. xxviii. p. 889. Herod. ibid. p. 566. Macr. vit. p. 96. [n] Dio, p. 905. Heliog. vit. p. 102.

His character.

gabalus, raiſed to the empire. He was the moſt profligate, impious, inhuman, effeminate, and prodigal tyrant that ever diſgraced a diadem. His grandmother Mæſa, who was a woman of great parts and experience, quite aſhamed of his ſcandalous and unaccountable conduct, ſtrove to the utmoſt of her power to keep him within ſome bounds; but he, utterly deſpiſing her, only hearkened to the wicked counſels of his mother Soœmis, and of ſuch as flattered him in his crimes. Hence he may be truly ſaid to have exceeded Nero himſelf in cruelty, Caligula in prodigality, and the moſt abandoned princes, who reigned either before or after him, in all manner of lewdneſs and debauchery. He did not reign full four years, and in that ſhort time married ſix wives. His firſt wife was Julia Cornelia Paula, a lady of an unblameable character, and ſprung from two of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome; but ſoon after divorced her, and ſtripped her of the title of Auguſta, and all the other honours he had conferred upon her. He then married Julia Aquilia Severa, a veſtal virgin, which was accounted by the Romans an enormous crime; but ſoon put her away to marry Annia Fauſtina, the grand-daughter of the emperor M. Aurelius, though already married to Pomponius Baſſus, whom he cauſed to be murdered. Fauſtina, and three others, whoſe names are unknown, were in a ſhort time obliged to give room to Aquilia Severa the veſtal, whom he admitted a-new to his bed, ſaying, That he hoped, as ſhe was a prieſteſs and he a prieſt, to have by her an offspring worthy of the immortal gods [o]. But his frequent marriages and divorces did not give ſo much offence as his ſcandalous

His wives.

His monſtrous lewdneſs.

lewdneſs and unheard-of debaucheries. He turned the imperial palace into a brothel, filling it with ſuch numbers of proſtitutes, for the conveniency, he ſaid, of his friends and favourites, that it ſeemed a city, ſays Herodian, inhabited only by lewd women. With them and his debauched companions, he paſſed the greateſt part of his time, abandoning himſelf to the moſt ſcandalous and unnatural practices. He often aſſembled them in one of the halls of the palace, appeared among them in the apparel, and with the air of a proſtitute; encouraged them in formal harangues to lay aſide all modeſty, ſhake off all reſtraints, and make it their whole ſtudy to find out new methods of ſatisfying their luſtful appetities. In his ſpeeches he addreſſed them with the title of commilitones, fellow-ſoldiers; and truly they were the only ſoldiers worthy of ſuch a general

[o] Dio, l. lxxix. p. 911. Herod. p. 568.

ral. After ſome time he drove many of the debauched women out of the palace, and took catamites in their room; for he was himſelf of that infamous tribe, having been publicly married firſt to Aurelius Zoticus, one of his officers, and afterwards to Hierocles, a ſlave. He was not aſhamed to ſatisfy his infamous and unnatural luſts in public, in the face of the ſun and the whole Roman people, putting thereby out of countenance even the moſt profligate amongſt his debauched companions. But to dwell on ſuch abominable ſcenes of impurity is beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian, and only worthy of ſuch a biographer as Ælius Lampridius, who ſeems to take particular delight in deſcribing the unheard-of pollutions and abominations of this lewd monſter. His prodigality was as boundleſs as his luſt; for in the ſhort time of his reign he is ſaid to have reduced almoſt to beggary all the ſubjects of the empire, and to have left at his death the exchequer quite empty. He ſuffered nothing to appear at his table, but what was brought from the moſt diſtant countries at an immenſe charge. His palace, his chambers, and his beds were all furniſhed with cloth of gold. When he went abroad, all the way between his chamber and the palace where his chariot waited for him was ſtrewed with gold-duſt; for he thought it beneath him to tread upon the ground like other men. All his tables, cheſts, chairs, and ſuch veſſels as were deſtined for the meaneſt uſes, were of pure gold. Though his cloaths were exceeding coſtly, and beſet with jewels and precious ſtones, yet he is ſaid never to have worn one ſuit twice, nor ever to have put on again a ring which he had once uſed. He was conſtantly ſerved in gold-plate; but every night after ſupper diſtributed among his gueſts and attendants what had been made uſe of that day. He often diſtributed among the people and ſoldiery, not corn only and money, as other emperors had done, but gold and ſilver-plate, jewels, precious ſtones, and tickets entitling them to immenſe ſums, which were immediately paid. He cauſed his fiſh-ponds to be filled with water diſtilled from roſes, and the naumachia, where ſea-fights were exhibited, with wine. His rooms, tables, couches, and galleries where he walked, were daily ſtrewed with roſes, lillies, and all ſorts of flowers. His banquets and entertainments were expenſive almoſt beyond belief, his favourite diſhes being tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the brains of parrots and pheaſants. He fed his dogs with the livers of geeſe, his horſes with raiſins, and his lions and other wild beaſts with partridges and pheaſants. In ſhort, the whole wealth of the Roman empire was ſcarce ſufficient, ſays Herodian,

His prodigality.

rodian, to ſupply the extravagance of one man [p]. As for his unheard-of follies, we refer our readers to Lampridius, who relates them at length, not thinking them worthy of a place in our hiſtory.

To give ſome account of this ſtrange reign, according to the order of time; Heliogabalus, before he left Syria, commanded ſeveral perſons, both in the eaſt and at Rome, to be put to death; and among the reſt, Julianus Neſtor, captain of the guards under Macrinus; Fabius Agrippinus, governor of Syria; Reanus, governor of Arabia; Claudius Attalus, who had governed Thrace in the year 194, and was then governor of Cyprus; and Decius Triccianus, who commanded in Pannonia [q]. From Syria, the new emperor marched to Nicomedia in Bithynia, where he paſſed the winter, and gave many freſh inſtances of his cruel and inhuman temper, cauſing, beſides many others, one Gannys to be murdered for adviſing him in a friendly manner to abandon his former vices, and behave like a Roman emperor. Gannys was one of Mæſa's domeſtics, but favoured to ſuch a degree by Heliogabalus, on account of his fidelity, and the zeal he had ſhewn in his cauſe, that he deſigned to marry his mother to him, and declare him Cæſar. However, his finding fault with his vices provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death upon the ſpot, and gave him with his own hand the firſt blow [r]. In the beginning of the following year, Heliogabalus entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue one Sacerdos, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory. Early in the ſpring, the new emperor ſet out for Rome, where he was received both by the people and ſenate with great demonſtrations of joy, though no one doubted but he would prove a ſecond Nero or Caligula. The next day he went to the ſenate; and taking with him his grand-mother, placed her next to the conſuls, ordered her name to be ſet down among thoſe of the other ſenators, and appointed, that ſhe ſhould vote as the reſt, and be conſulted in all matters of importance. For his mother Socœmis he inſtituted a ſenate, conſiſting only of women, and declared her their head or preſident. The ſubject of their conſultations, debates, and decrees, were the dreſs and apparel of the Roman matrons, their ranks and dignities, their viſits, ceremonies, and other important matters of the like nature [s]. The emperor himſelf

Cauſes ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to be murdered.

He ranks his grandmother among the ſenators, and inſtitutes a ſenate of women.

[p] Herod p. 569. Vit. Heliog. p. 102. [q] Dio, l. lxxix. 894. [r] Idem, in excerpt. Val. p. 761, 762. [s] Heliog. vit. p. 102, 105, 106.

himſelf was not employed in matters of greater moment, being wholly taken up in eſtabliſhing at Rome the worſhip of his god Heliogabalus, or, as he is ſtyled on the medals of this prince, Eleagabalus. He erected a magnificent temple to him, worſhipped him with ceremonies never before practiſed at Rome, preferred him to Jupiter himſelf, and to all the other gods of the Romans, who, he ſaid, were but the ſervants of his god; and declared, that he would ſuffer no other god to be adored, at Rome or elſewhere, but Eleagabalus. In order to this, he profaned all other temples, ſtripped them of their ornaments, and attempted to convey into the temple of his own god the perpetual fire of Veſta, the ſtatue of Cybele, the bucklers of Mars, the palladium brought from Troy, as was ſuppoſed, by Æneas, and whatever was looked upon by the Romans as moſt ſacred. From Carthage he ordered the goddeſs Cæleſtis to be brought to Rome, and with her all the rich ornaments belonging to her temple; married her to Eleagabalus, and cauſed the nuptials of the two deities to be celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity [t]. Dion Caſſius tells us, that, in honour of his god, he abſtained from hogs-fleſh, and cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed [u]; and Herodian, that he erected another magnificent temple for him in the country, whither he conveyed him every year in the beginning of the ſummer. The ſame author adds, that, beſides many other victims, he ſacrificed children to him, moſtly ſprung from illuſtrious families, and privately ſnatched up by the miniſters of his cruelty, diſperſed all over Italy for that purpoſe [w]. Dion Caſſius obſerves, that he cauſed ſeveral illuſtrious perſons to be inhumanly murdered this year; and among the reſt, Seius Carus, Valerianus Pætus, Silius Meſſala, and Pomponius Baſſus, all ſenators of great diſtinction, for no other crime, but becauſe he believed they diſliked his conduct [x].

Eſtabliſhes the worſhip of the god Eleagabalus.

THE following year, Heliogabalus entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having for his collegue Eutychianus, an imperial freedman, and a celebrated buffoon; whence he was furnamed Comazon, which, in the Greek tongue, ſignifies waggiſh, or gay. He had greatly contributed to the riſe of Heliogabalus; for at his inſtigation the troops near Emeſa had declared for him; on which account the new emperor immediately declared him captain of the guards, and conferred upon him the conſular ornaments. This year he honoured him with

[t] Heliog. vit. p. 102, 103. Herod. l. v. p. 568. Dio. l. lxxix. p. 912. [u] Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 762. [w] Herod., ibid. Heliog. vit. p. 103. [x] Dio, p. 908, 909.

with the conſular dignity; and, when his conſulſhip expired, appointed him governor of Rome [y]. The next year, when Gratus Sabinianus and Seleucus were conſuls, Mæſa, foreſeeing that the Romans could not longer bear with ſuch a prince as Heliogabalus, prevailed upon him to adopt his couſin Alexianus, and declare him Cæſar, though at that time only twelve, or, at moſt, thirteen years old. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and the young prince on that occaſion took the names of Alexander and Severus, the former from the king of Macedon, and the latter from the emperor, his ſuppoſed grandfather [z], Heliogabalus treated him at firſt in a very friendly and obliging manner, hoping to draw him over to his lewd courſes; but finding that the excellent youth could not by any means be induced to follow his example, and that he was more beloved both by the people and ſoldiery than himſelf, he began to repent his having adopted him, and gave private orders to thoſe, who were truſted with the care of his education, to diſpatch him. But all their attempts being rendered abortive, by the care and circumſpection of Mamæa, mother to the young prince, and of his grandmother Mæſa, who betrayed all the emperor's ſecrets, Heliogabalus, tranſported with rage, ordered the ſenate to degrade Alexianus from the dignity of Cæſar, and annul the late adoption. At the ſame time, he diſpatched aſſaſſins to murder him; and retiring to an old palace on mount Eſquilin, waited there till news was brought him of his death. But in the mean time, the prætorian guards, appriſed of the danger that threatened the young prince, flew to the palace, and would have put the emperor himſelf to death, had he not ſoftened them with mighty promiſes, abandoned to them all his debauched companions, and ſuch as were deemed enemies to Alexander; and ſolemnly declared, that he deſigned for the future to lead a quite different life, and to redreſs all the grievances, of which, he ſaid, they had but too much reaſon to complain [a]. The next year, he took upon him his third conſulſhip; and pretending to be reconciled to Alexander, choſe him for his collegue; but being determined at all events, notwithſtanding his late proteſtations, to rid himſelf of ſo troubleſome a rival, in the firſt place, he ordered all the ſenators to quit the city, leſt they ſhould thwart his deſigns; and then cauſing Alexander

Alexianus adopted and created Cæſar.

Heliogabalus repents his adopting him, and attempts to deſtroy him.

[y] Dio, p. 888. [z] Herod. l. v. p. 570. Dio, l. lxxix. p. 914.
[a] Dio, p. 915. Herod. ibid. Heliogab. vit. p. 106.

der to be ſhut up in the palace, gave out, that he was all of a ſudden taken ill, and almoſt paſt recovery. This report he ſpread abroad on purpoſe to diſcover the diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, who no ſooner heard it, than they flew to arms, and demanded to ſee Alexander. The young prince was accordingly brought forth to them, and by the emperor himſelf conducted to the camp, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, while no one took the leaſt notice of Heliogabalus; which provoked the tyrant to ſuch a degree, that he ordered thoſe, who had applauded Alexander, to be puniſhed as traitors. But the reſt, reſcuing them out of the hands of the executioners, began to croud about the emperor, uttering dreadful menaces; which ſo terrified him, that he attempted to ſave himſelf by flight, thoſe who had attended him to the camp endeavouring to diſperſe the multitude. Hereupon a quarrel enſued between the partizans of the two princes, in which thoſe who favoured Heliogabalus were ſoon defeated and cut in pieces, with Hierocles, that prince's chief favourite, the captains of the guards, and all the miniſters who attended him. The emperor himſelf withdrew, during the conteſt, into the moſt filthy place of the camp, and conſequently the moſt worthy of him; where he was ſoon diſcovered, and murdered by the enraged ſoldiery, together with his mother Soœmis, who had retired thither with him, and held him the whole time in her arms. Both their heads were ſtruck off; and after their bodies had been ignominiouſly dragged through the city, and moſt outrageouſly inſulted by the populace, that of Heliogabulus was, with a great weight faſtened to it, thrown from the Æmilian bridge into the Tiber [b]. Such was the deſerved end of Heliogabalus, the moſt wicked and debauched of all the Roman emperors, in the eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from the ſeventh of June, of the year 218, on which day he defeated Macrinus, to the eleventh of March of the year 222, when he met with his deſerved doom. The ſenate cauſed the name of Antoninus, which he had aſſumed and diſgraced with his lewd life, to be eraſed out of the public regiſters, and all inſcriptions; and paſſed a decree, excluding for ever women from the ſenate, and loading with curſes ſuch as ſhould for the future attempt to tranſgreſs it [c].

The ſoldiers mutiny.

Heliogabalus and his mother Soœmis murdered.

UPON the death of Heliogabalus, his couſin Alexander, then in the fourteenth year of his age, was proclaimed emperor

Alexander declared emperor.

[b] Herod. p. 573. Heliog. vit. p. 106. [c] Heliog. vit. p. 107.

peror by the ſoldiery, and conducted from the camp to the ſenate, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and honoured with the titles of Auguſtus, of father of his country, and all the other marks of diſtinction peculiar to the imperial dignity. At the ſame time, they offered him the name of Antoninus, and the ſurname of Great; but he modeſtly declined them both. He was the ſon of Julia Mamæa, or Mammæa, of whom we have ſpoken above, and of Geneſius Marcianus, a Syrian. He was a native of the city of Arca, in Phœnicia, and born there, according to Lampridius [d], in a temple conſecrated to Alexander the Great; whence, upon his being adopted by Heliogabalus, he took the name of Alexander. His former name was Baſſianus, according to Dion Caſſius; but according to Herodian, Alexianus, his grandfather's name. His father dying when he was very young, his mother brought him up with great care; for Julia Mamæa is thought by many writers of great note to have been inſtructed in the truths of the goſpel, and to have embraced the chriſtian religion: at leaſt, Euſebius ſtyles her a very pious and religious woman [f]; epithets which we can hardly perſuade ourſelves a chriſtian biſhop would have beſtowed upon a pagan. While ſhe was at Antioch, in the year 218, hearing Origen greatly commended on account of his knowledge in religious matters, ſhe ſhewed a great deſire to ſee him, ſent for him from Alexandria, received him with great joy, and kept him ſome time with her [g]. It is not improbable, that ſhe was by him convinced of the truth, and embraced it. Be that as it will, ſhe brought up her ſon with extraordinary care, employing only ſuch perſons to inſtruct him as were equally renowned for their probity and learning, and allowing no one to come near him, whom ſhe ſuſpected capable of corrupting his morals. He applied himſelf, from his infancy, to the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin tongues, and was as well verſed in the former as any man of his age; but his improvement in the latter was not ſo great, as appeared from his ſpeeches to the ſenate, to the ſoldiery, and to the people [h]: neither did he admire the Latin eloquence ſo much as the Greek. He was well ſkilled in all the other branches of polite learning, and, beſides, in the arts of painting, ſinging, playing upon inſtruments, &c. From his infancy,

His birth and education.

His mother Julia Mamæa.

[d] Vit. Alex. p. 114. [e] Vide Oroſ. l. vii. c. 18. Cedren t. i. p. 256. Abulfar. p. 80. Vinc. Lerin. c. 23. [f] Euſeb. l. vi. c. 21. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Vit. Alex. p. 115.

fancy, he gave innumerable inſtances of a moſt mild, humane, and generous temper; ſhewed an utter averſion to bloodſhed and all manner of cruelty; and made it his chief ſtudy to pleaſe and oblige, not only his parents and relations, but even his domeſtics. As he paid an entire deference to his mother Mamæa and grandmother Mæſa, both women of great experience and extraordinary parts, at their motion, he choſe, as ſoon as he was raiſed to the empire, ſixteen ſenators for his council, all men of known probity, and long verſed in public affairs, tranſacting nothing without their advice, and conſtantly conforming to it. Among theſe were, Fabius Sabinus, generally ſtyled the Cato of his time; Domitius Ulpianus and Julius Paulus, two celebrated civilians; Antoninus Gordianus, afterwards emperor; Catilius Severus, Alexander's kinſman, and one of the moſt learned perſons of his age; Ælius Serenianus, a man of extraordinary integrity; and Quintilius Marcellus, a great admirer of the cuſtoms and manners of the antient Romans [i]. The deference he paid to his mother was ſo great, that Herodian reckons it among his faults; for though he was himſelf a man of extraordinary talents, of ſuch diſcernment and penetration, ſays Lampridius, that no one ever deceived him, yet he conſtantly preferred her opinion to his own [k]. He gave her name to ſeveral buildings, which they ſtill retained in the end of the fourth century [l]; and cauſed her to be honoured with the titles of Auguſta, or mother of her country, of the armies, and of the ſenate, which had been formerly conferred on Julia, the wife of Severus [m]. As Mamæa profeſſed, in all likelihood the chriſtian religion, no wonder that Alexander ſhewed great favour to the chriſtians, and would not ſuffer them to be any-ways moleſted on account of their religion. Euſebius tells us, that his court was filled with chriſtians [n]; and Lampridius, that in his private oratory he worſhipped Chriſt and Abraham, and would have cauſed temples to be erected to the founder of the chriſtian religion, had he not been diverted from it by the anſwers of the oracles, aſſuring him, that if he ever ſuffered Chriſt to be ranked among the gods, all the other temples would be ſoon abandoned and the gods neglected [o]. He ſeems to have been well acquainted with the morals of the chriſtian religion; for he had conſtantly in his mouth that golden rule,

His counſellors.

Alexander favours the chriſtians.

Do

[i] Alex. vit. p. 241. [k] Herod. l. vi. p. 575. [l] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372. [m] Spon. p. 194. [n] Euſeb. l. vi. c. 28. [o] Alex. vit. p. 124, 139.

Do as you would be done by; cauſed it to be ſet up over the gates of his palace, and on ſeveral public edifices, and obſerved it himſelf, if the writers of his life may be credited, with the greateſt exactneſs [p]. For he made it his chief ſtudy to oblige all men, and is ſaid never to have wronged any. During the firſt year of his reign, he was wholly taken up in reforming the many enormous abuſes, which had prevailed in the court under his predeceſſor. With this view he baniſhed all the freed-men, ſlaves, eunuchs, players, and buffoons, who had borne any ſway in the late reign; and choſe in their rooms perſons of blameleſs characters, and known integrity. Having by this means reformed the court, he made a ſtrict enquiry into the manners and conduct of the public officers, eſpecially of the governors of provinces, and diſcharged moſt of thoſe who had been employed by Helioga-

Diſcharges of the miniſters of the late emperor.

balus. Such of them as had oppreſſed the people committed to their care, were baniſhed; and the reſt reduced to their former condition, as perſons altogether unfit for any public office [q]. The next year, when L. Marius Maximus and L. Roſcius Ælianus were conſuls, the emperor's nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He married Sulpicia Memmia, the daughter of Sulpicius a conſular, and grand-daughter of Catulus. As the whole empire enjoyed at this time a profound peace, nothing remarkable happened either at Rome, or in the provinces, in the two following years; in the firſt of which Julianus and Criſpinus were conſuls, and in the ſecond Fuſcus and Dexter. But the fourth year of Alexander's reign, and during his ſecond conſulſhip, in which he had Quintilius Marcellus for his col-

The Perſian empire re-eſtabliſhed.

legue, Artaxerxes having utterly ruined the Parthian, and re-eſtabliſhed the Perſian, empire, of which great revolution we have ſpoken elſewhere, advanced at the head of a mighty army againſt the Romans, with a deſign to recover Meſopotamia and the other provinces, which had formerly belonged to the Perſian empire. His approach occaſioned great conſternation in Syria; and many of the Romans quartered in Meſopotamia, abandoning the caſtles which they garriſoned, liſted in his army; ſo that he might with great eaſe have over-run, not only Meſopotamia, but likewiſe Syria, had he not attacked on his march the city of Atra, before which place he loſt ſuch numbers of his men, without being able to reduce it, that, dropping for the preſent his expedition againſt the Romans, he thought it adviſeable to march back into

[p] Idem, p. 132. [q] Idem ibid.

into his own country, after having ravaged great part of Media, and made ſome unſucceſsful attempts upon Armenia [r]. The next conſuls were Albinus and Maximus; during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity: but the following conſulſhip of Modeſtus and Probus was remarkable for the death of the celebrated civilian Domitius Ulpianus, who being appointed by Alexander captain of the prætorian guards, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh among them the antient diſcipline, provoked their hatred to ſuch a degree, that, after having in vain ſolicited Alexander to remove him, they at length murdered him in the emperor's preſence. The chief authors of his death were puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, and the moſt factious among the guards ignominiouſly diſcharged. In the room of Ulpian, the emperor choſe one Decimus, and Julius Paulus, a native of Padua, who had been baniſhed by Heliogabalus, on account of his great probity, and was perhaps as ſkilled in the laws as Ulpian [s]. This year ſeveral tumults happened at Rome and in the provinces. The troops quartered in Meſopotamia revolted, murdered their general Flavius Heracleo, and went in great numbers over to the Perſians [t]. The troops in Syria proclaimed one Taurinus emperor, who, as they had conferred that honour upon him againſt his will, made his eſcape; and being purſued by the mutinous ſoldiery, threw himſelf into the Euphrates, and was drowned [u]. Zoſimus and Syncellus ſpeak of one Uranus, who, having uſurped the empire at Edeſſa in Oſrhoene, was defeated by the troops that remained faithful to Alexander. At Rome the prætorian guards attempted to raiſe one Antoninus to the empire; but he declining that burden, withdrew into the country, and never afterwards appeared in the city [w]. But Ovinius Camillus, a ſenator, ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome, ſtudying to gain the affections of the ſoldiery, in order to raiſe himſelf, by their means to the empire, Alexander was no ſooner informed of his private practices, than he ſent for him to court, and thanked him for offering to take upon him ſo great a burden, ſtyled him his collegue, took him with him to the ſenate, allotted him an apartment in the palace, cauſed him to be attired in a far more pompous habit than his own, and treated him in every reſpect as his partner in the empire. As a war broke out at this

The death of Ulpian.

The ſoldiers mutiny in ſeveral provinces.

Ovinius Camillus aſpiring at the empire, how treated by Alexander.

[r] Dio, l. lxxx. p. 918. & in excerpt. Val. p. 769. Herod. l. vi. p. 176. [s] Vit. Alex. p. 122. [t] Dio, l. lxxx p. 917, 918. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Syncell. p. 357. Zoſ. p. 639.

this time, which required the emperor's preſence, Alexander offered the command of the army to Camillus; but he, declining it, the emperor deſired he would at leaſt ſhare with him the fatigues and the glory of that expedition. Accordingly they both ſet out from Rome on foot; but Camillus, who was not enured to a military life, being tired after five miles march, Alexander begged he would purſue his journey on horſeback; which he did for two days, when the emperor, perceiving he could no longer bear even that fatigue, ordered a chariot to be provided for him; which proved ſo great a mortification to Camillus, that he begged leave to reſign the empire, and return home; which Alexander readily granted, aſſuring him before they parted, that he might live in ſafety where he pleaſed. Camillus retired to his country-ſeat, and there lived unmoleſted, during the reign of Alexander; but was put to death by ſome of his ſucceſſors, for what crime we are no-where told [x]. The expedition which Alexander is ſaid to have undertaken this year, was probably againſt the Germans; for it appears from ſome antient inſcriptions, that great advantages were gained over them this year, the ſeventh of the emperor's reign [y]; and Lampridius tells us, that the Germans were overcome by Varius Macrinus, governor of Illyricum [z]. The ſame year, Furius Celſus ſignalized himſelf in Mauritania Tingitana, and Junius Palmatus in Armenia, and were both rewarded with the conſular ornaments [a].

THE following year, Alexander entered upon his third conſulſhip, having Dion Caſſius, the ſecond time conſul, for his collegue. Dion was in the beginning of this reign in Aſia; whence he paſſed into Bithynia, his native country, with a deſign to ſtay ſome time with his friends and relations; but he was ſoon ſent into Africa, to govern that province, with the character of proconſul. Upon his return to Rome, he was appointed governor of Illyricum, and from thence removed into Upper Pannonia, where he revived the antient military diſcipline among the troops, puniſhing the leaſt neglect of duty with the utmoſt ſeverity; inſomuch that the prætorian guards, who dreaded his rigor, upon a report, that he was recalled to command them, no ſooner ſaw him appear in Rome, than they began to mutiny, and preſs the emperor to put him to death. But Alexander, without hearkening

Dion Caſſius hated by the ſoldiery on account of his ſeverity.

[x] Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131. Not. Caſaub. p. 172. & Salmaſ. p 230. [y] Birag. p. 323. [z] Vit. Alex. p. 134. [a] Idem ibid.

hearkening to their unjuſt demand, heaped many honours upon him, often appeared with him in public, and took him this year for his collegue in the conſulſhip: however, fearing the ſoldiers might offer him ſome inſult, if he appeared in Rome with the enſigns of the conſular dignity, he adviſed him to retire from the city, and paſs the time of his conſulſhip in the country, which he did accordingly. Soon after he obtained leave to withdraw into his own country, where he ſpent the remaining part of his life in quiet and retirement [b]. It will not be foreign to our purpoſe to inſert here the account which that writer gives us of the ſtate of the Roman legions at this time, and of the provinces where they were quartered. There were in the time of Auguſtus twenty-five legions, of which only nineteen were now remaining, the other ſix having been either diſbanded, or incorporated into ſome of thoſe that ſtill remained. On the other hand, Nero, Galba, Veſpaſian, Domitian, Trajan, M. Aurelius, and Severus, raiſed thirteen new ones; ſo that the legions at this time were in all thirty-two. Of theſe, three were quartered in Britain, two in Upper, and two in Lower, Germany, one in Italy, one in Spain, one in Numidia, one in Arabia, two in Paleſtine, one in Phœnicia, two in Syria, two in Meſopotamia, two in Cappadocia, two in Lower, and two in Upper, Mœſia, one in Noricum, one in Rhœtia, four in Pannonia, and two in Dacia [c]. Our author does not inform us where the two remaining legions were quartered, nor how many men each of them contained; but Lampridius ſeems to inſinuate, that each legion conſiſted of five thouſand men [d]. From this diſtribution of the legions it appears, that the Romans at this time looked upon the Caledonians, the Parthians, or rather Perſians, and the nations beyond the Danube, as their moſt formidable enemies, and were not ſo apprehenſive of any invaſion on the ſide of Germany, as they had been in former times; for now there were but three legions in that country, whereas in the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, the banks of the Rhine had been guarded by no fewer than eight legions, which were deemed the main ſtrength of the empire [e]. This year Alexander, who did not ſpare his greateſt friends, when manifeſtly convicted of abuſing the confidence he repoſed in them, cauſed Vetronius Turinus, one of his chief favourites, to be put to death for a crime of that nature. The emperor had a particular

The number of the Roman legions.

[b] Dio, l. lxxx. p. 918. [c] Dio, l. lv. p. 645. [d] Alex. vit. p. 131. [e] Tacit. annal. iv. c. 5.

ticular eſteem and kindneſs for Turinus, and often conſulted him in private, as he was a man of extraordinary abilities, about affairs of the greateſt importance. This honour and deference, which the emperor ſeemed to pay to him, the crafty courtier reſolved to turn to his own advantage, and accordingly gave out, that Alexander tranſacted nothing without his advice; that he had gained an abſolute ſway over him; and that it was in his power to raiſe whom he pleaſed to the firſt employments in the empire. By this means he accumulated immenſe wealth in a ſhort time, all who wanted any favour or preferment, recurring to Turinus, whoſe intereſt was not to be gained without rich preſents. He often did not ſo much as mention to the emperor the perſons whom he pretended to recommend; but nevertheleſs, when they happened to obtain, by means of others, what they demanded, he aſſumed the whole merit of it to himſelf, and exacted a proportionable acknowledgment, which in thoſe days was called ſelling ſmoke. The emperor, who was a man of great penetration, began to ſuſpect his favourite of ſuch practices; and therefore a perſon, in whom he could confide, ſoliciting him one day for a favour, he told him he would grant him his requeſt, provided he privately addreſſed Turinus, as if he wanted his recommendation. Turinus, glad of this opportunity, promiſed to employ all his intereſt in his behalf, and ſoon after told him, that he had already recommended him to the emperor, who, he was ſure, would grant him the deſired favour the very firſt time he had an opportunity of recommending him a-new, which he hoped would be very ſoon. He added, that he deſerved to be rewarded for his trouble; and the petitioner referring that to his diſcretion, he not only exacted a large ſum for what he pretended to have done, but obliged him to promiſe, in the preſence of witneſſes, a far more conſiderable one, to be paid as ſoon as he obtained his requeſt. The emperor, who was informed of the whole, immediately granted the favour; which Turinus no ſooner knew, than he obliged his client, tho' he had never once mentioned his name to the emperor, to make good his word and pay the promiſed ſum, pretending, that by his means alone he had obtained what he deſired. Hereupon Alexander cauſed a diligent enquiry to be made into his former conduct, when it appeared, that he had received large ſums, not only from thoſe who had obtained any preferment, but from ſuch too as had had law-ſuits, and often from both parties; which ſo provoked the emperor, that he accuſed him to the ſenate who ſentenced him to death; and the ſentence was put in execution

Vetronius Turinus abuſes the confidence placed in him by the emperor.

ecution in the following manner: The criminal was, by the emperor's orders, tied to a gibbet, and suffocated with the smoke of green wood and wet stubble, kindled round him, the public crier in the mean time proclaiming, He who sold smoke, dies with smoke [f]. The following year, L. Virius Agricola and Sex. Catius Clementinus being consuls, the emperor retired into Campania, and there spent this and the following year, when Pompeianus and Pelignianus were consuls [g]. The next consuls were Lupus and Maximus; during whose administration, Artaxerxes, the restorer of the Persian monarchy, having reduced all the neighbouring countries, unexpectedly invaded the Roman dominions at the head of a mighty army, ravaged Mesopotamia, and advanced to the very confines of Syria. Hereupon Alexander, following the advice of his council, dispatched embassadors with a letter to that conqueror, exhorting him not to engage the two empires in a long and dangerous war, without provocation, and putting him in mind of the victories gained over the eastern nations by Augustus, Trajan, L. Verus, and Severus. But Artaxerxes, puffed up with his late successes, despised the remonstrances of Alexander, and pursued his ravages in Mesopotamia, laid siege to Nisibis, and entering Cappadocia, destroyed all with fire and sword. Hereupon the emperor resolved to march against him in person; and accordingly, to the great grief both of the senate and people, left Rome in the spring of this year 232, the eleventh of his reign; and bending his march through Illyricum, where he was joined by the troops quartered in that province, arrived at Antioch about the beginning of the autumn; whence he sent a second embassy to Artaxerxes, hoping that his presence would add some weight to the reasons formerly alledged. But the haughty Persian, deriding the peaceable temper of the Roman emperor, chose four hundred of the tallest men in his army, and sent them, well mounted, and richly apparelled and armed, in quality of embassadors, to acquaint the Romans and their emperor, that the great monarch Artaxerxes ordered them to retire forthwith from Syria and Asia, and all the countries between the Euphrates and the Ægean sea, which had formerly belonged to the Persians. Alexander heard their message with great temper, and then caused the embassadors to be stript of their rich armour and apparel, and sent under a guard to Phrygia, where he allotted them houses and lands to cultivate [h]. After

How punished by the emperor.

Artaxerxes invades the Roman dominions.

Alexander hastens to Antioch.

Haughty embassy of the Persian monarch.

[f] Alex. vit. p. 124, 125. [g] Noris. epist. consul. p. 146. Birag. p. 313. [h] Herod. l. vi. p. 579.

Alexander prepares for war.

this he began to prepare for war in good earneſt, ordered the legions quartered in the different provinces of the eaſt to join him with all poſſible expedition, cauſed a great number of warlike engines to be got ready, and diſpatched officers into all parts to raiſe new levies. In imitation of Alexander the Great, whoſe name he bore, and for whom he had a particular veneration, he armed ſome companies of foot with ſhields covered with gold and ſilver, and formed ſix legions into a body of thirty thouſand men, which he called his phalanx. Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves, during the war, in a very eminent manner, and were, when it was ended, rewarded for their ſervices with double pay [i]. Lampridius tells us, that the emperor being informed, ſoon after his arrival at Antioch, that ſome of his ſoldiers were gone to Daphne, and there bathed with the lewd women of that diſſolute place, he immediately ordered them to be arreſted and laid in irons.

A legion mutinies.

Hereupon the whole legion, to which they belonged, beginning to mutiny, Alexander went out to them, and, without betraying the leaſt fear, told them, that as the antient diſcipline was the main and only ſupport of the empire, he was reſolved to maintain at all events, and puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity, nay, with death, thoſe diſorders and debaucheries which had been allowed in the late reign. At theſe words, the whole legion began to utter their rage in horrible cries; but Alexander, with an air of authority, Silence, ſaid he, I command ſilence; keep theſe clamours to terrify the Perſians, the Sarmatians, and the Germans: you have learnt of thoſe, who taught you the art of war, that you are to frighten the enemy with that ſavage noiſe, and not your emperor, who, at the expence of his people, maintains, cloathes, and pays you. Forbear therefore theſe unſeaſonable clamours, which are only fit for battle, leſt I diſband you all, or inflict upon you a more ſevere puniſhment. Hereupon the uproar encreaſing,

The intrepidity of Alexander.

and ſome of the boldeſt even menacing him with their ſwords; Reſerve your menaces, ſaid he, for the enemy; them you may frighten, but not me, who deſpiſe your impotent rage: ſhould you murder me, the republic will not be at a loſs to find me a ſucceſſor, who will puniſh you according to your deſerts. As the mutiny ſtill continued, he cried out with a loud voice, I diſband you all; citizens, lay down your arms and be gone. With theſe words the whole legion was thunder-ſtruck; they obeyed, quitted their arms, laid down even their military garments, and retired in ſilence, while the emperor's

[i] Alex. vit. p. 131.

emperor's guards took up their ſtandards, and carried them, together with the arms of the diſbanded legion, to the camp. However, before the emperor ſet out againſt the Perſians, he reſtored them, upon the interceſſion of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, to their former rank, after having puniſhed with death their tribunes, for having ſuffered the ſoldiers under their command to tranſgreſs with impunity the military laws, and for neglecting to ſuppreſs the tumult [k]. This legion ſignalized themſelves above the reſt in the Perſian war, and ſhewed more concern for the death of Alexander than any other [l].

AT length Alexander took the field at the head of a numerous army, obſerving in all his marches and motions ſuch order and diſcipline, that his camp ſeemed a well governed city, his ſoldiers citizens, and his officers ſo many ſenators [m]. He puniſhed with great ſeverity ſuch as offered the leaſt injury to any of the inhabitants of the countries through which he marched. One of his ſoldiers having injured an old woman, he not only diſbanded him, but obliged him to maintain her, as her ſlave, with his labour ſo long as ſhe lived. Others he puniſhed for very ſmall offences with death, cauſing the public crier to repeat during the execution, Do as you would be done by. It was death for any officer, of what rank ſoever, to detain the leaſt part of his ſoldiers pay or allowances. But notwithſtanding his great ſeverity, no emperor was ever more beloved both by the officers and ſoldiers, as no one ever rewarded them with more generoſity, when they complied with their duty; took more care of them when ſick or wounded; or ſupplied them on all occaſions more plentifully with proviſions. He kept conſtantly in his cabinet certain regiſters, in which were marked the names of all the officers and ſoldiers, the provinces where they were quartered, the time of their ſervice, the dates of their commiſſions, the names of the perſons at whoſe recommendation they had been preferred, their exploits, if they had performed any, their good and evil qualities, &c. Theſe regiſters he frequently peruſed, and by that means became acquainted with moſt of the officers and ſoldiers of his different armies, often mentioned their names, and preferred only perſons of merit [n]. When they were ſick, he viſited them in their tents, even the common ſoldiers, ſupplied them with chariots, and ſuffered them to want nothing that could any-ways relieve or com-

Marches againſt the Perſians:

His care of the military diſcipline, and of the ſoldiery.

[k] Vit. Alex. p. 133. [l] Idem. p. 136. [m] Idem. p. 130.
[n] Idem, p. 120, 121.

fort them in their ſickneſs. If they were not in a condition to purſue their march, he recommended them to the care of perſons of known integrity and good-nature, whom he rewarded with great generoſity for their trouble, whether the ſoldiers died or recovered [o]. He was always ready to hearken to the complaints of the meaneſt in the army againſt their tribunes and other officers, puniſhing them, when guilty, according to the quality of their crime, without any favour or diſtinction [p]. He frequently diſtributed large ſums among them, aſcribing chiefly to their poverty the diſorders they committed. They were all ſo well clad and armed, ſays Lampridius, and the cavalry ſo well mounted, that nothing gave a more true idea of the grandeur of the Roman empire, than the army of Alexander Severus [q]. In his marches he cauſed proviſions to be got ready before-hand at the ſeveral places where the army was to encamp; whereas before his time each ſoldier uſed to carry with him ſubſiſtence for ſeventeen days. In the enemy's country, where he could not uſe that precaution, he cauſed the neceſſary proviſions to be carried on horſes, mules, and camels; which gained him the affections of the ſoldiery, and at the ſame time rendered his marches ſo quick and expeditious, that he is ſaid in moſt of his wars to have ſurpriſed the enemy [r]. In his garb and dreſs he little varied from the common ſoldiers, and his diet was the ſame with theirs. He conſtantly dined and ſupped in public with his tent open, in the ſight of the whole army, and viſited, before he withdrew to repoſe, each quarter in the camp.

He is both feared and beloved by the ſoldiery.

Thus, partly with a ſeaſonable ſeverity, partly with his affable and obliging behaviour, he re-eſtabliſhed the antient diſcipline among the troops, which had been entirely neglected in the reign of Heliogabalus; and gained, by his firmneſs and intrepidity, ſuch an authority over them, as to diſband whole legions; which no emperor had offered to do ſince the time of Julius Cæſar [s]. With an army thus diſciplined, the emperor marched early in the ſpring of this year 233, againſt Artaxerxes, who, fluſhed with his former ſucceſſes, would hearken to no terms, however reaſonable; but advanced towards the frontiers of the Roman dominions at the head of an army conſiſting of an innumerable multitude of foot, and one hundred and thirty thouſand horſe, with eighteen hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, and ſeven hundred elephants bearing towers on their backs, filled with archers, after the Perſian manner.

[o] Idem, p. 130. [p] Idem, p. 119, 121. [q] Idem, p. 132. [r] Idem, p. 134. [s] Idem, p. 117.

manner [t]. Of this war Herodian gives us the following account: Alexander, having divided his army into three bodies, ordered one to enter Media, another to march into the country of the Parthians, and led himself the third, which consisted of the flower of the army, at an equal distance from the other two. They were all to meet at an appointed place; but Alexander, either through want of courage, or yielding to the entreaties and tears of his mother, instead of pursuing his march and entering the enemy's country, halted in Mesopotamia; so that the body which had marched through the country of the Parthians were entirely cut off, while they waited the arrival of the emperor at the appointed place, and the other obliged to retire, and repass in the depth of winter the mountains of Armenia, in which painful march great numbers of them died either with cold or hunger. The body which Alexander commanded was greatly diminished by sickness, and the emperor himself was seized with a dangerous malady, which almost brought him to the point of death [u]. Others write, that Alexander was betrayed by some of his own people, and obliged to save himself and his army by flight. But most historians assure us, that he gained a complete victory over the Persians; and Lampridius quotes the very words of Alexander to the senate on that occasion. According to him, the emperor entered the enemy's country, without so much as acquainting before-hand his officers with the rout he intended to take. He was soon met by Artaxerxes, at the head of the most numerous army that had ever been seen in those parts; whereupon a battle ensuing, the emperor distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, encouraging the soldiers more by his example than by words; exposed himself to the enemy's darts and arrows like a common soldier; visited, during the engagement, both the wings of his army; flew through the ranks; and, in short, discharged every duty of a valiant soldier and experienced commander [w]. The numerous army of Artaxerxes was utterly routed, and that conqueror obliged, notwithstanding his former victories and conquests, to save himself by a shameful flight. The particulars of this engagement we may learn from Alexander himself, who, on his return to Rome, gave the senate an account of this memorable expedition in the following speech: "Conscript fa-
"thers, we have overcome the Persians, and there is no need
"of great eloquence to acquaint you with the particulars of
"this

The success of his expedition against the Parthians.

His speech to the senate.

[t] Idem, p. 133. Herodian, l. vi. p. 580. [u] Herod. ibid.
[w] Vit. Alex. p. 130, 131.

" this victory. The enemy came with ſeven hundred ele-
" phants, the greateſt number ever ſeen together in the field.
" Theſe carried towers on their backs, filled with archers
" and arrows. Three hundred of the elephants we took,
" two hundred we killed upon the ſpot, and eighteen we
" brought hither with us. They had eighteen hundred cha-
" riots armed with ſcythes, of which we took two hundred.
" We have cut in pieces an army of one hundred and twen-
" ty thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand men armed cap-a-pé,
" with whoſe ſpoils we have enriched our troops. We took a
" great number of priſoners whom we have ſold. The coun-
" try of Meſopotamia, lying between the Tigris and the Eu-
" phrates, which my predeceſſor Heliogabalus had neglected,
" we have reconquered, and brought again under ſubjection.
" We have put the moſt potent king Artaxerxes, as he is
" ſtyled, to flight; the country of Perſia beheld him flying
" for the firſt time. In the place where the Romans
" formerly loſt their enſigns and ſtandards, the Perſians have
" now loſt theirs. You ſee, conſcript fathers, what we
" have atchieved; the ſubject needs no eloquence to adorn
" or ſet it out; the army is returned rich, and loaded with
" booty. It is incumbent upon you to appoint public thankſ-
" givings for ſo ſignal a victory, that we may not ſeem un-
" grateful to the gods, who have bleſſed our arms with ſuch
" ſucceſs [x]." This ſpeech, Lampridius aſſures us, he copi-
ed out of the journals of the ſenate, and found it, word for
word, in the works of many hiſtorians; and therefore he can-
not conceive how Herodian could write, that Alexander loſt
his army by famine, cold, and ſickneſs; which, he ſays,
is contradicting all the records, memoirs, and hiſtories of thoſe
times. Julius Capitolinus tells us, that Herodian hated Alex-
ander, and therefore gave an unfaithful and detracting account
of his Perſian expedition [y]. However, he is followed by Zo-
naras [z] and Cedrenus [a]. But Aurelius Victor, Feſtus, Eu-
tropius, St. Jerom, and Syncellus, abandon him in this parti-
cular, and follow Lampridius. All the oriental hiſtorians
write, that Alexander was utterly defeated, and obliged to
purchaſe a peace, by yielding to the Perſians all the countries
lying between the Euphrates and the frontiers of Paleſtine [b].
But, after all, Lampridius relates ſo many particulars of this
victory, and appeals with ſuch confidence to the journals of
the ſenate and the hiſtorians of thoſe times, that we cannot
help

Diſagree-
ment a-
mongſt au-
thors about
the ſucceſs
of this ex-
pedition.

[x] Idem ibid. [y] Vit. Maxim. p. 143. [z] Zonar, p. 225.
[a] Cedren, p. 256. [b] Kein. epiſt. xlviii. p. 438.

help preferring his authority to that of the oriental hiſtorians, and of Herodian himſelf. After this victory Alexander returned to Antioch, with a deſign to purſue the war with freſh vigor the following year, but in the mean while, being informed, that the Germans had invaded the Roman dominions, and at the ſame time that Artaxerxes had diſbanded great part of his army for want of proviſions, he reſolved to quit the eaſt and return to Rome, apprehending greater evils from the Germans than from the Perſians. Accordingly, having erected ſeveral forts in Meſopotamia, and left numerous garriſons to defend them, he ſet out from Antioch in the ſpring of the following year, when Maximus and Urbanus were conſuls; and arriving ſafe at Rome, was there received by perſons of all ranks with the greateſt demonſtration of joy imaginable. He entered the city in triumph, his chariot being drawn, not by four white horſes, as was uſual, but by four of the elephants which he had taken [c]. When the ceremony was over, he went to the ſenate, where he made the ſpeech we have related above. From the ſenate he repaired to the capitol, and there conſecrated ſome of the Perſian ſpoils to Jupiter Capitolinus. Then turning to the people, I have overcome the Perſians, ſaid he, and the army is returned loaded with booty. I promiſe you a largeſs, and propoſe to exhibit to-morrow the Circenſian ſports. From the capitol he marched to the palace on foot, followed by his triumphal chariot, and attended by the ſenate, the equeſtrian order, and ſuch crowds of people, all crying, Rome is ſafe, while Alexander is ſafe, that with much-ado he reached the palace in four hours. The next day, he exhibited the Circenſian ſports, gave the promiſed largeſs, and, in honour of his mother, eſtabliſhed a fund for the maintenance of the children of the poor citizens, who were thence called the children of Mamæa [d].

Alexander returns to Rome, and triumphs.

In the mean time, news being brought to Rome, that the Germans and other northern nations had paſſed the Rhine and the Danube in great numbers, the emperor, to the inexpreſſible grief of the ſenate and people, left the city, and haſtened with his victorious army into Gaul, to ſtem this furious torrent. We are told, that a woman, by profeſſion a Druid, meeting him on his march, cried out to him in her language, You may go; but hope not for victory, nor truſt your own ſoldiers. The hiſtorian does not inform us whether or no Alexander heard and underſtood her; but he aſſures us, that

He leaves Rome to march againſt the Germans.

[c] Alex. vit. p. 135. Feſt. p. 553. [d] Vit. Alex. p. 133, 134.

that Alexander feared neither death, nor the omens that were thought to preſage it, whereof he gives us the following inſtance: A celebrated aſtrologer, by name Thraſybulus, the emperor's particular friend, having one day told him, that his fate was to fall by the hand of a barbarian, he was tranſported with joy, not doubting, but he ſhould die in the field, which, he ſaid, was a death worthy of an emperor, obſerving to the aſtrologer, that many great men had ended their days by a violent death, and naming among the reſt Alexander the Great, Pompey, Julius Cæſar, Demoſthenes, and Cicero [e]. In the beginning of the following year, when Severus and Quinctianus were conſuls, Alexander advanced with his army to the banks of the Rhine; but finding the enemy had repaſſed that river upon the news of his approach, he ordered a bridge to be built over it, with a deſign to attack them in their own country, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow him to take the field [f]. Herodian who always paints Alexander as a weak and timorous prince, tells us, that he ſent embaſſadors to the Germans with propoſals of peace, which he even offered to purchaſe at any rate; and adds, that during the time of this ſhameful negotiation, he diverted himſelf with driving chariots, and ſuch-like unprincely exerciſes; which provoked the ſoldiers, and occaſioned his ruin [g]. But Lampridius clears the emperor from theſe ill-natured aſperſions, and aſcribes the diſcontent of the ſoldiery, that is, of the legions quartered in Gaul, to their licentiouſneſs, and to the ſeverity of Alexander, which they could not endure, after having been, under Heliogabalus, long inured to idleneſs and all manner of debauchery. Among theſe troops was one Maximinus, by nation a Goth, whom Alexander, in regard of his valour, had preferred to the command of a body of Pannonians; but he, unmindful of his duty and of the obligations he owed to the emperor, inſtead of attempting to appeaſe the licentious and diſcontented ſoldiery, fomented underhand the tumult, and, by his ſeditious ſpeeches, inſpired the multitude with contempt for Alexander, as one who was governed by a woman, meaning Mamæa, and conſequently unfit for carrying on the war with vigor [h]. The emperor was then either at Mentz or Sicilia, which moſt geographers take to be the preſent village of Siclingen in the neighbourhood of Mentz, or that of Ober-Weſel on the Rhine, in the territory of Treves, between Boppart and Bingen. As Alexander

Who retire at his approach.

The Gauliſh legions complain of the ſeverity of Alexander.

[e] Idem, p. 135, 136. [f] Idem, p. 137. [g] Herod. l. vi. p. 585, 589. [h] Idem, ibid.

ander had but a ſmall body of troops with him, Maximinus reſolved to lay hold of that opportunity, and to diſpatch him, not doubting, but the troops under his command, whom he had gained with mighty promiſes, would, upon the death of that prince, proclaim him emperor. He imparted his deſign to ſome of the moſt bold and reſolute among his men, who animated with the hopes of great preferments, readily engaged to put it in execution, and immediately ſet out for the place where the emperor then was, which they contrived to reach about an hour after mid-day, when thoſe who attended the emperor were withdrawn to refreſh themſelves, according to the Roman cuſtom, with a ſhort ſleep after dinner. They no ſooner appeared, than the few ſoldiers who were upon guard betook themſelves to flight, having probably been gained over before-hand by Maximinus. Mamæa, alarmed at the unexpected noiſe and tumult, ran out, attended by the captains of the guards, to appeaſe it; but the aſſaſſins, having firſt murdered both her and them, entered with their drawn ſwords the emperor's tent, who, as he was unarmed and left quite alone, threw his imperial mantle over his face, and received, without uttering a ſingle word, the many blows with which they diſpatched him, deriding him the whole time as a child unfit to be at the head of an army, and inveighing againſt his mother, as one whoſe only care was to amaſs riches [b]. Such was the unfortunate and undeſerved end of Alexander Severus, after he had lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, twenty-ſix years, five months, and nineteen days, and reigned thirteen years and nine days. The loſs of no prince was ever more regretted by the ſenate, the people, and the ſoldiery, than that of Alexander, who, by his wiſe adminiſtration, had gained the affections of all ranks of men. The ſenate immediately decreed both to him and to his mother Mamæa divine honours, appointed them altars, prieſts, and ſacrifices, and inſtituted, in honour of the deceaſed emperor, an annual feaſt, which was ſtill kept in the time of Conſtantine the Great, on the firſt of October, Alexander's birth-day [c]. The ſoldiers were no ſooner appriſed of his death, than they put to the ſword all thoſe who had been any-ways acceſſory to it, except the chief author of it, Maximinus, who, by perſuading the ſoldiery that he had no hand in the murder, eſcaped for the preſent the deſerved puniſhment. Alexander was, according to the teſtimony of all

They are encouraged by Maximinus.

Alexander is aſſaſſinated.

His character.

[b] Idem, p. 135. Vict. epit. Zoſ. l. i. p. 639. Herod. l. vi. p. 587. [c] Alex. vit. p. 136.

all the antients, Herodian alone excepted, one of the beſt and wiſeſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre, and would, had he lived longer, have entirely reformed thoſe abuſes, which, after his death, involved the empire in endleſs calamities. He was ſparing of the public money, liberal of his own, kind and generous to all good men; but an irreconcileable enemy to the wicked, eſpecially to ſuch as were convicted of having plundered the provinces, and oppreſſed the people committed to their care. Theſe he never ſpared, though his friends, favourites, and kinſmen; but ſentenced them to death, and cauſed them to be executed, notwithſtanding their quality or former ſervices, like common malefactors. Eucolpius the hiſtorian, one of Alexander's chief favourites, tells us, as quoted by Lampridius [d], that he could not even bear the ſight of ſuch public robbers; inſomuch, that one Septimius Arabinus, who had been tried for that crime, but acquitted by favour of Heliogabalus, coming one day with other ſenators to wait upon the emperor, Alexander, on ſeeing him, cried out in a violent paſſion, O ye immortal gods! is Arabinus ſtill alive, and a ſenator! Does he even preſume to appear in my preſence! Surely he takes me to be as wicked as himſelf! After this, he cauſed it to be proclaimed by the public crier, that if any one guilty of the ſame crime ever preſumed to appear in his preſence, he ſhould immediately receive his deſerved puniſhment, notwithſtanding the pardon granted him by his predeceſſor [e]. He uſed to ſay, that it was not a ſufficient puniſhment to deprive corrupt magiſtrates and governors of their places; but that, as the truſt repoſed in them was great, they ought to pay for the breach of it with their lives. He baniſhed one of his ſecretaries for giving to his council in writing a falſe account of an affair, and cauſed the ſinews of his fingers to be cut, that he might never write after. One of his ſlaves, convicted of having received a bribe, he cauſed to be crucified on the road which led from the city to the villa, where he frequently reſided, that by the ſight of the body, which was left on the croſs, his other ſlaves might be deterred from the like practices [f]. He never pardoned any crime committed againſt the public; but ſuffered no one to be condemned, till his cauſe was thoroughly heard, and his offence evidently proved. The firſt thing he did after his acceſſion to the empire was, to diſcharge all the officers, miniſters, and governors employed by Heliogabalus, and appoint in their room perſons of known probity.

His hatred to thoſe who robbed the public.

[d] Alex. vit. p. 119. [e] Idem, ibid. [f] Idem, p. 124.

probity. He retrenched all the penſions which that prodigal prince had ſettled on his freedmen, on buffoons, ſtage-players, charioteers, gladiators, &c. ſaying, that the emperor was but the ſteward of the people, and therefore could not, without the utmoſt injuſtice, thus wantonly ſquander away their revenues upon perſons no-ways uſeful to them. No prince ever paid greater deference to the ſenate than Alexander. He was the firſt emperor who allowed the ſenators to ſit when they came to wait upon him. He appointed no governors or magiſtrates without adviſing with them, and never failed to prefer ſuch as they recommended to him. He admitted none into the ſenate without the concurrence and approbation of all the members of that venerable body, aſking the opinion of each in particular, and examining with great ſtrictneſs into the manners and former conduct of the perſon who was to be admitted. If upon this enquiry he was found unworthy of a place in the ſenate, ſuch of the ſenators as had recommended him, were themſelves degraded, and ſuch as had given teſtimony of his probity, condemned, as in caſes of perjury, to loſe their eſtates, and baniſhed for ever. He never admitted either freed-men or their children to the equeſtrian order, which he uſed to call the nurſery of the ſenate. He appointed, that the captains of the guards ſhould no longer be choſen out of the equeſtrian, but only out of the ſenatorial, order; that no one ſhould have the power of judging a ſenator, but who was himſelf a ſenator; for the captains of the guards had been long the ordinary judges of the ſenators in caſes of treaſon [g]. Thus by degrees the captains became the moſt powerful officers in the ſtate, and their office more conſiderable than even that of the conſuls, which in the end ruined the authority of the ſenate. In the adminiſtration of juſtice Alexander never took upon him to decide any law-ſuit, without conſulting his council, which conſiſted of the moſt learned civilians in Rome, whom he obliged to give their opinions in writing, after having allowed them time to examine and weigh matters at their leiſure, that they might not pronounce ſentence without due premeditation. Thus were all matters of juſtice determined by perſons of known integrity, and well ſkilled in the laws. In military affairs he conſulted only ſuch perſons as had acquired experience by their long ſervice, and were well acquainted with the ſituation of places, or men verſed in hiſtory, enquiring of them what had at any time been done on the like occaſions by his predeceſſors

His deference to the ſenate.

He beſtows the office of captain of the guards only on ſenators.

Impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

[g] Idem. p. 120.

Prefers only perſons of merit.

deceſſors or other great captains. He is ſaid never to have given any public office out of favour or friendſhip; but to have employed ſuch only as were both by himſelf and the ſenate judged the beſt qualified for the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them. He preferred one to the command of the guards, who had retired into the country on purpoſe to avoid that office, ſaying, that with him the declining of ſuch honourable employments was the beſt recommendation to them. He would not ſuffer any employments to be ſold, ſaying, He who buys, muſt ſell in his turn; and it would be unjuſt to puniſh one for ſelling, after he has been ſuffered to buy. In appointing governors of provinces he obſerved a commendable cuſtom, which was to publiſh their names, and encourage all perſons to declare, either in public or private, whether they had any thing to lay to their charge: Since Jews and Chriſtians, ſaid he on this occaſion, uſe ſuch commendable methods in the choice of their prieſts, it is reaſonable we ſhould proceed with the like care in the choice of rectors of provinces, who are entruſted with the lives and fortunes of ſo many perſons. As he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who betrayed their truſt, ſo he rewarded with great generoſity ſuch as had anſwered the good opinion he entertained of them, and either raiſed them to employments of greater profit, or, if they choſe to retire, preſented them with houſes and lands, ſaying, that ſince corrupt governors enriched themſelves at the expence of the people, good governors ought to be enriched at the expence of the prince [h]. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and ſhew, and extremely modeſt in his apparel, telling thoſe who found fault with him on that account, that a prince ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, not by his apparel, but by his gallantry and virtuous actions. The rich preſents ſent him by foreign princes he beſtowed on the temples; but ſold all the jewels, employing the money accruing from them to the relief of the poor citizens. The embaſſadors of an eaſtern prince having preſented the empreſs with two pearls of an extraordinary ſize, Alexander ordered them to be ſold; but no one being found rich enough to purchaſe them, he conſecrated them to ſerve as pendents to a ſtatue of Venus, that the empreſs might not ſeem by wearing them to encourage luxury in others. He kept ſuch a ſmall number of ſlaves and freed-men, whom he cauſed to wear a particular habit, in order to put them in mind of their condition,

Alexander an enemy to all pomp and ſhew.

[h] Idem, p. 119, &c.

tion, that when he gave any public entertainment, he was obliged to uſe thoſe of his friends, nay, and to borrow their plate; for he ſold all the gold and moſt of the ſilver-plate belonging to the palace, to defray the neceſſary charges of the government, without burdening the people. He reduced the impoſts with which Heliogabalus had loaded both Rome and the provinces, to the thirtieth part, and ſuffered ſeveral cities to apply even that towards the repairing of their public buildings. He lent money without intereſt to the poor, wherewithal to purchaſe houſes and lands, allowing them time to pay the capital with the product of their lands. He was ſo far from filling the exchequer at the expence of the people, that he could not abide the ſight of thoſe, whoſe province it was to levy the taxes; he uſed to call them neceſſary evils, and never ſuffered any of them to continue in his office a full year. He filled at a vaſt charge the public granaries, which, upon his acceſſion to the empire, he found almoſt empty; diſtributed weekly great quantities of oil and corn amongſt the poor citizens; and allotted funds for the maintenance and education of their children [i]. He would not ſuffer the money levied upon the public proſtitutes and catamites to be returned to his private coffers, as other emperors had done; but allotted it towards the repairing of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. He built granaries in all the quarters of the city, for the uſe of thoſe who had none of their own. Of theſe public and common granaries frequent mention is made by the antients. He cauſed baths to be likewiſe erected in each quarter of the city, and at his own expence furniſhed them with wood, and oil for the lamps in the night; whereas before his time they were never opened till the riſing, and were ſhut again at the ſetting, of the ſun. He built a great many fine houſes for ſuch of his friends and miniſters as had ſerved him faithfully, and lived without reproach [k]. He furniſhed the governors of provinces at their firſt ſetting out with money and other things which were thought neceſſary; that is, according to Lampridius, with twenty pounds weight of ſilver, eight mules, two horſes, two gowns, an hundred pieces of gold, one cook, one coachman, and one concubine, if the perſon he named was not married [l]. He founded a great many free ſchools in Rome, and took particular care of the children of noble, but decayed, families. He embelliſhed Rome with an incredible number of ſtately buildings; repaired moſt

Reduces the taxes.

His public works.

[i] Idem, p. 124, 130. [k] Idem, p. 127. [l] Idem, p. 130.

moſt of the antient ſtructures, leaving upon them the names of the firſt founders; and erected in the great ſquare of Nerva ſtatues in honour of moſt of the emperors his predeceſſors, with inſcriptions on columns of braſs, containing ſuccinct accounts of all their memorable actions [m]. Alexander was a great encourager of learning, took great delight in converſing with learned men, and ſpent all the time he could ſpare from public affairs in reading Greek and Latin authors, eſpecially Plato's commonwealth, Tully's offices, the works of Horace, of Virgil, whom he uſed to ſtyle the Plato of the poets, and of Serenus Sammonicus, another poet, whom we have men-
His learning. tioned above [n]. He was himſelf well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, and deſcribed in verſe the exploits of ſome of his predeceſſors [o]. He applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology, which was by his orders publicly taught at Rome, and pretended to be thoroughly acquainted with the ſcience of the ſoothſayers and augurs, both as to entrails of ſacrifices and the flight and chirping of birds [p]. He often went to hear the poets and orators declaim in the public ſchools; but would not allow them to write any thing in his praiſe. In ſhort, Alexander, to end the hiſtory of his reign with the words of Aurelius Victor, made it his whole ſtudy to encourage virtue and learning, to reform abuſes, to reſtore the military diſcipline, and to diſcharge with the greateſt fidelity and diſintereſtedneſs each duty of an excellent prince. His endeavours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the empire would have ſtill retained its former luſtre, had thoſe who ſucceeded him firmly maintained what he had ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed. Some of his predeceſſors, namely Trajan, Antoninus, and M. Aurelius, performed perhaps greater things; but were older when they came to the empire, than Alexander was at the time of his death [q]. Of the writers who flouriſhed in his reign, the reader will find a ſuccinct account in our note (Q).

[m] Idem, p. 123. [n] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XV. p. 138. not. (O). [o] Vit. Alex. p. 123. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Aur. Vict. in vit. Alex.

(Q) Lampridius, in his life of Alexander, often quotes Acholius, Septimius, and Encolpius, but ſeems to prefer Septimius to the other two (99). They flouriſhed under Alexander, and wrote the hiſtory of that prince's reign. Voſſius ranks them among the Latin

(99) Vit. Alex. p. 119, 131, 136.

Latin hiſtorians, tho' none of their works have reached our times; and Lampridius does not inform us, whether they wrote in Greek or Latin (100). Acholius lived in the time of Alexander, but died long after; for he was admiſſionum magiſter, that is, in the modern phraſe, maſter of the ceremonies, to the emperor Valerian, who began his reign in the year 253, eighteen years after the death of Alexander (1). He even wrote the life of Valerian, and conſequently outlived him; nay, Voſſius is of opinion, that he was ſtill alive in the reign of Aurelian, who was raiſed to the empire in 270 (2). Encolpius not only lived in the time of Alexander, but was highly favoured by that prince (3). A treatiſe on government, aſcribed to Encolpius, was tranſlated out of Greek into Engliſh above an hundred years ſince, in which the reader will find a particular account of a ſuppoſed conference between the emperor Alexander and Origen. But as ſome circumſtances of that conference are inconſiſtent with what we read in the beſt hiſtorians, we are inclined to aſcribe that piece to ſome modern Greek writer, and to look upon the whole as a mere fable (4). Gargilius Martialis wrote likewiſe the hiſtory of the reign of Alexander, and is ranked by Vopiſcus among thoſe hiſtorians who wrote with more exactneſs than elegance (5). Servius and other writers quote a treatiſe on gardening by one Gargilius Martialis (6); but whether this be the hiſtorian, or another author of the ſame name, we cannot take upon us to determine. Marius Maximus wrote the hiſtory of the emperors from Trajan to Alexander, and is often quoted by the Auguſtine writers. M. Valois takes him to be the ſame perſon with L. Marius Maximus, who had been conſul, and was preferred by Macrinus to the government of Rome in the year 218 (7). Ammianus Marcellinus obſerves, that at Rome, in the fourth century, when learning was utterly neglected, many who never looked into any other book, read with great attention the ſatires of Juvenal and the hiſtory of Marius Maximus (8) Capitolinus commends his ſincerity and exactneſs (9); but Vopiſcus, whoſe judgment is of great weight with the learned, ſtyles him, of all hiſtorians, the moſt tedious and long-winded, and finds fault with him for filling his books with fables (10). The life of Alexander was likewiſe publiſhed by Aurelius Philippus, his father's freed-man (11). Julius Granianus, who inſtructed Alexander in rhetoric, left ſome declamations, which were ſtill extant in the time of Lampridius (12). Beſides the celebrated ci-

(100) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p. 719. (1) Aur. Vict. p. 213. (2) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 4. p. 182. (3) Alex. vit. p. 119. (4) Vide Selden. in Eutych. Egypt. &c. not. p. 174, 175. Londin. ann. 1642. (5) Vopiſc. Prob. vit. p. 234. (6) Vide Caſaub. not. p. 168. (7) Ammian. not. p. 364. Spon. p. 114. (8) Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 372. (9) Vit. Alb. p. 84. (10) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. p. 178. (11) Vit. Alex. p. 118. (12) Idem ibid. p. 115.

vilians Ulpianus and Paulus, of whom we have made mention above, Florentinus, Ælius Marcianus, Hermogenes or Hermogenianus, Calliſtrata, and Q. Claudius Venuleius Saturninus, whoſe names are famous in the pandects, were all Papinian's diſciples, and flouriſhed under Alexander; as did likewiſe Herennius Modeſtinus, who was preceptor to Maximinus, the ſon of the emperor of that name, and wrote ſeveral books of juriſprudence, and, among the reſt, one in Greek, on the excuſes of guardians. He was honoured with the conſulſhip by Alexander, but was ſtill alive in the reign of Gordian, which began in 239 (13). In the time of Alexander, flouriſhed, as we ſuppoſe, the ſophiſts, who are mentioned by Philoſtratus in the end of his work; for he wrote ſoon after that prince's reign (14). Among theſe was Aſpaſius, who attended the emperor into the eaſt, afterwards taught at Rome, and was in the end preferred to be one of the emperor's ſecretaries, and charged with the province of drawing up his reſcripts, which he did in a bombaſtic and obſcure ſtyle. He was a native of Ravenna (15). Caniſius publiſhed in 1602, the work of an anonymous chriſtian writer, compoſed, as the author informs us, in the thirteenth year of Alexander's reign, and the 236th after the birth of our Saviour. But he counts two hundred and ſix years ſince our Saviour's death, ſuppoſing him to have lived only thirty years. This work is an ill-digeſted abridgment of geography and chronology, and, in the opinion of the learned, full of anachroniſms and other faults. The tranſcribers of Caniſius's copy have left out the chronological table of the Roman emperors, which is twice promiſed in the preface (16). Father Labbé, who has publiſhed the ſame author, found in his copy the abovementioned table, which is far from being exact (17). It ends with the thirteen years and nine days of the reign of Alexander (18); whence it is plain, that the author put the laſt hand to it in the beginning of the reign of Maximinus. In father Labbé's edition of this work, the author promiſes a catalogue of the biſhops of Rome, and the time of their reſpective epiſcopacies? but that catalogue is wanting in the manuſcript. The author was perhaps a native of Rome, and a prieſt; for in father Labbé's edition, he addreſſes himſelf to a deacon, whom, he ſays, he deſigns to inſtruct; which, in the primitive church, no eccleſiaſtic of an inferior rank, and much leſs a layman, would have taken upon him to do. Of this writer Voſſius takes no notice.

But the moſt famous of all the writers, who flouriſhed under Alexander, was the celebrated hiſtorian Dion Caſſius, called alſo Caſſius

(13) Alex. vit. p. 137. & Caſaub. not. p. 178. Maxim vit. p. 148. Cod. Juſtin. l. ii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 197. (14) Philoſ. ſoph. lix. p. 622. (15) Idem p. 623. (16) Caniſ antiq. lect. tom. ii. p. 594. (17) Labbé bibl. nov. tom. i. p. 308. (18) Idem p. 309.

Caſſius Cocceius, or Cocceianus. He was a native of Nicæa in Bithynia, and probably related to Cocceianus Dion, a citizen of Pruſa in the ſame province, in whoſe behalf Pliny the younger wrote to Trajan (19). Under Trajan flouriſhed another Dion of Pruſa, a famous ſophiſt, commonly known by the name of Dion Chryſoſtomus, who wrote ſeveral works, which have reached our times (20). The hiſtorian was the ſon of Apronianus, who was governor of Cilicia about the year 183, when the two brothers Quintilii were put to death by Commodus's order (21). He was likewiſe for ſome time governor of Illyricum (22). His ſon was at Rome in the reign of Commodus, at leaſt towards the latter end of it (23). He was ſenator in the year 192, the laſt of the reign of Commodus, and named prætor for the enſuing year by Pertinax, who had a particular kindneſs and eſteem for him (24). He was appointed conſul by the emperor Severus (25), attended, after that prince's death, his ſon Caracalla into the eaſt (26), and ſpoke with him, for the laſt time, at Nicomedia, about the latter end of the year 215 (27). Macrinus named him to the government of Smyrna and Pergamus, which he held under Heliogabalus, and was ſtill in Aſia in the year 221 (28). From Aſia he went into Bithynia; whence he was recalled, and appointed governor, firſt of Africa, afterwards of Illyricum, and laſtly of Pannonia; in which governments he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that Alexander, upon his return to Rome, honoured him with a ſecond conſulſhip in the year 228 (29). When the time of his conſulſhip expired, he obtained leave to return into his own country, where he paſſed the remaining part of his life in retirement. Dion Caſſius wrote in eight decades, that is, in eighty books, the Roman hiſtory, from the landing of Æneas in Italy, to the reign of the emperor Alexander (30). In the time of Severus he wrote a book on the dreams and other prodigies, which ſeemed to preſage the riſe of that prince; which being well received by the emperor, Dion dreamt the following night, that his genius commanded him to undertake the writing of hiſtory. Accordingly he immediately began that of the reign of Commodus; and being encouraged by Severus and others, to whom he read what he had done, to apply himſelf to the writing of hiſtory, he undertook that of Rome (31), and ſpent ten years in collecting the neceſſary materials for ſo great a work, and twelve more in compoſing it (32).

(19) Plin. l. x. epiſt. 87. p. 612. (20) Suid. p. 753, & 765. (21) Dio, l. lxix. p. 788. & l. lxxii. p. 820. (22) Idem l. xlix. p. 413. (23) Idem, l. lxxii. p. 818. (24) Idem ibid. p. 820, 827, & l. lxxiii. p. 835. (25) Idem. l. lxxvi. p. 869. (26) Idem, l. lxxviii. p. 883, 884. (27) Idem, l. lxxix. p. 909. (28) Idem, p. 915. (29) Idem, l. lxxx. p. 917. (30) Suid. δ. p. 753. (31) Idem, l. lxxii. p. 828. Phot. c. 71. p. 105. (32) Idem, l. lxxii, p. 829.

He is very minute in his hiſtory of the emperors to the death of Heliogabalus ; but gives us only a ſummary account of the eight firſt years of Alexander, having been, as he himſelf informs us, moſt part of that time abſent from Italy (33), and conſequently not ſo well acquainted with what paſſed at Rome. He had, it ſeems, begun his hiſtory before the death of Plautianus, that is, before the year 204, and ended it ſoon after the year 229, for he takes no notice of Alexander's wars with the Perſians. His account of the public tranſactions, from the reign of Commodus to that of Alexander, is very particular and minute ; for he then began to write, not what he had learnt of others, but what he had himſelf ſeen and obſerved. He aſſures us, that no one capable of writing an hiſtory was better acquainted than himſelf, both with the public and private tranſactions ; which is not at all incredible in a perſon of his rank. His ſtyle, according to Photius, is ſublime, and anſwerable to the greatneſs of his ſubject ; his terms expreſſive, his phraſe elegant, his periods full and well-ſounding, and the whole worthy of the beſt hiſtorians of antient Greece. He propoſed Thucydides for his model, and does not, in the opinion of Photius, fall much ſhort of that excellent writer (34). Voſſius, however, blames him for crying down the greateſt men of antiquity, namely, Cicero, Brutus, Caſſius, and Seneca ; but others clear him from that cenſure, and think he acted the part of an unbiaſſed hiſtorian, in diſcovering the faults (for no man is without faults) even of thoſe whom he himſelf moſt admired (35). He blames only what in them was blame-worthy, and commends what to him ſeemed commendable. Others think him too diffuſe in his accounts of dreams, prodigies, and other things of that nature, beneath the dignity of an hiſtorian. He wrote, as we have obſerved above, the Roman hiſtory in eighty books ; but of that great work only a ſmall part has reached us. For the firſt thirty-four books have been long ſince entirely loſt ; and of the thirty-fifth only ſome fragments are remaining : the following books, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are thought to be entire ; but the next ſix are, in ſome places, ſtrangely maimed and corrupted. Of the twenty laſt, we have only ſome fragments publiſhed by Fulvius Urſinus and M. Valois. However, that great loſs has been in ſome degree ſupplied by John Xiphilin, who was patriarch of Conſtantinople in the eleventh century, and epitomized Dion's hiſtory from the thirty fifth book to the end. This epitome is greatly eſteemed by the learned, and thought to be very exact. The hiſtory of Zonaras may likewiſe be called an abridgment of Dion's work ; for he copied, as he himſelf owns, moſt of his hiſtory from Dion, and followed him with great exactneſs. Theſe abridgments have been of great uſe to us in the compiling

(33) Idem, l. lxxvi. p. 860. (34) Phot. c. 71. p. 103.
(35) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 15. p. 238.

compiling of our hiſtory: for in them are to be found the moſt material tranſactions of the Romans, from the period where Tacitus's hiſtory ends, to the time of the emperor Alexander: from that prince to Conſtantine, the hiſtory of the emperors is more perplexed and leſs certain. For Herodian wrote with more elegance than exactneſs; and Lampridius and the other Auguſtine writers ſcarce deſerve the name of hiſtorians. They wrote in the beginning of the fourth century; and Aurelius Victor and Eutropius only copied them about the cloſe of the ſame century. Zoſimus, who wrote at the end of the fifth century, ſhews by the miſtakes of which he is guilty in the very beginning of his work, that he either made uſe of bad memoirs, or did not underſtand the good ones. Dion Caſſius, beſides his Roman hiſtory, publiſhed a particular hiſtory of Trajan, the life of the philoſopher Arrian, the diſciple of Epictetus, itineraries, the hiſtory of the Perſians, and that of the Getæ (36). The latter was known to Jornandes, who copied from it what he writes of Telephus, king of the Getæ in the times of Achilles and Ulyſſes (37).

(36) Suid. δ. p. 714. (37) Jornan. de reb. Gothic. c. 9.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Alexander Severus, *to the captivity of* Valerian, *when the empire was uſurped by thirty perſons at once, commonly called the* thirty tyrants.

THE murder of Alexander occaſioned a great tumult and confuſion in the army; during which the Pannonian troops, under the command of Maximinus, proclaimed him emperor; and the reſt, finding no other appeared to claim or diſpute that title, followed their example, and took the uſual oaths to Maximinus, after he had ſolemnly declared, that he had been noways concerned in, or acceſſory to, the death of Alexander. The new emperor immediately declared his ſon Maximinus Cæſar and prince of the Roman youth, inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular power, honoured him with the title of Auguſtus, and took him for his partner in the ſovereignty. The ſenate, whom he took care to acquaint as ſoon as poſſible with his aſſumption to the empire, not daring to oppoſe the

Maximinus declared emperor, and his ſon Maximinus Cæſar.

choice of the ſoldiery, confirmed it; ſo that Maximinus was, without the leaſt oppoſition, acknowledged emperor by the ſenate, the people, and the army [r]. He was, according to Syncellus [s], a native of Thrace; according to Herodian, Capitolinus, and Jornandes, born in a village on the confines of that province, and the country of the barbarians. His father, by name Micea, or Micca, was a Goth; and his mother Ababa, or Abala, an Alan [t]. He is ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions C. Julius Verus Maximinus. He was of a very mean extraction, and in his early youth a ſhepherd, but of a gigantic ſtature, being eight foot and an half tall, and withal exceeding well ſhaped, all his limbs anſwering his ſtature in ſymmetry and proportion. Of his ſtrength, wonderful things are related by the antients, viz. that he was often ſeen to draw a loaded waggon, which two oxen could ſcarce move, to tear up trees by the roots, to crumble pebbles between his fingers, &c. Beſides, he was ſo bold and courageous, that he took delight in expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers: whence he was called, for his courage and valour, Achilles, Hector, and Ajax; for his ſtrength, Hercules, Antæus, and Milo; but at the ſame time, for his ſavage cruelty, Buſiris, Phalaris, and Cyclops. He was firſt known to the emperor Septimius Severus on the following occaſion: That prince having exhibited, as he paſſed through Thrace, ſome military games and exerciſes in honour of his ſecond ſon Geta, and propoſed prizes for the conquerors, Maximinus, at that time about twenty years old, begged leave of the emperor, partly in the Latin, and partly in the Thracian, language, to enter the liſts, and try his ſkill with the reſt. The emperor, admiring his ſize, matched him, not with the ſoldiers, as he was a barbarian, but with ſome of the ſtrongeſt ſlaves in the camp, whom he overcame, ſixteen one after the other. Hereupon the emperor ordered him to be liſted among the horſe. A few days after, as the emperor was viſiting the different quarters of the camp on horſeback, Maximinus, accoſting him, began to run by him. The emperor, to try whether he could run as well as he could wreſtle, put his horſe upon a full gallop, and rid round the camp, Maximinus keeping cloſe by him the whole time, till both he and his horſe were quite ſpent. Then turning to him, Thracian, ſaid he, art thou now diſpoſed to wreſtle? I am, anſwered Maximinus, as much as you pleaſe. The emperor immediately diſmounted, and ordered ſome of the

His extraction and preferments.

His mighty ſtrength.

[r] Max. vit. p. 142. [s] Sync. p. 361. [t] Herod. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138. Jornand. regn. c. 22.

the ſtrongeſt ſoldiers and beſt wreſtlers in the army to enter the liſts with him, of whom he overcame and threw down ſeven, as if they had been ſo many children; which ſo pleaſed the emperor, that he preſented him with a golden collar, placed him among his guards, and heaped many favours upon him, appointing him extraordinary allowances, the common pay not being ſufficient to ſupport him. For he uſed to eat, according to Julius Capitolinus, forty, according to Ælius Cardus, a more antient hiſtorian, ſixty, pounds weight of fleſh a day; and to drink eight amphoræ of wine, that is, ſix gallons, without ever eating or drinking to exceſs [u]. He was preferred by Caracalla to the poſt of a centurion, but quitted the army upon that prince's death, being unwilling to ſerve under Macrinus, the chief author of the murder, and retired to his own country. When Heliogabalus came to the empire, he offered his ſervice to him; and being admitted again into the army, he was, by the intereſt of his friends, raiſed to the rank of a tribune; but always declined, under ſome pretence or other, attending the emperor, who had diſobliged him with an impure jeſt, alluding to his mighty ſtrength [w]. He had even abſented himſelf from Rome, not being able to bear the ſight of that lewd monſter; but returned thither when he underſtood that Alexander was raiſed to the empire, and was by that prince received with the greateſt demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, recommended by him to the ſenate, created ſenator, and honoured with the command of a new-raiſed legion, which the emperor thought him well qualified to inſtruct in the military exerciſes. In that office he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that Alexander preferred him to an higher command, and, at the breaking out of the German war, charged him with the care of diſciplining the new-raiſed troops, conſiſting chiefly of Pannonians. We are told, that Alexander had even ſome thoughts of marrying his ſiſter Theoclia to the ſon of Maximinus, who, in moſt inſcriptions, is ſtyled C. Julius Verus Maximinus. He was a youth of extraordinary beauty, in ſtature almoſt equal to his father, well ſhaped, brave, courageous, but proud and haughty to ſuch a degree, that, upon his being proclaimed Auguſtus, and his father's partner in the empire, he ſuffered his ſoldiers not only to kiſs his hand, but his knees and feet, which his father could never endure. When he was killed with his father in the

He is greatly favoured by Alexander.

[u] Herod. l. vi. p. 585. Max. vit. p. 138, 139. [w] Max. vit. p. 139, 140.

year 238, he was betrothed to Julia Fadilla, the great neice of Antoninus Pius [x].

His cruelty after his acceſſion to the empire.

MAXIMINUS no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, than he diſmiſſed all thoſe who had been employed by Alexander in places of truſt, and appointed creatures of his own in their room, ſelected for the moſt part out of the very dregs of the people. He made it his chief ſtudy to gain the affections of the ſoldiery; but chuſing rather to be feared than loved by the reſt of his ſubjects, he began his reign with unheard-of cruelties. All thoſe who had been intimate with Alexander, or ſhewed the leaſt concern for his death, were by his orders inhumanly maſſacred; the ſenators, whom he had created, degraded; and ſuch officers as he had raiſed, under various pretences, diſcharged, and moſt of them baniſhed. Being aſhamed of the meanneſs of his extraction, he cauſed all thoſe who knew his parents, or any of his family, to be privately murdered, though many of them had relieved him when in a low condition, and by their intereſt raiſed him in the army. His cruelty was heightened by the conſpiracy of Magnus, a conſular of an illuſtrious family and great merit.

The conſpiracy of Magnus.

He conſpired with ſome of Alexander's old ſoldiers to break down the bridge which that prince had built over the Rhine, after Maximinus had paſſed it, and abandon him to the enemy. But the conſpiracy being diſcovered, all thoſe, whom Maximinus only ſuſpected to have been privy to it, were inhumanly maſſacred, to the number of four thouſand, without being tried, or even examined; which induced many to believe, that the plot was only a contrivance of Maximinus,

The Oſrhoenians revolt.

to rid himſelf of thoſe who gave him umbrage [y]. A few days after the conſpiracy of Magnus, the Oſrhoenians, who ſerved in the army, and had been always greatly attached to the late emperor, no longer doubting that he had been aſſaſſinated by Maximinus's orders, openly revolted, proclaimed T. Quartinus emperor, and attired him, much againſt his will, with the imperial purple and all the enſigns of ſovereignty. But ſoon after one Macedo, who had been the chief author of the revolt, and pretended great friendſhip for Quartinus, murdered him while he was repoſing in his tent, and carried his head to Maximinus, who, inſtead of rewarding him according to his expectation, cauſed him ſome time after to be executed, for

Quartinus betrayed and murdered.

rebelling againſt his prince and betraying his friend [z]. The Oſrhoenians returning to their duty after the death of Quartinus,

[x] Max. vit. p. 119, &c. [y] Idem, p. 142. Herod. l. vii. p. 589. [z] Herod. l. vii. p. 590. Max. vit. p. 142, &c.

tinus, the following year, when Severus and Quintianus were conſuls, Maximinus entered Germany at the head of a migh- Maximinus gains ſeveral victories o-
ty army, ravaged the country far and wide, burnt the ene- ver the Ger-
my's habitations, carried off their corn and cattle, and took mans.
an incredible number of priſoners. Several battles were fought in the woods and marſhes, in each of which the emperor killed many of the enemy with his own hand, diſcharging every duty of a gallant ſoldier and experienced commander. He choſe always to fight at the head of his troops, and often grappled with the enemy hand to hand like a common ſoldier. Having, in one encounter, to encourage his men, ruſhed ſword in hand into the midſt of the enemy, he was ſurrounded on all ſides, and had been either killed or taken, notwithſtanding his extraordinary ſtrength, in which he placed too much confidence, had not his men, animated by the example of their general, haſtened to his reſcue. He took care to tranſmit an account of his victories to the ſenate, telling them among other things, that he had laid waſte the enemy's country four hundred miles round; deſtroyed near one hundred and fifty of their villages; taken an incredible number of priſoners; and fought more battles, than any of the antients had ever done [a]. He ordered his exploits to be repreſented in painting, and hung up in the ſquares and public places at Rome. For theſe victories the ſenate decreed him and his ſon the title of Germanicus; which is ſtill to be ſeen on ſeveral of the medals [b]. From Germany he marched into Illyricum, and having paſſed the winter in Sirmium in Pannonia, where he entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, and took Africanus for his collegue, early in the ſpring he led his army into the countries of the Dacians and Sarmatians, gained ſeveral Overcomes the Dacians and Sarmatians.
victories over thoſe barbarous nations, and obliged them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. He had nothing leſs in view, than to extend the borders of the empire to the northern ocean; which he would have eaſily accompliſhed, ſays Herodian [c], had he not been interrupted by a civil war and great diſturbances at home. His cruelty.
occaſioned by his unheard-of cruelty and inſatiable avarice, He encouraged informers, feigned plots, and condemned, without diſtinction of quality, ſex, or age, all who were accuſed, ſeizing their eſtates, and reducing the richeſt families in Rome to beggary. Perſons of the greateſt diſtinction were ſnatched away from their friends and relations, and, upon various

[a] Idem ibid. [b] Goltz. p. 101, 102. Birag. p. 329. [c] Herod. l. vii. p. 592.

various groundleſs accuſations, carried into Pannonia, to be judged by the emperor, who never failed to condemn them either to death or baniſhment, and to ſeize their eſtates, whether the crimes laid to their charge were proved or no. Not ſatisfied with the wealth of ſo many illuſtrious families, he began to plunder the temples, to ſtrip the public buildings of their ornaments, and to ſeize on the public money in the cities allotted for the maintenance or diverſions of the people. This alarmed the populace, and diſpoſed them to a general revolt, which firſt broke out in Africa, about the middle of May of the enſuing year, when Perpetuus and Cornelianus were conſuls, on the following occaſion: Two young men of great diſtinction, being condemned by the emperor's receiver in that province, who oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, to pay a fine, which would have reduced them to beggary, conſpired to ſave their fortunes, by deſtroying him; and accordingly, having gained ſome ſoldiers of the legion quartered there, they fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut in pieces both him and ſuch of the ſoldiers as attempted to defend him. This murder, they well knew, the emperor would never forgive; and therefore, well appriſed, that the only means of eſcaping the puniſhment due to their crime, was to create a new prince, they openly revolted, and with the concurrence of the people, who could no longer bear the tyrannical government of Maximinus, proclaimed Gordianus, at that time proconſul of Africa, emperor in his room. Gordianus was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, and univerſally beloved both at Rome and in the provinces, many of which he had governed, on account of his extraordinary merit and virtues; but as he was ſtricken in years, being at this time eighty and upwards, when the people broke unexpectedly into his houſe, and ſaluted him with the title of Auguſtus, he threw himſelf upon the ground, and begged with many tears they would ſuffer him to ſpend the poor remains of his life in quiet, and chuſe ſome other more able, on account of his age, to deliver the ſtate from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned. But the people, and at their head one Mauricius, a perſon of great authority among them, continuing unalterable in their former reſolution, Gordianus was in the end conſtrained to accept the enſigns and title of emperor; which he had no ſooner done, than, to the inexpreſſible joy of all the Africans, he took his ſon, who bore the ſame name, was then his lieutenant, and had been conſul, for his partner in the empire. From Thyſdrus, a city of no ſmall note in Byzacene, not far

The people in Africa revolt.

Gordian proclaimed emperor in Africa.

far from Adrumetum, where this happened, Gordianus marched to Carthage, and made his entry into that city arrayed with the imperial purple, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, ſaluting him with the title of Gordianus Africanus. From Carthage he wrote to the ſenate and people of Rome, acquainting them with what had happened in Africa, and aſſuring them, that he had accepted of the empire againſt his will, and was ready to reſign it, if they did not think fit to confirm his election. In the decrees which he ſent with his letters, and ordered to be publicly ſet up with the approbation of the ſenate, he gave leave to all exiles to return home, baniſhed the informers, promiſed large ſums to the people, and to the ſoldiery a greater largeſs than any emperor had ever given. At the ſame time, he wrote to all the great men in Rome, moſt of whom were his particular friends, encouraging them to exert themſelves on the preſent occaſion, and join him in reſcuing Rome from the inſupportable tyranny of Maximinus, which was the only motive that had prompted him in his old age to ſubmit to ſo heavy a burden as the empire. In his letter to Junius Syllanus, then conſul, he charged that magiſtrate to diſpatch without delay Vitalianus, who commanded the body of prætorian guards that had been left in Rome, and was greatly attached to Maximinus, being of a no leſs cruel and ſavage temper than that tyrant. Syllanus, upon the receipt of this letter, ſent the quæſtor, attended by ſome reſolute men, with letters to Vitalianus, which he pretended to have juſt received from Maximinus, enjoining them to draw him aſide, and diſpatch him while he was peruſing them; which they did accordingly, and then gave out, that what they had done was by Maximinus's orders: which was believed; for thus he uſed to treat even his beſt friends. After this, the conſul Syllanus aſſembled at his houſe the prætors, ædiles, and tribunes of the people, and, attended by them, went to the ſenate, and there read, on the twenty-ſeventh day of May, the letters which Gordianus had written both to them and to him. Hereupon the ſenate, in great tranſports of joy, declared, without the leaſt heſitation, the two Gordians emperors, the two Maximins public enemies, and decreed a great reward to ſuch as ſhould kill either of them. At the ſame time, they named to the prætorſhip of the enſuing year a third Gordian, grandſon to the elder, tho' then only but twelve years old. Theſe proceedings, however, were kept ſecret, till ſuch time as the ſenate had taken the neceſſary meaſures for quaſhing at once the party of the Maximins in Rome;

He writes to the ſenate.

Who acknowledge him emperor, and declare Maximinus a public enemy.

Rome; which was no ſooner done, than they gave out, that they were both killed, and that the two Gordians reigned in their room. The edicts of the latter were publicly hung up, and their images carried to the camp, with their letters to the ſoldiery, who being, after the death of Vitalianus, deſtitute of a leader, readily ſubmitted to the Gordians. As for the people, tranſported with rage againſt Maximinus hardly to be expreſſed, they immediately ran and pulled down all his ſtatues and monuments, uttering dreadful imprecations againſt the bloody tyrant and his ſon. At the ſame time, the ſenate enacted a decree, ſentencing to death all the friends of Maximinus, and the miniſters of his cruelty. Hereupon ſuch of them as had not the good luck to eſcape were maſſacred without mercy by the enraged multitude, dragged through the ſtreets, and thrown into the common ſewer. Several innocent perſons periſhed with the guilty, many laying hold of that opportunity to diſpatch their private enemies or creditors. Sabinus, governor of Rome, endeavouring to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, had his brains daſhed out with a blow from one of the mob, and his body was left for ſome time in the public ſtreet [d].

The friends of Maximinus at Rome murdered.

The ſenate all to a man revolt from Maximinus.

In the mean time, it being publicly known, that Maximinus was ſtill alive, the ſenate iſſued a ſecond decree againſt him, declaring anew both him and his ſon public enemies, and at the ſame time diſpatched perſons of the greateſt intereſt and authority into all the provinces, with letters to the proconſuls, preſidents, lieutenants, tribunes, &c. exhorting them to join in the common cauſe, and exert themſelves in defence of their common liberties, againſt a raging tyrant and public enemy (S). They likewiſe choſe twenty ſenators, who

[d] Gordian. vit. p. 153, & ſeq. Max. vit. 143, & ſeq. Herod. l. vii. p. 595—598.

(S) The letter, which the ſenate wrote on this occaſion, was conceived in the following terms: "To all proconſuls, preſi-
" dents, lieutenants, commanders, tribunes, free towns, cities,
" villages and caſtles, the ſenate and people of Rome, whoſe de-
" liverance from the tyranny of the cruel monſter Maximin is
" begun by the Gordians, greeting: By the favour of the gods
" we have for emperor Gordian, a perſon of the greateſt merit
" and virtue We have proclaimed him emperor, and, for the
" greater ſecurity of the ſtate, his ſon in conjunction with him.
" It is incumbent upon you to concur with us in procuring and
" promoting the public welfare and ſafety; in oppoſing the
" wicked

who had all been conſuls, and ſent them into different parts of Italy, with orders to guard night and day all the roads, ports, and harbours, that no account of what had paſſed at Rome might be tranſmitted to Maximinus before the arrival of Gordian. The letters of the ſenate were received in moſt cities and provinces with incredible joy, and a dreadful ſlaughter was made of the officers and friends of Maximinus. Only a few places continued faithful to him, and either delivered up to the tyrant, or maſſacred, the deputies of the ſenate. At Rome perſons of all ranks and ages, even the women and children, crouded to the temples, beſeeching the gods, that they would never ſuffer the bloody tyrant to approach the city [c]. Maximinus, who was at this time either in Thrace or Sarmatia, ſoon received intelligence of what had paſſed at Rome and in Africa, notwithſtanding all the precautions of the ſenate; nay, a copy of the decree of the ſenate, declaring him a public enemy and ſetting a price upon his head, was tranſmitted to him; upon the reading of which he flew into ſuch a paſſion, as can hardly be expreſſed or conceived: more like a wild beaſt than an human creature, ſays the author of his life, he beat his head againſt the wall, threw himſelf upon the ground, tore his royal robes, drew his ſword, and, after having uttered dreadful menaces againſt the ſenate, fell upon thoſe who ſtood next to him, and would have killed his ſon, had he not quickly withdrawn, for having refuſed to quit him and live at Rome; which the father adviſed him to do upon their firſt coming to the empire, and which would, in his opinion, have kept the ſenate and people in awe, and prevented the preſent revolt. In ſhort, ſuch was his fury and rage, that his friends looking upon him as a man bereft of his underſtanding, with much-ado ſnatched his arms from him, and carried him to his room. Being returned to himſelf, he ſpent ſome days in deliberating with his council about the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued at ſuch an important conjuncture. Then aſſembling his army, he acquainted them with the ſtate of affairs, pretending to be under no apprehenſion, and promiſing to diſtribute among them the eſtates of the

His rage upon the news of the revolt.

[c] Herod. l. vii. p. 599. Max. vit. p. 141.

" wicked deſigns of thoſe who threaten us; and in purſuing to
" death the cruel tyrant Maximin and his friends; for we have
" declared him and his ſon public enemies (33)."

(33) Vit. Max. p. 143, 144.

the ſenators and African rebels. Having ended his ſpeech, he gave his ſoldiers a great bounty, and without loſs of time began his march towards Italy. The troops not ſhewing ſo much ardour and forwardneſs as he expected, he wrote to his ſon, who was marching with a ſeparate body at ſome diſtance, to join him with all poſſible expedition, leſt the army ſhould, in his abſence, attempt upon his life. At the ſame time, he diſpatched perſons to Rome, to publiſh there in his name a general pardon with reſpect to all paſt injuries, and with them letters to Sabinus, not being yet appriſed of his death, in which was incloſed a copy of the decree declaring him a public enemy; for he ſuppoſed Sabinus, who had abſented himſelf that day from the ſenate, to be altogether ignorant of what had paſſed there [f]. While Maximinus was marching towards Italy, the face of affairs was quite changed in Africa: A ſenator, by name Capelianus, had been appointed governor of Mauritania by Maximinus with a conſiderable body of troops under his command, to make head againſt the Moors not ſubject to Rome, who infeſted with daily incurſions the Roman territories. But Gordianus, to whom he had been a declared enemy, and whom he had on all occaſions oppoſed, immediately diſcharged him, and named another in his room. Capelianus, who was an officer of great valour and experience, inſtead of obeying the orders of the new emperor, aſſembled all his forces, levied ſeveral companies of Moors, and having with incredible diſpatch drawn together a very conſiderable body of well diſciplined and reſolute men, marched at the head of them ſtrait to Carthage. His approach alarmed the city. The inhabitants, however, betook themſelves to their arms, and marched out under the conduct of Gordianus the younger to meet the enemy. Hereupon a bloody engagement enſued, in which Gordianus's raw and undiſciplined troops performed wonders; but were in the end put to flight, and moſt of them cut in pieces either in the battle or the purſuit. Gordianus himſelf was killed in the field, which, together with the loſs of the battle and the approach of the enemy, reduced the father to ſuch deſpair, that he ſtrangled himſelf with his own girdle [g]. Such was the end of the two Gordians, after having reigned, according to the moſt probable opinion [h], one month and ſix days. They were ſprung from two of the moſt antient and illuſtri-

He marches for Italy.

Capelianus raiſes forces againſt the Gordians.

Their death.

ous

[f] Gord. vit. p. 157, 158. Herod. p. 601. Max. vit. p. 141.
[g] Herod. l. vii. p. 602, 603. Gord. vit. p. 158. Max. vit. p. 145. [h] Vide Petav. doct. temp, p. 337.

ous families in Rome. Gordianus the father, ſtyled in moſt medals and inſcriptions M. Antonius Gordianus, was the ſon of Mæcius Marullus, deſcended from the Gracchi, and of Ulpia Gordiana, of the family of the emperor Trajan. His father, grandfather, and great grandfather had been conſuls, and he himſelf twice diſcharged that honourable office, firſt with the emperor Caracalla in 213. and the ſecond time with Alexander Severus in 229. His wealth was anſwerable to his quality; for he poſſeſſed, according to Julius Capitolinus, more land in the provinces, than any private man in Rome [i]. The ſame writer obſerves, that he was the firſt private perſon who had a conſular habit of his own, the reſt, and even ſome of the emperors, contenting themſelves with the common robes that were lodged in the capitol [k]. He was well-ſhaped, of a comely and majeſtic aſpect, and thought to reſemble the emperor Auguſtus. He was highly eſteemed by the emperor Alexander, who returned public thanks to the ſenate for preferring ſo deſerving a perſon to the government of Africa, ſtyling him, in the letter which he wrote upon that occaſion, a nobleman of great magnanimity, eloquence, juſtice, moderation, integrity, goodneſs, &c. He was exceeding kind to all his relations, and paid ſuch reſpect to his wife's father, Annius Severus, that he never preſumed, before he was prætor, to ſit down in his preſence, and never failed waiting upon him once a day, even when he was conſul. He was very ſober in his diet, modeſt, but proper, in his dreſs, and regular in all his actions, without ever being guilty of any exceſs, or diſcompoſed by any paſſion [l]. He was well verſed in all the branches of literature, eſpecially in poetry, and wrote in his youth ſeveral poems, which were greatly eſteemed, and, among the reſt, one intitled Antoniniades, deſcribing in thirty books the lives and wars, the public and private actions of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, or Antoninus Philoſophus. He wrote likewiſe in proſe the praiſes of the Antonini. His chief entertainment was to read Plato, Ariſtotle, Cicero, Virgil, and the other antient authors. No one ever gave greater ſatisfaction to the people, or diſcharged the public offices with more generoſity, than Gordianus. During the year of his ædileſhip, he exhibited public ſhews once a month, ſometimes five hundred couple of gladiators at a time, and never leſs than one hundred and fifty. He cauſed an incredible number of wild beaſts to be brought to Rome, for

Extraction and preferments of the two Gordians.

[i] Gord. vit. p. 151, 152. [k] Idem, p. 152. [l] Idem, p. 152, 153.

for the diverſion of the people, from the moſt diſtant parts of the empire. In one day a thouſand bears were hunted and killed, and in his other ſhews, ſuch numbers of wild beaſts of all kinds, as had never before been ſeen in Rome; which gained him the affections of the people, entirely addicted to diverſions of that nature. After his ſecond conſulſhip, he was immediately ſent into Africa in quality of proconſul; which office he diſcharged with ſo much juſtice, equity, and moderation, that he was univerſally adored, and more beloved by the people than any governor had ever been before him, ſome calling him a Scipio, ſome a Cato, ſome a Mutius Scævola, a Rutilius, a Lælius. He married Fabia Oreſtilla, the daughter of Annius Severus, and grand-daughter to the emperor M. Aurelius, and had by her a daughter named Mæcia Fauſtina, who was married to Junius Balbus a conſular; and a ſon ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions and medals M. Antonius Gordianus [m], with the title of pontifex; whereas his father is diſtinguiſhed with that of pontifex Maximus. The ſon was killed in the year 237, the forty-ſixth of his age [n], and conſequently was born in 191, the twelfth of the reign of Commodus. He had an extraordinary memory, and was well verſed in polite literature, having had Serenus Sammonicus for his preceptor, who bequeathed to him his famous library, conſiſting of ſixty-two thouſand volumes. He wrote ſeveral pieces both in proſe and verſe, which ſhewed, ſays Capitolinus [o], that he had a fine genius, but neglected to cultivate and improve it. He was well ſkilled in the law, and one of Alexander's chief counſellors. He was univerſally beloved on account of his obliging carriage and extraordinary ſweet temper; but loved his pleaſures, and ſpent moſt of his time in baths, gardens, and groves. He kept conſtantly twenty-two concubines, and is ſaid to have had by each of them three or four children; whence he was called the Priamus, and ſatirically the Priapus, of his time. Ælius Cordus writes, that he could never be prevailed upon to marry, and conſequently had no lawful iſſue. On the other hand Dexippus tells us, that he married, and had by his wife Gordian, afterwards emperor [p]. But, according to Herodian, the emperor was not his, but his ſiſter's, ſon. But of him hereafter, Gordian, of whom we are now writing, was highly favoured by Heliogabalus, as a young man addicted to his pleaſures, and by that prince raiſed to the quæſtorſhip. Alexander preferred him, as he

[m] Goltz. p. 102. [n] Vit. Gord. p. 158. [o] Idem, p. 160. [p] Idem ibid.

he was a man of known integrity and great abilities, to the prætorſhip, and ſoon after honoured him with the conſular dignity. In the reign of Alexander or Maximinus he was ſent into Africa, in quality of lieutenant to his father, who took him for his partner in the empire, and, upon his death, put an end to his own life in the manner we have related above.

To reſume now the thread of our hiſtory. The diſmal tidings of the death of the two Gordians in Africa threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. However, as they dreaded above all things the cruel effects of Maximinus's reſentment, and expected to find no mercy at the hands of ſo barbarous a tyrant, they reſolved, not to ſubmit to him, but to defend themſelves to the laſt. The ſenate therefore, aſſembling in the temple of Concord, choſe two new emperors, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus and Decimus Cœlius Balbinus. The former was a perſon of low birth, but extraordinary merit. His father was, according to ſome, a cart-wright, according to others, a lock-ſmith; but the ſon raiſed himſelf, chiefly by his courage and valour, to the firſt employments in the empire. He ſerved firſt in quality of a private ſoldier; but was ſoon preferred, as he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions, to the poſt of a centurion, then to that of a tribune, and not long after to the command of ſeveral legions, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was admitted into the ſenate, created prætor, honoured with the conſulſhip, and ſucceſſively appointed governor of Bithynia, Greece, and Narbonne Gaul. From Gaul he was ſent to command the troops in Illyricum, where he gained great advantages over the Sarmatians, and the forces in Germany, where he was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the Germans. Upon his return from Germany, he was made governor of Rome, in which place he acquitted himſelf with ſuch prudence, integrity, and diſcretion, that he was both eſteemed and beloved by perſons of every rank and condition. He appeared always grave and ſerious, and ſhewed no great complaiſance to any one; but was juſt, merciful, and never guilty of the leaſt action that favoured of inhumanity, but on the contrary always ready to forgive. He addicted himſelf to no party, was ſteady and inflexible in his reſolutions, and, without truſting to others, examined every thing himſelf with great care and attention. In ſhort the ſenate entertained ſuch an high opinion of his extraordinary merit and virtues, that, in declaring him emperor, they ſolemnly proteſted, that, in the whole empire, they knew no perſon better qualified than he for ſuſtaining the

Pupienus and Balbinus proclaimed emperors

The riſe and preferments of Pupienus.

name and dignity of a prince [q]. He is commonly called Pupienus by the Latin hiſtorians, and by the Greek writers Maximus, which has ſtrangely perplexed Capitolinus, who, after a long deſcant, concludes, that they were two names of one and the ſame perſon: this trouble he might have ſaved himſelf by only looking upon one of that prince's coins. Balbinus was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and pretended to derive his pedigree from Cornelius Balbus Theophanes, a celebrated hiſtorian, and a man of the firſt rank in the iſland of Leſbos, who was made free of Rome by Pompey the Great. The preſent emperor had been twice conſul, and had governed without blame ſeveral provinces, viz. Aſia, Africa, Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, Thrace, and Gaul. He had likewiſe commanded armies; but, being ſomewhat timorous, he was thought better qualified for civil than military affairs. He poſſeſſed immenſe wealth, lived with great ſplendor, was addicted to pleaſures, but at the ſame time univerſally beloved on account of his integrity, (for he injured no man but himſelf) his humanity, ſweet temper, and obliging behaviour. He was an excellent orator, no mean poet, and had an uncommon talent in making extemporary verſes [r].

The extraction and employments of Balbinus.

Maximus and Balbinus being, with the unanimous conſent of the ſenate, raiſed to the ſovereignty, and inveſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power, went, at the breaking up of the aſſembly, to the capitol. But while they were offering there the uſual ſacrifices, the populace roſe, and, armed with ſtones and clubs, declared, that they would not obey the new emperors, and demanded, with great clamour, a prince of the Gordian family. Maximus and Balbinus, backed by ſome young knights, attempted to open themſelves a way through the croud, ſword in hand; but were in the end, in ſpite of all their efforts, obliged to ſend for young Gordian, then only twelve years old, who was received by the populace with loud ſhouts of joy, and carried to the capitol; where the ſenate, to appeaſe the multitude, declared him Cæſar, arrayed him with the habit peculiar to that dignity, and in that attire ſhewed him to the people, who thereupon diſperſed, and, retiring quietly to their houſes, ſuffered the new emperors to take poſſeſſion of the palace [s], where they began to diſcharge the functions of ſovereignty with deifying the two Gordians. When that ceremony was over, they appointed Sabinus governor of Rome, and Pinarius Valens, uncle

The people mutiny.

Young Gordian declared Cæſar.

[q] Max. & Balb. vit. 166, 167. [r] Idem, p. 168, & ſeq. Herod. l. vii. p. 604. [s] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 145.

uncle by the father to Maximus, commander of the prætorian guards; and then, without loſs of time began to levy what forces they could, and make the neceſſary preparations for taking the field againſt Maximinus, who, upon the news of their election, quickened his march, breathing nothing but ruin and deſtruction. As moſt of the provinces had eſpouſed the party of the ſenate, troops were ſent from all parts to reinforce the army of Maximus, who, being charged with the conduct of the war, as the more able commander, ſet out from Rome ſoon after his election, leaving the prætorian guards, and part of the new-raiſed forces, to defend the city and awe the populace. After his departure, the ſenate diſpatched the moſt conſiderable men of their body into the different parts of Italy, with orders to fortify all the cities, and ſupply the inhabitants with arms; to remove all manner of proviſions into the fortified towns, and either to reap or deſtroy the corn in the fields; to mow the graſs, and lay waſte the whole country, through which Maximinus was to march with his numerous army. At the ſame time, they ſent circular letters into all the provinces, declaring ſuch, as ſhould lend him the leaſt aſſiſtance, traitors, rebels, and public enemies. Maximus had ſcarce left the city, when dreadful diſturbances aroſe there, occaſioned by the temerity of two ſenators, Gallicanus and Mecænas, who ſeeing two ſoldiers of the prætorian guards enter the hall, where the ſenate was aſſembled, quitting their places, ruſhed upon them unexpectedly, and diſpatched them with their daggers; for in thoſe diſtracted times moſt ſenators wore daggers under their robes. Hereupon the other ſoldiers of that corps, who were waiting at the door mixed with the populace, betook themſelves to flight, but were purſued by Gallicanus, who encouraged the mob to fall upon them as ſpies and partizans of the tyrant Maximinus. Some of them were wounded, but the reſt ſhut themſelves up in their camp, where they were attacked the ſame day by Gallicanus at the head of the multitude, (whom he had ſupplied with arms) and of all the gladiators he could draw together. The guards ſuſtained the attack with their uſual reſolution, repulſed the aſſailants, and falling upon them in their retreat, cut great numbers of them in pieces. This ſlaughter ſerved only to inſpire the multitude with new rage; and the ſenate, eſpouſing their quarrel, ordered the new-levied forces, which Maximus had left to maintain peace and tranquillity in the city, to march againſt the prætorian guards; which they did accordingly, and attacked the camp with great fury, but were, after repeated aſſaults, in which great numbers of them

Maximus marches againſt Maximinus.

Dreadful diſturbances in Rome.

A battle between the prætorian guards and the people.

periſhed, obliged to give over the attempt and retire. The incenſed multitude, finding all their efforts thus baffled, bethought themſelves at laſt of cutting the conduits that conveyed water into the camp; which reduced the ſoldiery to ſuch deſpair, that, throwing the gates of the camp open, they ruſhed unexpectedly upon the multitude, ſword in hand, and drove them, after a long diſpute, in which much blood was ſhed on both ſides, into the city, where the combat began a-new, the people diſcharging from the tops of their houſes ſhowers of ſtones and tiles upon the ſoldiery, who in revenge ſet fire to their ſhops and ſtore-houſes, which conſumed the greateſt part of the city, an incredible quantity of valuable effects, and many perſons of all ranks [t]. Herodian does not inform us how the tumult ended; but Capitolinus writes, that the temples were profaned, the private houſes pillaged, the ſtreets covered with dead bodies, &c. that the emperor Balbinus, attempting to appeaſe the tumult and part the combatants, was dangerouſly wounded on the head; but at length, having ſent for young Gordian, and ſhewed him to the people in his purple robes, the fury of both parties aſſwaged at once, hoſtilities ceaſed, the people retired to their houſes, and the ſoldiers to the camp. So great was the eſteem, reſpect, and veneration, both of the people and ſoldiery, for one ſprung from the Gordians, who had loſt their lives in the defence of the people of Rome [u].

Dreadful diſorders committed in the city.

THE next year, when Annius Pius, or, as others call him, Ulpius, and Pontianus were conſuls, Maximinus early in the ſpring purſued his march towards Italy, having with him, we may ſay, all the forces of the empire. Being arrived at the foot of the Alps that part Italy from Illyricum, he found the city of Hemona or Æmona abandoned by its inhabitants; which inſpired him with hopes of certain victory; for he thence concluded, that no place or city would dare to withſtand him. Herodian calls Æmona the firſt city of Italy; but he ought rather to have ſtyled it the laſt of Pannonia; for in that province it is placed by all the antient and modern geographers. Sanſon ſuppoſes it to have ſtood where the preſent city of Laubach ſtands, the capital of Carniola; others place it in the neighbourhood of Igg, in the ſame country. Maximinus, leaving Æmona, paſſed the mountains without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; which heightened his joy and confidence. But his men, who expected to be refreſhed, after paſſing the mountains, with plenty of all manner of proviſions

Maximinus purſues his march into Italy.

[t] Herod. l. vii. p. 607, 608. [u] Vit. Max. & Balb. p. 168, 169.

viſions in Italy, finding the country laid waſte far and wide, and themſelves deſtitute even of neceſſaries, began to mutiny. Maximinus puniſhed the ring-leaders of the tumult with great ſeverity, which only ſerved to exaſperate the reſt. However, he purſued his march; and being informed, that the city of Aquileia had ſhut its gates againſt a party, which he had ſent to take poſſeſſion of the place, he marched thither in perſon with all his forces, not doubting, but the inhabitants would ſubmit upon the approach of ſo formidable an army. But Criſpinus and Menophilus, two conſulars of great reſolution and intrepidity, to whom the ſenate had committed the defence of the city, anſwered the tribune ſent by Maximinus to ſummon them to ſurrender, that they were determined to hold out to the laſt, and rather forfeit their lives, than betray their truſt, or yield to ſuch a cruel, bloody, and faithleſs tyrant. At the ſame time, to animate the inhabitants, who began to waver, they gave out, that Apollo, the tutelar god of the place, had aſſured them of victory; which diſpelled all fear, ſo that every one began to prepare for a vigorous defence. In the mean while, Maximinus having ſpent ſome time in paſſing the river Sontius, now Iſonzo, about ſixteen miles from Aquileia, approached the city; and having cauſed all the vines and neighbouring groves, which were a great ornament to the place, to be cut down, he began to batter the walls with an incredible number of warlike engines, and to haraſs the beſieged with repeated aſſaults, which they ſuſtained with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity as can hardly be expreſſed. Even the women and children appeared on the ramparts, and bore their ſhare in the common danger; the women eſpecially ſignalized their zeal by yielding their hair to be employed in making ſtrings for the bows and other warlike machines. The ſenate, out of gratitude, after the death of Maximinus, cauſed a magnificent temple to be erected, which they conſecrated to Venus calva, or Venus the bald: on a medal of Quintia Criſpilla, wife to the emperor Maximus, is to be ſeen a temple with that legend and the figure of a bald woman [w]. The ſoldiers of Maximinus, in the beginning of the ſiege, ſhewed great ardour; which, however, began to abate, when they found the inhabitants firmly determined to undergo all labours and hardſhips, rather than ſubmit. Maximinus, highly provoked at their backwardneſs, and beſides enraged at the bitter reproaches uttered by the inhabitants a-

His ſoldiers begin to mutiny.

Maximinus ſummons the city of Aquileia to ſurrender.

The inhabitants ſuſtain a ſiege with great reſolution.

[w] Vide de Meneſtrier medailles des emper. & imperatr. p. 145. à Dijon, 1642.

gainſt him and his ſon, as often as they approached the walls, cauſed ſeveral of his officers to be publicly executed, aſcribing the coolneſs of the ſoldiers to want of courage in them. This exaſperated the ſoldiers, already inclined to mutiny for want of proviſions, of which, and even of water, there was great ſcarcity in the camp. Beſides, a report was ſpread, that the whole empire was arming againſt Maximinus, and ready to fall upon thoſe who ſupported him in his tyranny. Hereupon the Albanians, that is, the ſoldiers belonging to the camp in the neighbourhood of Alba, took a ſudden reſolution to diſpatch the author of ſo many calamities; and, without farther deliberation, went ſtrait at noon-day to the tent of Maximinus, diſpatched both him and his ſon with many wounds, cut off their heads, and ſent them to Rome, and threw their bodies into the river. With them were killed Anolinus, their captain of the guards, and all their chief miniſters and friends [x]. Such was the end of the reign, or rather of the tyranny, of the two Maximins, after it had laſted three years and a few days, the father being then in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the ſon in the twenty-firſt. The Pannonians, Thracians, and ſome other troops, heard the news of their death with regret, but did not attempt to revenge it. Thus the whole army preſented themſelves unarmed before the gates of Aquileia, acquainted the beſieged with the death of Maximinus, and deſired to be admitted into the city. It was not thought adviſeable to open the gates to them; but after they had adored the images of Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian, placed for that purpoſe on the ramparts, a great quantity of proviſions was ſent to their camp; for they were almoſt famiſhed: and the next day they all took the uſual oaths to Maximus and Balbinus [y].

The ſoldiers of Maximinus mutiny, and murder him and his ſon.

His death occaſions great joy at Rome.

An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to Rome with theſe joyful tidings, who paſſing through Ravenna, found the emperor Maximus there buſy in aſſembling his forces, in order to march againſt the tyrant. But when he underſtood, that both the Maximins were killed, that their army had ſubmitted, and ſworn fidelity to him and his collegue, tranſported with joy, and laying aſide all military preparations, he repaired to the temples to return thanks to the gods for ſuch ſignal and unexpected ſucceſs. In the mean time, the expreſs purſuing his journey, and often changing horſes, reached Rome the fourth day, diſtant from Aquileia about two hundred

[x] Herod. l. viii. p. 614. [y] Herod. l. vii. p. 626, 627. Max. vit. p. 146.

hundred and eighty miles, which no one, ſays our hiſtorian, had ever done before. Upon his arrival, he found Balbinus and Gordian aſſiſting with the people at the public ſports in the theatre, where he delivered his letters to the two princes; which he had no ſooner done, than the whole multitude cried out with one voice, Maximinus is killed; and riſing up left the theatre, and crowded to the temples, whither Balbinus and Gordian followed. The ſenate immediately aſſembled; and, after decreeing ſeveral honours to the three princes, appointed ſacrifices to be offered in all the temples, and a day of public and ſolemn thankſgiving for their happy delivery. Balbinus, who uſed to tremble at the very name of Maximinus, offered an hecatomb, which was never done but upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, and cauſed the ſame ſacrifice to be offered in all the cities of the empire [z]. Thoſe who brought the heads of the two Maximins, arrrived at Rome ſoon after the courier; for they made what haſte they could. They were met every-where by crouds of the people, and received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. They entered Rome with the heads ſtuck upon two lances, that every one might ſee them: and no ſight was ever more pleaſing. They repaired again to the temples, offered new ſacrifices, and ſeemed no leſs tranſported with joy, than if they had been delivered from imminent death or captivity [a]. The two heads were abandoned to the rage of the populace, and, after many inſults, burnt in the field of Mars. The names of the Maximins were, by a decree of the ſenate, eraſed out of all inſcriptions, their ſtatues overturned, and their bodies ordered to be left unburied. The emperor Maximus haſtened from Ravenna to Aquileia, where he was received with loud acclamations, and acknowledged emperor by the army of Maximinus, among whom he diſtributed large ſums, and then ſent them back to their reſpective quarters, retaining with him only the prætorian guards, and a ſmall body of Germans, in whom chiefly he confided. During his ſtay at Aquileia, the ſenate, to do him honour, ſent a deputation to him, conſiſting of twenty of their body, who had been all conſuls, prætors, or quæſtors. With them he ſet out from Aquileia; and arriving at Rome with a numerous and ſplendid retinue, was there received at the gates by Balbinus, Gordian, the ſenate in a body, and all the people, and conducted in triumph to the palace [b]. The two emperors go- Maximus returns to Rome

[z] Max. vit. p. 169, &c [a] Max. vit p. 169. Herod. p. 617.
[b] Herod. l. viii. p. 620. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170.

verned with great prudence and moderation, enacted excellent laws, adminiſtered juſtice with the utmoſt impartiality, maintained the military diſcipline with due rigor, paid great reſpect and deference to the ſenate, and conducted themſelves in all things with ſuch wiſdom, equity, and moderation, that they were in a manner adored both by the ſenate and people.

The wiſe adminiſtration of the two emperors.

But the happineſs and tranquillity, which they enjoyed under theſe excellent princes, were ſhort-lived. The Carpi, a people beyond the Danube, paſſing that river, ravaged the province of Mœſia. The Goths, provoked perhaps by the death of Maximinus, invaded the Roman territories on the ſide of Scythia; and the Perſians, who had continued quiet ſince the year 233, when Alexander made war upon them, threatened the eaſtern provinces. It was therefore agreed among the princes, that Maximus ſhould march againſt the Perſians, Balbinus againſt the Goths and Carpi, and Gordian remain in the mean time at Rome. But while great preparations were making for the intended expeditions, the prætorian guards, diſſatisfied to ſee princes, who had been created by the ſenate, ſo much applauded, and provoked at the bitter invectives which were daily uttered againſt Maximinus, and reflected no ſmall diſhonour upon them, who had raiſed him to the empire, began to mutiny, and complain with one another, that the right of naming the emperors, which had hitherto proved ſo advantageous to them, was ſnatched out of their hands, and transferred to the ſenate. Beſides, they grew jealous of the Germans, whom Maximus had brought to Rome with him, with a deſign, as they imagined, to diſcharge the prætorian guards, as Septimius Severus had formerly done, and to take the Germans in their room. Being thus prejudiced againſt the two emperors, they reſolved to diſpatch them, and reſume their pretended authority, by ſetting up another in their room. Having taken this reſolution, they only waited for an opportunity of putting it in execution, which ſoon offered; for the Capitoline games being celebrated a few days after, and moſt of the emperors domeſtics reſorting thither, the diſcontented and mutinous ſoldiery marched ſtrait to the palace, where the two princes were left almoſt alone. Maximus, informed of their arrival before they had entered the palace, was for calling the Germans to his aſſiſtance, but was therein oppoſed by Balbinus. For theſe two princes were not, for all their great qualities, free from private jealouſies. Balbinus was piqued at the extraordinary honours

The Carpi, Goths, and Perſians, threaten the Romans with war.

The prætorian guards mutiny.

Jealouſies between the emperors.

[e] Max. & Balb. vit. p. 167, 171.

honours which the ſenate had heaped upon his collegue, as if the death of Maximinus, and bleſſings thence accruing, had been chiefly owing to him; and beſides, looked upon him as one greatly inferior to himſelf in birth and nobility. On the other hand, Maximus, knowing himſelf to be by far the better and abler commander, tacitly claimed on that ſcore the chief authority. Theſe mutual jealouſies, though prudently concealed, and rather gueſſed at by others, than ſeen, bred ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and occaſioned in the end the ruin of both. For Balbinus, not giving credit to what he was told of the deſigns of the prætorian guards, but rather ſuſpecting that his collegue intended to employ the Germans againſt him, would not ſuffer Maximus, to whom they were greatly attached, to ſend for them. This occaſioned a warm diſpute, and gave time to the prætorian guards to break into the palace, and diſperſe ſuch of the emperors friends and domeſtics as offered to oppoſe them. When they came to the apartment where the two princes were, they ruſhed upon them with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, tore in pieces their imperial robes, dragged them out of the palace with a deſign to carry them to their camp, wounded and inſulted them in a moſt dangerous manner. But, while they were hurrying them through the city to the camp, being informed, that the Germans had taken arms, and were advancing to reſcue the princes out of their hands, they killed them both, and leaving their bodies in the ſtreet, retired to the camp, carrying with them young Gordian, whom they proclaimed emperor, giving out, to appeaſe the populace, that they had killed thoſe whom the people had at firſt rejected, and ſet up in their room the perſon whom they had demanded. The Germans, informed that the emperors were killed, retired, without committing any hoſtilities, to their quarters without the city. Thus Gordian remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the empire [d]. Maximus and Balbinus had reigned about one year and two months.

They are both killed. Gordian proclaimed emperor.

Of the deſcent and birth of Gordian we have ſpoken above. He was, according to Herodian, the ſon of Junius Balbus, by the ſiſter of Gordian the younger, from whom he borrowed the name of M. Antoninus Gordianus, as he is ſtyled in all the antient inſcriptions [e]. He was about thirteen years old when he came to the empire, and conſequently muſt have been born in the year 225, the fourth of Alexander's reign

His excellent qualifications.

[d] Herod. p. 621. Max. & Balb. vit. p. 170. [e] Herod. l. vii. p. 605. Occo. Goltz. Onuph. &c.

reign. He was a youth of a gay temper, comely aſpect, and exceeding ſweet diſpoſition, which gained him the love of all who approached him. Capitolinus tells us, that he was beloved by perſons of all ranks, more than any prince had ever been before him. The ſenate uſed to ſtyle him their ſon, the ſoldiers their child, and the people their darling. He was addicted to ſtudy and learning, and well inſtructed in moſt branches of polite literature. He had all the neceſſary qualifications for forming an excellent prince; but as he wanted experience, and ſuch a mother to direct and adviſe him as Mamæa, in the beginning of his reign, he fell into the hands of one Maurus and ſome other crafty freed-men and eunuchs, who, playing booty, and abuſing the confidence he repoſed in them, perſuaded him to do many things, which he ever after regretted. They ſoon drove all good men from the court, raiſed to the firſt employments perſons altogether unworthy of them, plundered the exchequer, and did all the miſchief which wicked and avaricious miniſters are capable of doing [f]. In the beginning of the year, the young prince entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, to which he had been named in the reign of Maximus and Balbus, and took for his collegue Aviola. This year he entertained the people with magnificent ſports, in order to make them forget their paſt heats and animoſities. The following year, when Sabinus was conſul, the ſecond time, with Venuſtus, Sabinianus revolted in Africa, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; but the governor of Mauritania reduced the rebels to ſuch ſtreights, that they delivered up Sabinianus to him, acknowledged their fault, and ſubmitted. All the partizans of Sabinianus were pardoned [g]; but what was his fate, we are no-where told. The next year, the emperor took upon him his ſecond conſulſhip, having Pompeianus Civica for his collegue. The young prince married this year Furia Sabina Tranquillina, the daughter of Miſitheus, who was immediately honoured with the title of Auguſta; but whether he had any children by her, hiſtory does not inform us. The emperor choſe Miſitheus for his father-in-law, purely on account of his great wiſdom, integrity, and learning; and appointed him captain of the guards, that he might have a perſon of his extraordinary talents with whom to adviſe, not daring to truſt to his own judgment. Miſitheus had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of that important employment, than he

Is deceived and impoſed upon by his miniſters.

Miſitheus, captain of the guards, and father-in-law to the emperor.

[f] Herod. l. viii p. 621. Gord. vit. p. 160—164. [g] Gord. vit. p. 161. Zoſ. l. i. p. 640.

he acquainted the emperor with the miſdemeanour of Maurus, and baſe practices of the other freed-men and eunuchs, who were thereupon all diſcharged and baniſhed the court. From a letter of Miſitheus to the emperor, quoted by Capitolinus, it appears, that the young prince had been ſtrangely miſled, and groſly impoſed upon by that infamous crew (T); and from the emperor's anſwer to it, that he was ſenſible of his former miſconduct, and deſirous to correct his faults; to know the truth, and to employ only ſuch perſons, as would ſpeak it without flattery or diſguiſe (U). He reſpected

(T) This letter was conceived in the following terms: "It is "with the greateſt pleaſure I congratulate you upon the alteration of times. Every thing was formerly bought and ſold by "the eunuchs, and ſuch as pretended to be your friends, but "were in reality your greateſt enemies. I am glad that this "blot is removed from your reign; the more, becauſe you are "glad of it yourſelf; which will convince the world, that the "diſorders hitherto complained of ought not to be imputed to "you. All poſts in the army have been diſpoſed of to perſons no-"ways qualified for them; others have been denied the rewards "due to their ſervices; innocent perſons have been condemned, "and ſuch as were guilty ſaved; the public revenues miſapplied, "the exchequer plundered, &c. But theſe, and many diſorders, "will be no longer imputed to you, but to thoſe who entered "into cabals to deceive you, to remove from the court all per-"ſons of virtue, honour, and integrity, and to introduce in their "room men as wicked as themſelves, that they might make you "a property to their evil deſigns. But now your eyes are open-"ed, you have begun to reform the ſtate, and many diſorders "have been already redreſſed. I reckon it my greateſt happi-"neſs to be father-in-law to ſo good a prince; a prince who, "without truſting to others, examines into every thing himſelf, "and has baniſhed from his court thoſe, who, conſulting not his "honour, but their own intereſt, led him aſtray (34)."

(U) The emperor returned to his father-in-law the following anſwer: "If the immortal gods had not protected the Roman "empire, I had been deluded, and, together with the empire, "utterly ruined by ſlaves and eunuchs. I am now fully convin-"ced, that Felix ought not to have been truſted with the com-"mand of the guards, nor Serapammo with that of the fourth "legion. But not to mention all my errors, I own, that I have "done many things amiſs, and now return thanks to the gods "for having by your means diſcovered many things to me, which have

(34) Gord. vit. p. 161.

ſpected Miſitheus as his father, gave him that title, ordered him to call him his ſon, and returned thanks to the ſenate for diſtinguiſhing his father-in-law with the titles of father of princes, and guardian of the republic [a]; titles which he well deſerved, being one of the few miniſters who are ſaid to have had nothing in view, but the glory of their prince and the welfare of the ſtate [b]. This year, happened a dreadful earthquake, which overturned a great many cities, and deſtroyed an infinite number of people [c]. The following year, when C. Vettius Aufidius Atticus and C. Aſinius Prætextatus were conſuls, Rome was alarmed with news from the eaſt, where the Perſians, under the conduct of Sapor, ſon and ſucceſſor to Artaxerxes, the reſtorer of the Perſian monarchy, had entered the Roman dominions at the head of a mighty army, reduced all Meſopotamia, with the cities of Niſibis and Carrhæ; and entering Syria, committed moſt dreadful ravages in that province, putting all to fire and ſword. Capitolinus writes, that he had made himſelf maſter of Antioch itſelf, and threatened to over-run the other provinces, moſt of the Romans who defended them having, through fear, liſted themſelves in his army. Gordian reſolved to march in perſon againſt ſo formidable an enemy; and accordingly having cauſed the temple of Janus to be opened, according to the antient cuſtom, which had been long omitted, and perhaps was never after practiſed, he ſet out from Rome this year 242, the fourth of his reign, with a numerous and well diſciplined army; and taking his rout through Mœſia, defeated in that province the Goths and Sarmatians, who diſputed his paſſage, and obliged them to abandon their conqueſts, and return to their reſpective countries [d]. However,

Sapor, king of Perſia, over-runs the Roman dominions in the eaſt.

[a] Gord. vit. p. 161. [b] Idem, p. 163. [c] Idem, p. 162.
[d] Idem, p. 163.

" have been hitherto maliciouſly concealed from me. Maurus " entering into a confederacy with Gaudianus, Reverendus, and " Montanus, who confirmed what he ſaid, impoſed upon me; " ſo that, whatever they approved or condemned, I accepted or " rejected, relying entirely upon their integrity. Unhappy there- " fore is that prince, who has not ſuch about him, as will tell " him the truth without diſguiſe. For as he cannot immediate- " ly know what paſſes among his people, he muſt underſtand it " by the relation of others, and take his meaſures according to " their information (35)."

(35) Idem ibid.

ever, he was overcome in a tumultuary engagement by the Alani, in the celebrated plains of Philippi in Macedon, or, as others will have it, of Philippopolis in Thrace [e]. But the barbarians neglected, it ſeems, to improve their victory, and withdrew; for Gordian purſued his march unmoleſted through Thrace, and paſſing the Helleſpont, arrived ſafe in Aſia. To this paſſage perhaps alludes the ſhip, which is to be ſeen on ſome of his medals bearing no date [f]. From the Helleſpont he marched through Aſia into Syria, where he gained ſignal advantages over the enemy, of which hiſtorians give us but a confuſed account. However, they all agree, that he overcame the Perſians in ſeveral battles; that he recovered the cities of Niſibis and Carrhæ, and obliged the mighty Sapor, with his powerful and numerous army, to abandon the Roman dominions, and retire with ſhame and diſgrace into his own country, whither he purſued him as far as Cteſiphon [g]. Theſe ſucceſſes were chiefly owing to the wiſe counſels and directions of the brave Miſitheus, as the emperor himſelf acknowledged, in a letter which he wrote to the ſenate upon his arrival at Niſibis in Meſopotamia. In that letter he firſt acquaints the ſenate with the advantages he had gained over the barbarians in Macedon and Thrace; then coming to his victories over the Perſians, he tells them, that he had delivered the Antiochians from the Perſian yoke, recovered Carrhæ and other cities, and was arrived at Niſibis, whence he deſigned to proceed to Cteſiphon, provided the gods, adds he, continue their protection to us, and preſerve Miſitheus, my father, and captain of the guards, by whoſe wiſe conduct we have atchieved theſe, and hope to atchieve ſtill greater, things. It is incumbent upon you, conſcript fathers, to appoint public proceſſions, to recommend us to the gods, and to return thanks to Miſitheus. Upon the receipt of this letter, the ſenate decreed a triumph to the emperor, and a triumphal chariot to Miſitheus, with a pompous inſcription, ſtyling him the father of princes, captain of the guards, and the guardian of the republic [h]. This inſcription, which was placed on the baſis of his triumphal ſtatue, is ſtill to be ſeen at Rome almoſt entire. But the happineſs which the whole empire enjoyed under the government of Gordian, and the wiſe adminiſtration of Miſitheus, was ſhort-lived. The latter died the following year in the conſulſhip of Arrianus and Papus, and by his laſt will left the Roman people his heirs. We are told, that

He is defeated by Gordian, and obliged to retire.

Gordian is decreed a triumph, and Miſitheus a triumphal ſtatue.

Miſitheus dies.

[e] Idem, p. 165. Aur. Vict. Eutrop.
[f] Birag. p. 339.
[g] Gord. vit. p. 162.
[h] Idem, p. 160.

that Miſitheus being ill of a flux, the phyſicians preſcribed him a remedy to ſtop it, which, by the contrivance of Julius Philippus, of whom hereafter, was exchanged, and another adminiſtered in its room, which, as it had a quite contrary effect, put an end to his life. Upon his death, Philip was appointed captain of the guards, and commander in chief under the emperor of all the forces of the eaſt; for of him Gordian did not entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion [i]. The following year, when Peregrinus and Æmilianus were conſuls, the emperor entered the Perſian dominions, in order to purſue the war, which he had ſo ſucceſsfully begun. Plotinus, the celebrated philoſopher, liſted himſelf in his army, hoping by that means to have an opportunity of conferring with the Perſian and Indian philoſophers [k]. The philoſopher was then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, which, according to the chronology of Porphyrius, the author of his life, anſwers the preſent year, the 243d of the chriſtian æra and ſixth of Gordian's reign.

Julius Philippus, captain of the guards, in his room.

PHILIP no ſooner ſaw himſelf raiſed to the important poſt of captain of the guards, than he began to aſpire at the ſovereignty itſelf. As the ſoldiers were greatly attached to the young prince, in order to leſſen their affection to him, he ſometimes led them into places where no proviſions could be found; at other times ſent in his name the veſſels, which attended the army, loaded with corn, another way, hoping that the troops, diſtreſſed for want of neceſſaries, would, notwithſtanding their attachment to Gordian, begin to mutiny; which they did accordingly, the moſt turbulent among them, whom Philip had gained, whiſpering about in the mean time, that Gordian, a youth only nineteen years old, was not fit to command ſuch powerful forces; that they wanted ſuch a general as Philip, whom long experience had taught how to govern an empire, how to command an army [l]. Gordian, however, advanced againſt Sapor, and meeting him in Meſopotamia, gave him a total overthrow on the banks of the Aboras, or Aburas, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the heart of his own dominions [m]. But while the young conqueror was purſuing the advantages of his victory, Philip, who had already gained the chief officers of his army, led the troops through barren and deſert countries, where, through want of proviſions, which they aſcribed to want of experience in Gordian,

[i] Idem, p. 162. Zoſ. l. i. p. 641. [k] Porphyr. vit. Plot. p. 2. [l] Gord. vit. p. 163. Zoſ. l. i. p. 641. [m] Ammian. l. xxiii.

Gordian, they openly mutinied, and demanded, that Philip might reign in conjunction with Gordian, as his guardian and governor. The virtuous young emperor, unwilling to ſhed Roman blood, granted them their requeſt, and took Philip for his partner in the empire, who, ſeeing himſelf upon the level with his ſovereign, ſoon began to uſurp an authority over him, and to diſpoſe of all employments, as if he had been ſole emperor. This Gordian could not bear, and therefore attempted to depoſe him; but Philip's party prevailing, he was himſelf depoſed, and in the end murdered by the uſurper. Capitolinus writes, that Gordian, finding himſelf reduced to a private life, offered to ſerve under Philip as captain of the guards, and even condeſcended to beg his life; at which demand, Philip began to relent; but afterwards, conſidering how dear the young prince was to the ſenate and people of Rome, and not doubting, but they would uſe their utmoſt efforts to reinſtate him in the ſovereignty, he commanded him to be ſlain [n]. Other writers take no notice of theſe particulars, which, if true, betray great meanneſs and want of courage in Gordian; but only tell us, that Philip cauſed him to be murdered, and reigned in his room. His death happened, according to the moſt probable opinion, founded on the authority of the code [o], about the beginning of March, after he had lived nineteen years, and reigned five years and eight months. He was killed on the furtheſt borders of Perſia, in the place where his tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in the year 363, beyond the Euphrates and the Aboras, between the cities of Cercuſa, which ſtood near the conflux of thoſe two rivers, and that of Dura, which ſtands very near the latter, and is about twenty miles diſtance from the former, river. The place was called Zantha or Zaïthe [p]. There the ſoldiers erected to the memory of the deceaſed emperor a ſtately tomb with the following epitaph in the Greek, Latin, Perſian, Hebrew, and Egyptian tongues, that it might be read by all nations; To the deified Gordian, who conquered the Perſians, Goths, and Sarmatians, ſuppreſſed the civil diſcords, ſubdued the Germans, but could not overcome the Philips. The laſt words allude, according to Capitolinus, to his having been evercome by the Alani in the plains of Philippi, and his being killed by Philip [q]. But we can hardly perſuade

He induces the ſoldiers to mutiny.

Gordian depoſed.

And ſlain.

His tomb and epitaph.

[n] Gord. vit. p. 163, 165. [o] Cod. Juſt. l. ix. tit. 2. leg 7. p. 813, &c. [p] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 244—246. Zoſ. l. iii. p. 716. Noris epiſt. p. 287. [q] Gord. vit. p. 165.

perſuade ourſelves, that this epitaph was put up during the reign of the emperor Philip. The ſame writer adds, that Licinius, who pretended to derive his pedigree from Philip, cauſed this epitaph to be taken down. Victor the younger writes, that the body of Gordian was interred in that tomb; but Eutropius and Feſtus aſſure us, that it was conveyed to Rome, where the deceaſed prince was with the uſual ceremonies ranked among the gods. The ſenate granted this extraordinary privilege to the Gordian family, that they might for ever be exempted from taking upon them, unleſs it were by their own choice, guardianſhips, embaſſies, or any other public duty whatever [r]. All thoſe who had imbrued their hands in the blood of this excellent prince, periſhed ſoon after [s]. Capitolinus writes, that they diſpatched themſelves with the ſame ſwords which they had employed againſt him [t] (W).

Philip,

[r] Gord. vit. p. 164. [s] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 246. [t] Gord. vit. p. 165.

(W) The writers who flouriſhed under Gordian were, Cenſorinus, who wrote, or rather finiſhed, his famous book, intitled de die natali, in the firſt year of that prince's reign, the ſecond of the 254th olympiad, the 991ſt of Rome, when the Capitoline games were celebrated the thirty-ninth time (36). All theſe particulars give great light to chronology. He wrote the above-mentioned book, deſigning it as a preſent to one of his friends, by name Q. Cerellius, againſt his birth-day. Thence he takes occaſion to treat of the birth of man, and to make many learned obſervations on days, months, and years. This work was known to, and greatly eſteemed by, Apollinaris Sidonius and Caſſiodorus, of whom the latter quotes a book, written by Cenſorinus, on accents; but of that work only ſome fragments have reached our times, quoted by Priſcian, who ſtyles Cenſorinus a very learned grammarian (37). He is, by the beſt critics, looked upon as the moſt exact writer of his time (38) Cenſorinus himſelf quotes, as a work of his own, a book intitled indigitamentorum, in which he took particular notice of all the gods, who, in the opinion of the pagans, contributed to the life of man (39). Herodian wrote, in eight books, the hiſtory of the emperors, from the death of M. Aurelius to that of Maximus and Balbinus. He aſſures us, that he wrote nothing but what he himſelf had ſeen; ſo that he muſt have died very old;

(36) Cenſor. de die natal. c. 8. p. 131, 132, &c. 21. p. 155, 156. (37) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l ii. c. 3. (38) Vide append. ad Cyprian. diſſert. c. 9. (39) Cenſor. c. 3. p. 17.

PHILIP was by birth an Arabian, being born in Boſtra, a city of Arabia Petræa. He was of a very mean deſcent; for Birth and extraction of Philip.

old; for his work comprehends the ſpace of ſixty eight or ſeventy years (40). All we know of his life is, that he was at Rome in the latter end of the reign of Commodus (41), and had ſeveral employments under the ſucceeding emperors (42). As for his hiſtory, Photius commends his ſtyle as noble and ſublime, and at the ſame time clear, and free from all affectation (43). Capitolinus, who in many places only tranſlates and copies him, beſtows great encomiums upon his writings, but at the ſame time cenſures him, and with a great deal of reaſon, as too favourable to Maximinus, and highly prejudiced againſt Alexander (44). Voſſius and others approve of this cenſure (45); whence, in our hiſtory of the reigns of theſe two princes, we have preferred the authority of Capitolinus to his. He omits the dates, and many other things, which would have cleared up great difficulties in hiſtory and chronology, and ſeems to have been quite unacquainted with geography, as appears from the account he gives us of the rout, which he ſuppoſes the emperor Alexander's forces to have taken, when that prince marched againſt the Perſians. Under Gordian likewiſe flouriſhed Arrian, a Greek hiſtorian, quoted by Capitolinus in his hiſtory of the reigns of Maximinus and Gordian (46); and Ælius Junius Cordus, often quoted by the Auguſtine hiſtorians (47). He wrote the lives of the emperors, from Trajan to the two Gordians; but filled his hiſtory, according to Capitolinus, with many impertinent and trifling accounts, telling his readers how many ſuits of cloaths each emperor had, what number of courtiers and domeſtics, &c. (48). Voſſius places him among the Latin hiſtorians, with Ælius Sabinus, who wrote the life of Maximinus, Vulcanius Terentianus, author of the lives of the three Gordians, in whoſe times they lived, and Curius Fortunatianus, who wrote the hiſtory of the reign of the two Maximins (49). Some pretend, that the hiſtory of Fortunatianus is ſtill extant, and lodged in the emperor's library; nay, that it was formerly printed in Italy. To this Fortunatianus, Voſſius aſcribes the

(40) Herod. l. i. p. 465, & l. ii. p. 514. (41) Idem. l. i. p. 484. (42) Idem ibid. p. 465. (43) Phot. c. 99. p. 276. (44) Maximin. vit. p. 143. Alex. vit p. 134. (45) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. p. 239. (46) Voſſ. ibid. l. iv. p. 17. Maximin. vit. p. 150. (47) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii c. 3. p. 179. Macrin. vit, p. 93. (48) Gord. vit. p 152, 160. (49) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 3. Max. vit. p. 150. Gord. vit. p. 160.

for his father is ſaid to have been a famous captain of robbers in that country [w]. In the antient inſcriptions he is ſtyled M. Julius Philippus, and his wife Marcia Otacilia Severa. He had a ſon, named likewiſe Philip, born in the year 237, and conſequently ſeven years old when his father came to the empire. The emperor himſelf was at that time, according to the chronicle of Alexandria [x], about forty; but Aurelius Victor ſuppoſes him to have been much older. Whether or no Philip was the firſt chriſtian emperor, has been the ſubject of great diſputes among the learned. The affirmative ſeems to us by far the moſt probable, being maintained by the following writers, viz. Jerom, Chryſoſtom, Dionyſius of Alexandria, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Cedrenus, Rufinus, the chronicle of Alexandria, Syncellus, Oroſius, Jornandes, the anonymous writer publiſhed by Valeſius, with Ammianus Marcellinus, the learned cardinal Bona, Abulfaragius, Vincentius Lirinenſis, and Huetius. The arguments which ſome modern critics have alledged in favour of the oppoſite opinion, are not of weight enough with us to bear down the authority of ſo many eminent writers; nay, moſt of them have but little or no force in themſelves, and only prove, that Philip was guilty of ſeveral actions highly diſcountenanced by the chriſtian religion; ſuch as his murdering his ſovereign; his ſtyling him a god; his aſſiſting at the public ſhews, which were always attended with idolatrous ceremonies, and his being deified after his death. But in all times there have been chriſtians, whoſe lives were a diſgrace to their profeſſion; and in that number ſome rank the preſent emperor, tho' there are not wanting writers of no ſmall account, who, bating the murder of Gordian, for which, they ſay, he atoned by ſubmitting to a public penance, think he did nothing inconſiſtent with the principles of the religion which

Whether the firſt chriſtian emperor.

[w] Gord. vit. p. 163. Zonar. p. 229. Vict. epit. [x] Chron. Alexand. p. 630.

the three books on rhetoric, which have reached our times, under the name of Curius Fortunatianus Conſultus, and are deſervedly eſteemed by the learned (50). In the reign of the emperor Conſtantine were ſtill extant ſome books of epigrams by Fabilius a Greek grammarian, and one of the præceptors of Maximinus the younger, and various poems written by Toxotius, a ſenator of the family of Antoninus Pius. He married Junia Fadilla, formerly betrothed to young Maximinus, and died ſoon after he had diſcharged the office of prætor (51).

(50) Voſſ. ibid. (51) Maximin. vit. p. 148.

which he profeſſed: and truly we are no-where told, that he demanded of the ſenate the apotheoſis of Gordian. He uſed indeed, as we read in Capitolinus, to honour that prince, when he mentioned his name, with the title of divus, the deified Gordian; but that title was given even by Conſtantine after his converſion, and by other chriſtian emperors, to the princes who had reigned before them, as appears from their reſcripts. Philip is ſaid by Victor the younger to have been preſent at the public ſhews that were exhibited on occaſion of the thouſandth year of Rome; but that he aſſiſted at the religious, or rather idolatrous, ceremonies, which uſually preceded the ſports, we find no-where recorded. His being deified after his death was no crime in him, but a kind of compliment paid by the ſenate to moſt emperors: the ſame honour was conferred upon Mamæa the mother of Alexander; and yet no one pretends to infer from thence, that ſhe was not a chriſtian. But to proceed to the hiſtory of this prince's reign: Upon the death of Gordian, Philip was acknowledged emperor by the whole army, on the fourteenth of March of the year 244. The new prince no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, than he declared his ſon Cæſar, and took him, tho' but ſeven years old, for his partner in the empire. He then wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of Gordian, which he falſely aſcribed to a natural diſtemper, and with his own election [y]. Some authors write, that the ſenate believing, or pretending to believe him, confirmed without heſitation the choice of the ſoldiery; while others pretend, that the ſenate did not acknowledge Philip, till M. Marcius and L. Aurelius Severus Hoſtilianus, two ſenators of great diſtinction, whom they ſucceſſively created emperors, were ſnatched away by ſudden deaths [z]. Philip, deſirous to return to Rome, immediately concluded a peace with the Perſians, and led back his army into Syria. Zonaras writes, that he yielded to Sapor Meſopotamia and Armenia; but ſoon after broke the treaty, and recovered, to the great ſatisfaction of the Romans, both countries [a]. Be that as it will, he arrived at Antioch before Eaſter, which, according to Euſebius [b], was celebrated this year on the fourteenth of April, and went with the empreſs to aſſiſt at the prayers and ſacred ceremonies that were performed by the primitive chriſtians the night preceding that great feſtival. But Babylas, who was then biſhop of Antioch, and afterwards ſuffer-

He takes his ſon for his partner in the empire.

He concludes a peace with the Perſians.

[y] Gord. vit. p. 164. [z] Zonar. p. 229. Onuph. p. 260. Cedren. p. 257. [a] Zonar. ibid. [b] Euſeb. l. vi. c. 34.

ed martyrdom under Decius, appriſed of his coming, went out to meet him; reproached him with the murder of his ſovereign; declared him unworthy of being admitted into the congregation of the faithful; and ſtopping him with his hand, proteſted, that he would by no means ſuffer him to enter the ſacred place, unleſs he made a public confeſſion of his ſins, and ranked himſelf among the penitents. The emperor with great humility ſubmitted to both, and was thereupon by the holy biſhop admitted into the church. This St. Chryſoſtom [c] and ſeveral other writers relate as a thing altogether certain; but Euſebius ſpeaks of it as what in his time was ſaid to have happened [d]. It was probably on this occaſion, that Origen wrote both to Philip and to his wife Severa, which St. Jerom miſtakes for his mother, commending their piety, and putting them in mind of their duty [e]. Both theſe letters were ſtill extant in St. Jerom's time [f]; that is, about the end of the fourth century. From Syria the emperor ſet out for Rome, where he was received with the uſual demonſtrations of joy by the ſenate and people, whoſe affections, tho' they at firſt ſeemed averſe to him, he ſoon gained by his mild adminiſtration and obliging behaviour [g]. He appointed his brother Priſcus commander in chief of the troops in Syria, and Severianus, his father-in-law, of the forces in Mœſia and Macedon, perſons but ill qualified for thoſe important poſts [h]. As the works of Trebellius Pollio and others, who wrote the lives of Philip and his ſucceſſors to Valerian, have not reached our times, we cannot help borrowing many things of Zoſimus; but we think it incumbent upon us to acquaint our readers, that he was a profeſſed and implacable enemy to the chriſtian religion, and therefore omits no opportunity of blackening the character of Philip, and crying up his ſucceſſor Decius, by whom the church was moſt cruelly perſecuted.

He ſubmits to be ranked in the church among the penitents.

He gains the affections of the people at Rome.

THE following year, the emperor entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having Titianus for his collegue; and ſoon after, leaving the city, marched againſt the Carpi, who, paſſing the Danube, had invaded Mœſia, and laid waſte great part of that province. The emperor defeated them in two battles, and obliged them to repaſs the Danube, and ſue for peace; which

Defeats the Carpi.

[c] Chryſoſ. de S. Babyla, contra Gentil. tom. 1. p. 656, 657. Pariſ. ann. 1636. [d] Euſeb. l. vi. c. 34. [e] Idem, ibid. c. 36. Vincent. Lirin. c. 23. Ruſin. c. 26. [f] Hier. vit. illuſt. vir. c. 54. p. 285. [g] Aur. Vict. Zoſ. l. i. p. 646. [h] Idem, p. 642, 643.

which he readily granted, and returned to Rome [i]. The next year, when Præſens and Albinus were conſuls, nothing happened at Rome, or in the provinces, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity, except the burning by accidental fire of the theatre of Pompey, and another ſtately building called Centum Columnæ, or the Hundred Pillars. In the beginning of the following year, the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having his ſon for his collegue, whom he honoured with the title of Auguſtus, and inveſted with the tribunitial power [k]. Both princes retained the faſces all this and the following year, to celebrate with the greater pomp and magnificence the thouſandth year of Rome, begun on the twenty-firſt of April of the year 247 of the chriſtian æra and fifth of Philip's reign, according to the computation of Varro, which was then, and is ſtill, followed by moſt hiſtorians and chronologers. Extraordinary rejoycings were made at Rome, ſhews of all kinds exhibited for ten days together, and an incredible number of wild beaſts, reſerved by Gordian for his triumph over the Perſians, killed, and diſtributed among the people [l]. Oroſius writes, that the pious emperor turned this extraordinary ſolemnity to the honour of Chriſt and his church [m]. We wiſh he had informed us in what manner. This year the emperor publiſhed an edict truly worthy of a chriſtian prince, forbidding under the ſevereſt penalties all manner of unnatural luſt, and thoſe infamous practices which had long prevailed in Rome, being countenanced by the wicked, and tolerated by the good, princes [n]. The following year, when Æmilianus was, the ſecond time, conſul with Julius Aquilinus, the eaſtern provinces, no longer able to pay the taxes with which they were loaded, nor bear with the haughty conduct of Priſcus their governor, (we follow Zoſimus for want of a better guide) openly revolted, and proclaimed one Papianus, or Jetopianus, emperor; but he was ſoon killed, and with his death put an end to the diſturbances on that ſide [o]. At the ſame time, the provinces of Mœſia and Pannonia revolted, continues Zoſimus, and ſet up one P. Carvilius Marinus, who was but a centurion. Hereupon Philip, in great conſternation, beſought the ſenate either to enable him to quaſh the rebellion, or to depoſe him, if they were diſſatisfied with his conduct. This unexpected

The thouſandth year of Rome.

Unnatural luſt ſuppreſſed at Rome.

Several rebellions.

[i] Idem, p 641. [k] Onuph. p. 260. Goltz. p. 107.
[l] Pagi, p. 247. Spanh. l. iii. p. 147. [m] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 10.
[n] Alex. vit. p. 121, Aur. Vict. [o] Zoſ. l. i. p. 642.

ſpeech ſurpriſed the ſenate; but Decius, while the other ſenators continued ſilent, addreſſing the emperor, told him, that he had no reaſon to fear Marinus, whoſe preſumption, as he was unequal to any great undertaking, would ſoon prove his ruin. What Decius had foretold, happened a few days after, when Marinus was killed by thoſe very perſons who had raiſed him to the empire. Hereupon Philip recalling his father-in-law Severianus, obliged Decius, much againſt his will, to accept of the government of Mœſia and Pannonia in his room. He no ſooner appeared there, than the ſoldiers proclaimed him emperor, and forced him to accept the ſovereignty, by threatening to put him to death, if he declined it. Fear therefore getting the better of his fidelity, he ſuffered himſelf to be arrayed with the imperial purple, and the ſoldiers to ſwear allegiance to him [p]. Zonaras tells us, that he immediately wrote to Philip, aſſuring him that he deſigned to reſign the ſovereignty as ſoon as he reached Rome [q]. But Philip, without relying upon ſuch promiſes, marched with all poſſible expedition againſt the uſurper, hoping to ſurpriſe him. His ſon he left at Rome, with a detachment of the prætorian guards, to keep the city in awe. Decius having timely notice of his march and approach, received him with his troops in battle array. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which great numbers of Philip's men were cut in pieces, and the reſt obliged to retire to Verona, where he himſelf was killed by the army [r], whether by his own, or by that of Decius, we are not told. The news of his death no ſooner reached Rome, than the prætorian guards diſpatched his ſon who was then in their camp. Such was the end of the emperor Philip, after he had reigned five years and ſome months; for he was proclaimed emperor on the 14th of March of the year 244, and killed after the ſeventeenth of June of the year 249, as appears from the dates of his laws [s]. Both he and his ſon were, according to Eutropius, ranked among the gods; which, however injurious to the memory and religion of Philip, ſhews, that his adminiſtration was not diſpleaſing to the ſenate, though he had ſucceeded Gordian, a prince ſo much and ſo univerſally beloved. Euſebius and Dionyſius of Alexandria, who was raiſed to that ſee in his reign, tell us, that under him the chriſtian religion was publicly preached; that it flouriſhed and

Decius declared emperor by the troops in Illyricum.

Philip overcome and killed.

[p] Idem, ibid. & p. 643. [q] Zonar. p. 229. [r] Zoſ. l. i. p. 643. Aur. Vict. Zonar. p. 229. [s] Cod. Juſt. l. ix. tit. 32 leg. 6. p. 489. & l. viii. tit. 56. leg. 1. p. 804, &c.

and encreaſed more than it had done under any other prince [t]; And no wonder, adds the former writer, without explaining himſelf any further; but meaning, as to us ſeems plain from the context, that he profeſſed it himſelf [u]. Gregory of Nyſſa writes, that, in the reign of Philip, all the inhabitants of the city and territory of Neocæſarea in Pontus being converted to chriſtianity, the idols were every-where overturned with their altars and temples, and churches erected in their room to the honour of the true God [w]. Of Philip the ſon authors obſerve, that he was of ſuch a grave, or rather melancholy, temper, that no one could, by any contrivance, ever make him laugh or ſmile; and add, that his father one day breaking into a loud laughter, he could not help turning away his face, and expreſſing his diſpleaſure with a more grave and reſerved look than uſual [x]. Both he and his mother Marcia Otacilia Severa profeſſed, according to St. Jerom [y] and the chronicle of Alexandria [z], the chriſtian religion; nay, Petrus de Natalibus reckons the two Philips among the martyrs of the church [a], upon the authority of Oroſius, who writes, that Decius put them to death, either becauſe they were chriſtians, or that he might, when they were removed, perſecute the chriſtian religion [b]. But the authority of Oroſius, who lived many ages after, is of no great weight with us, unleſs confirmed by that of more antient writers. Euſebius ſays, that Decius perſecuted the church out of hatred to Philip [c]; but we cannot from thence conclude, that he put Philip to death on account of his religion. Of the authors who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (X).

The chriſtian religion flouriſhed under him.

P 4 Upon

[t] Euſeb. l. vi. c. 36. p. 232. [u] Idem, c. 41. p. 238. [w] Greg. Nyſſ. vit. Greg. Thaumat. tom. 3. p. 563. [x] Vict epit. [y] Hier. chron. [z] Chron. Alexand. p. 630. [a] Pet. de Natal. catalog. ſanct. c. 92. p. 218. [b] Oroſ, l. vii. c. 21. [c] Euſeb. l. vi. c, 39

(X) Under Philip flouriſhed Nicagoras, a celebrated ſophiſt of Athens. He was the ſon of one Mneſeus, an orator, and wrote the lives of illuſtrious men (52). Philoſtratus reckons him and Apſinas among the great men of his time, with whom he was intimately acquainted (53). Minucianus, the ſon of Neagoras, publiſhed a book of rhetoric, on which Porphyrius wrote comments (54), and a ſmall treatiſe on ſyllogiſms, which has reached our

(52) Suid. p. 223. (53) Philoſ. ſoph. lix. p. 629. (54) Suid. p. 573.

UPON the death of Philip and his ſon, Decius was acknowledged emperor, firſt by the ſoldiery, and ſoon after by the ſenate and people, who wanted both ſtrength and courage to diſpute the election of the new prince. He was a native of Bubalia, or Budalia, a borough in the territory of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia, and, according to the chronicle of Alexandria [d], raiſed to the empire in the fifty-ſeventh, but according to Victor the younger, only in the forty-ſeventh year of his age. He had by his wife Herennia Etruſcilla four ſons, viz.

The birth and deſcent of Decius.

[d] Chron. Alexand. p. 632.

our times (55). Apſinas flouriſhed at the ſame time, and is greatly commended by Philoſtratus, on account of his exactneſs in writing and extraordinary memory (56): He was a native of Phœnicia; but ſpent great part of his life at Athens; and is thence by Suidas called an Athenian (57). Onaſimus, the Athenian ſophiſt, whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from another of the ſame name and profeſſion, born in Cyprus or Sparta, was the ſon of Apſinas, and father to another Apſinas, who ſeems to have flouriſhed under Conſtantine (58). Suidas mentions a third ſophiſt of this name, who flouriſhed under Maximian; but was a native of Gadara on the confines of Paleſtine and Syria, and attained to the rank and title of conſular (59). Major, an Arabian ſophiſt, flouriſhed likewiſe under Philip, and publiſhed thirteen books of rhetoric (60), none of which have reached us. Syncellus mentions one Theopompus a philoſopher, who became very famous at Cheronea in Bœotia (61); but of him no notice is taken either by Suidas, or any other writer. Aſinius Quadratus wrote the Roman hiſtory in the Ionic dialect, from the foundation of the city to the reign of Alexander, ſays Suidas (62); but he muſt have brought it down to the fifth year of Philip's reign, which was the thouſandth of Rome; for his book was intitled the χιλιας, or the thouſand years (63). This work is quoted by Stephanus the geographer, by the Auguſtine writers, by Zoſimus, and by Xiphilin; but it has been long ſince loſt. He likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of the Parthians, often quoted by the antients, and that of Germany. Of the former Stephanus cites the ninth book; and Agathias ſpeaking of the latter, tells us, that he was a native of Italy, and wrote with great exactneſs (64).

(55) Porphyr vit. c. 6. p. 51. Jonſ. l. iii. c. 14. (56) Philoſ. p. 623. (57) Suid. p. 523. (58) Idem ibid. (59) Idem ibid. (60) Euſeb. præp. evang. l. x. c. 3. p. 464. (61) Syncel. p. 362. (62) Suid. p. 1484. (63) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 16. p. 239. (64) Agath l. i. p. 17.

viz. Decius, Hoſtilianus, Etruſcus, and Trajan. The name of Meſſius was common to them all; whence we may conclude, that it was the name of the family. The emperor is ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions Caius Meſſius Quintus Trajanus Decius. He was, according to Zoſimus his panegyriſt, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and endowed with every good quality [e]. Victor the younger ſtyles him the beſt of princes, and Vopiſcus equals him to the moſt renowned commanders of antiquity [f]. He was no ſooner inveſted with the ſovereignty, than he declared his eldeſt ſon Cæſar and prince of the youth. The ſame title he ſoon after beſtowed upon his three other ſons [g]. In the very beginning of his reign, he raiſed the moſt dreadful and bloody perſecution that had ever oppreſſed the church, prompted thereunto by his hatred to the deceaſed emperor, and his zeal for the cauſe of declining paganiſm, which he ſaw fatally undermined by the wonderful progreſs of chriſtianity. Concluding therefore, that the one could not be ſupported but by the utter ruin of the other, he enacted moſt cruel edicts againſt all who profeſſed the chriſtian religion; purſuant to which, the chriſtians were in all places driven from their habitations, ſtripped of their eſtates, dragged to execution like public malefactors, and racked with the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent. The laws of nature and humanity were trod under foot; friend betrayed his friend, brother his brother, and children their parents; every one thinking it meritorious to betray a chriſtian and procure his death. It is eaſier, ſays Nicephorus, ſpeaking of this perſecution, to count the ſand on the ſea-ſhore, than the martyrs who ſuffered under Decius. The tyrant vented his rage chiefly upon the biſhops, of whom many were ſeized, inhumanly racked and executed, and among the reſt Fabian biſhop of Rome, Babylas biſhop of Antioch, and Alexander biſhop of Jeruſalem. Great numbers of chriſtians betook themſelves to barren mountains, rocks, and deſerts, chuſing rather to live amongſt wild beaſts, than men who had deveſted themſelves of all reaſon and humanity. Among theſe was the celebrated hermit Paul, who, withdrawing into the deſerts of Egypt, led there a ſolitary life for the ſpace of ninety years at leaſt, and became the father and founder of the order of anchorets [h]. This perſecution did not rage, at leaſt

His character.

His cruel perſecution of the church.

[e] Zoſ l. i. p. 641. [f] Aurel. Vict. p. 223. [g] Goltz. p. 109. Onuph. p. 261. Occo. p. 454. [h] Hier. vit. Paul. 237. Euſeb. l. iii. c. 39. Lact. perſec. c. 4. Greg. Nyſſ. vit. Thaum. p. 567. Cyp. diſ. xi. c. 53. Optat. l. iii. p. 71. Hilar. in Conſ. p. 113. Cyp. epiſt. 52.

leaſt with its firſt violence, above a year, as appears from the epiſtles of St. Cyprian [i], the emperor and magiſtrates being, by the invaſion of ſeveral barbarous nations, diverted from ſearching after the chriſtians; for about the end of the firſt year of Decius's reign, when he was conſul, for the ſecond time, with Vicius Gratus, the Scythians, that is, the Goths, having paſſed the Danube, under the conduct of their king Cniva, inveſted with ſeventy thouſand men the city of Euſterium in Lower Mœſia; but meeting there with a vigorous oppoſition from Gallus, who was afterwards emperor, they raiſed the ſiege of Euſterium, and ſat down before Nicopolis, another city in the ſame province. Againſt them Decius diſpatched his eldeſt ſon, at the head of a numerous and well diſciplined army; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut thirty thouſand of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire beyond mount Hæmus, which parted Mœſia from Thrace. However, they ſoon recruited their army, and entering Thrace, laid ſiege to Philippopolis on the Hebrus. Young Decius haſtened to the relief of the place; but while his troops were refreſhing themſelves, after a long march, in the neighbourhood of Berea, a city of the ſame province, Cniva, coming unawares upon them, cut the whole army in pieces, and obliged the young prince to ſave himſelf by flight into Mœſia. Cniva then returned before Philippopolis; and having made himſelf maſter of the place, put the inhabitants, to the number of one thouſand ſouls, ſays Ammianus [k], without diſtinction of ſex or age, to the ſword, ravaged Thrace, and laid waſte great part of Macedon [l], where L. Priſcus, probably brother to the late emperor, commanded at that time; but he, inſtead of oppoſing, joined the enemy, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Hereupon Decius, who had ſtaid at Rome to conſecrate the walls of the city, which he had ordered to be built, or rather repaired, immediately ſet out for Pannonia; where, in the beginning of the following year, he took upon him his third conſulſhip, and honoured with that dignity his eldeſt ſon, ſtyled in the inſcriptions of this year Q. Herennius Decius Cæſar; whence it is manifeſt, that the emperor had not yet conferred upon him the title of Auguſtus [m]. Decius overcame the Goths, ſays Zoſimus, in ſeveral engagements, obliged them to quit the booty they had taken, and drove them out of the Roman

Young Decius gains great advantages over the Goths.

But his army is in the end entirely cut off.

The Goths are overcome by the emperor.

[i] Cyp. epiſt. 36, &c. [k] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 446. [l] Zoſ. l. i. p. 644. Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637. [m] Spanh. p. 234.

man dominions [n]. What that author writes is confirmed by ſeveral medals, mentioning his conqueſts in Dacia, and victories over the Carpi, who had probably joined the Goths [o]. Priſcus was declared by the ſenate a public enemy, and ſlain; but where, or in what manner, hiſtory does not inform us.

The office of cenſor re-eſtabliſhed.

From Thrace the emperor wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he deſigned to re-eſtabliſh the office of cenſor, an antient magiſtracy of great authority, and leaving to them the choice of a perſon fit for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt. This employment, famous in the times of the republic, had been aboliſhed by the emperors, who diſcharged the functions annexed to it, without aſſuming the title; for, ſince Domitian's time, the title of cenſor had been quite laid aſide, and neglected by moſt of the princes who reigned before him [p]. The laſt private perſons who diſcharged that office, were Paulus Æmilius Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus, in the year of Rome 732, the tenth of Auguſtus's reign, and twenty-ſecond before the birth of Chriſt. The ſenate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, aſſembled in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux; and there, inſtead of waiting till their votes were aſked, cried out with one voice, as ſoon as the letter was read, Let Valerian be cenſor; let him cenſure and correct the faults of others, who has no faults of his own.

Valerian choſen cenſor.

Of Valerian, who was raiſed to the empire two years after, we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. He was then in Thrace with Decius; who, upon his receiving the decree of the ſenate, cauſed it to be publicly read; exhorted Valerian not to decline an office, to which he had been named by the republic with ſuch extraordinary marks of eſteem and diſtinction; and explained to him the nature and importance of his new employment, with the authority and power annexed to it, which, he ſaid, extended over all perſons civil and military, of what rank and condition ſoever, except the governor of Rome, the conſuls for the time being, the pontiff ſtyled rex ſacrorum, and the ſuperior of the veſtal virgins, ſo long as, mindful of her vow, ſhe preſerved herſelf undefiled. Valerian, ſays the author of his life, earneſtly beſought the emperor not to lay a burden upon him, to which he was in every reſpect unequal [q]; but does not tell us whether he was in the end prevailed upon to ſubmit to it. Soon after the emperor marched againſt the Goths, overcame them, and reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they offered to ſet at liberty

Decius gains new advantages over the Goths.

[n] Zoſ. p. 543. [o] Oceo. p. 450. [p] Dio, l. liii. p. 598.
[q] Valer. vit. p. 173, 174.

liberty all the priſoners they had taken, and relinquiſh their booty, provided he would ſuffer them to retire unmoleſted. But the emperor, bent upon cutting off at once the whole nation, and delivering Rome from ſo troubleſome an enemy, without hearkening to their propoſals, ſent Trebonianus Gallus with a ſtrong detachment, to cut off their retreat; and purſuing them cloſe with the reſt of the army, came up with them before they reached the Danube, and engaged them a ſecond time. The Goths, knowing that all lay at ſtake, fought like men in deſpair. Young Decius ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner, and is ſaid to have killed many of the enemy with his own hand; but being in the end mortally wounded with an arrow, he fell from his horſe in the ſight of the whole army. The emperor, ſeeing him fall, cried out to his ſoldiers, without betraying the leaſt concern, We have loſt but one man; let not, fellow-ſoldiers, ſo ſmall a loſs diſcourage you. Having uttered theſe words, he ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy; but, inſtead of revenging the death of his ſon, he was himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, overpowered, and killed. Thus Zoſimus [r] and Jornandes [s]. But Aurelius Victor and Zonaras tell us, that Gallus, who kept a private correſpondence with the Goths, adviſed them to encamp behind a moraſs, in which the emperor, while he attempted to paſs it, purſuant to the treacherous counſel of the ſame Gallus, periſhed with his ſon and the greateſt number of the army, partly ſuffocated in the mud, and partly deſtroyed by the ſhowers of arrows, which the barbarians diſcharged upon them, while they could neither advance nor retire [t]. The ſame writers add, that the bodies of the two princes could never be found. Euſebius [u] and the chronicle of Alexandria [w] only ſay, that the two Decii were killed by the treachery of one of their own officers. Lactantius writes, that Decius having engaged the Carpi, was by them ſurrounded, cut in pieces with great part of his army, and left unburied a prey to the ravens and wild beaſts. Thus, concludes that writer, an enemy to God, and a perſecutor of his church, deſerved to periſh [x]. St. Jerom likewiſe [y], St. Cyprian [z], and Conſtantine the Great [a], aſcribe

Young Decius is killed.

And likewiſe the emperor.

[r] Zoſ. l. i. p. 643. [s] Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 18. p. 637. [t] Zonar. p. 231. Aur. Vict. in Dec. [u] Euſeb. chron. p. 236. [w] Chron. Alexand. p. 251. [x] Lactant. perſecut. c. 4. p. 4. 5. [y] Hier. in Zach. xiv. p. 285. [z] Cypr. epiſt. de lapſ. p. 238. [a] Conſtant. orat. apud eum. Euſeb. oper. c. 24. p. 600.

aſcribe the unhappy end of Decius to divine vengeance. With him periſhed, according to Euſebius, three of his ſons, viz. Decius, Etruſcus, and Trajan [b]. He had reigned two years and ſome months, and was, after his death, ranked among the gods with the uſual ceremonies.

The Roman army cut in pieces.

THE Goths, after the death of Decius, purſued their victory, and made a dreadful havock of the diſheartened army. Such of the Romans as eſcaped the general ſlaughter, fled to the legions commanded by Gallus; who, pretending a great concern for the unfortunate end of Decius and the defeat of his army, and feigning to march againſt the barbarians, gained the hearts of the ſoldiery, and was by them, with loud ſhouts of joy, proclaimed emperor. He immediately declared his ſon Voluſianus, Cæſar; married him to Herennia Etruſcilla, the daughter of the deceaſed prince; and, to remove all ſuſpicion of his being any-ways acceſſory to the misfortunes which had befallen him and his army, he adopted Hoſtilianus, his only ſurviving ſon; conferred upon him the title of Auguſtus; inveſted him with the tribunitial power; and named him conſul for the enſuing year [d]. Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, as he is ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions, was, according to Victor the younger, a native of the iſland of Meninx on the coaſt of Africa, called afterwards Garba, and at preſent Gerbi and Zerbi. Of his family no mention is made by the writers who have reached us; and all we know of his employments is, that he commanded the troops on the frontiers of Mœſia in 250, and in the preſent year 251. He was, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, fifty-ſeven; but, according to Victor the younger, only forty-five, when raiſed to the empire. Hoſtilia Severa, honoured on ſome medals with the title of Auguſta, is ſuppoſed to have been his wife. His ſon is ſtyled in ſome inſcriptions C. Vibius Voluſianus, and in others Annius Gallus Trebonianus [e]. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than, inſtead of revenging the death of Decius and the overthrow of his army, he concluded a diſhonourable peace with the Goths; ſuffered them to retire unmoleſted with all their booty and priſoners, among whom were many Romans of great diſtinction; and even engaged to pay them yearly a conſiderable ſum, provided they continued quiet in their own country [f].

Gallus proclaimed emperor.

He concludes a diſhonourable peace with the Goths.

After

[b] Euſeb. l. vii. c. 1. p. 250. [c] Goltz. p. 108. [d] Zoſ. l. i. p. 644. Goltz. p. 111. Zonar. p. 644. [e] Golitz. p. 110. Occo. p. 457. [f] Goltz. ibid. Spon. hiſt. de Genev. p. 371. [g] Jornand. de reb. Goth. c. 19. p. 631. Zoſ. p. 644.

After this ignominious peace, he returned to Rome; and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having his ſon for his collegue. He began his reign with reviving all the edicts which had been publiſhed by his predeceſſor againſt the chriſtians, and which he cauſed to be put in execution with the utmoſt rigor. At the ſame time, a dreadful plague, breaking out in Ethiopia on the confines of Egypt, ſpread in a ſhort time over all the provinces of the empire, and ſwept away incredible numbers of people, eſpecially at Rome, where it raged with great violence. Some authors write, that it carried off among the reſt Hoſtilianus, the ſon of Decius, ſoon after he had been honoured with the title of Auguſtus [h]; but Zoſimus aſſures us, that Gallus cauſed him to be put to death, and then gave out, that he was dead of the plague [i]. The ſame year was remarkable for a general drought, a great famine, and wars kindled in moſt parts of the empire. M. Aufidius Perpenna Licinianus took upon him the title of Auguſtus; but this revolt was ſoon quaſhed [k]; in what manner we are no-where told. The Goths, the Borani, the Carpi, the Burgundi, or Burgundiones, a people dwelling on the banks of the Danube, broke into Mœſia and Pannonia; the Scythians over-ran Aſia; and the Perſians entering Syria, laid waſte that province, and even made themſelves maſters of Antioch [l]. Æmilianus, who commanded in Mœſia, overcame the barbarians in a pitched battle, and obliged them to quit the Roman dominions. Elated with this ſucceſs, and deſpiſing Gallus, who was wallowing in pleaſures at Rome, while his generals were expoſing their lives in defence of the empire, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was ſaluted by the troops under his command, whoſe affections he had gained, with the titles of Auguſtus and father of his country. This rouzed Gallus from his lethargy, who immediately ordered Valerian to march with the Gauliſh and German legions againſt this new rival. But Æmilianus, without giving him time to aſſemble his troops, marched ſtrait to Italy, and, by long marches, arrived in a ſhort time at Interamna, now Terni, about thirty-two miles from Rome. There he was met by Gallus and his ſon, at the head of a conſiderable army; but the troops of the latter, deſpiſing their leaders, ſlew them in the ſight of Æmilianus's army, and proclaimed him emperor. Such was the end of

He perſecutes the chriſtians.

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor in Mœſia.

Gallus is killed by his own men.

[h] Vict. epit. [i] Zoſ. p. 644. [k] Vict. epit. Occo. p. 454. [l] Zoſ. ibid. Zonar. p. 232.

of the emperor Gallus, after he had reigned a year and ſix months [m]. Mention is made on ſome medals of the apotheoſis of Voluſianus [n]; whence we may conclude, that Gallus, was likewiſe deified. No ſooner was the news of their death brought to Rome, than the ſenate confirmed the election of the ſoldiery, and honoured the new prince with the uſual titles. Æmilius Æmilianus, as Aurelius Victor calls him, or C. Julius Æmilianus, as he is ſtyled on the antient coins, was by nation a Moor, and of a very mean deſcent. He had ſerved from his youth in the Roman armies, and raiſed himſelf to the firſt employments in the ſtate; for he had been conſul before he came to the empire [o]. In the letter which he wrote to the ſenate after the death of Gallus, he promiſed to drive the Goths out of Thrace, and the Perſians out of Meſopotamia and Armenia; to comport himſelf in every thing as the lieutenant of the republic; and to leave the exerciſe of the ſovereign power to the ſenate [p]. Aurelius Victor writes, that he governed with great moderation; wherein he diſagrees with Zonaras, who tells us, that he acted more like a ſoldier than a prince, and did many things highly unbecoming an emperor [q]. Be that as it will, the troops, which Valerian was leading to the aſſiſtance of Gallus, hearing in Rhœtia that he was dead, refuſed to ſubmit to the new prince, and proclaimed their own general emperor; who thereupon quickening his march, paſſed the mountains, and entered Italy at the head of a numerous and well-diſciplined army. Æmilianus's army no ſooner underſtood, that Valerian, of whom they entertained a mighty opinion, had been proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, than they fell upon their own leader, and diſpatched him, to avoid, ſays Zonaras, a civil war, and the ſhedding of the blood of their fellow-citizens [r]. Æmilianus was killed at Spoletum, now Spoleti, or at a bridge in that neighbourhood; which Victor the younger pretends to have been thence called, The bloody bridge. He died in the forty-ſixth year of his age, after a ſhort reign of three, or, at moſt, of four, months [s]. Euſebius does not even rank him among the emperors [t], and is therein followed by the chronicle of Alexandria, and that of Nicephorus, in which Valerian is placed immediately after Gallus. Aurelius Victor writes, that Æmilianus died a natural death [u]. In his reign C. Vi-

Æmilianus proclaimed emperor.

He is killed by his own men, and Valerian proclaimed emperor in his room.

rius

[m] Zoſ. p. 645. Zonar. p. 242. Syncel. p. 376. [n] Birag. p. 362. [o] Idem, p. 364. [p] Zonar. p. 233. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Hier. chaon. Eutrop. Aur. Vict. [t] Euſeb. l. vii. c. 10. p. 255. [u] Aur. Vict. in Æmil.

rius Paulinus was governor of Rome and comes domeſticorum [w]. This is the firſt time we find the latter employment, which in the fourth century became very famous, mentioned in hiſtory. Pancirollus takes the words domeſtici and protectores to be ſynonymous terms. The province of the latter was to guard the prince's perſon, and, under the chriſtian emperors, to carry the great ſtandard with the croſs. They were ſuperior in rank to the prætorian guards, and diſtinguiſhed with particular badges peculiar to them. This corps conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred men before Juſtinian's time, who is ſaid to have encreaſed them to the number of five thouſand five hundred. They were divided into ſeveral bands of horſe and foot, called ſcholæ, and commanded by ſome perſon of great diſtinction, ſtyled comes domeſticorum [x]. From ſeveral inſcriptions of this time, we learn, that the word comes was already a title of dignity; ſo that the title of comes, or count, does not, as ſome imagine, owe its original entirely to Conſtantine.

His deſcent, employments, and character.

ÆMILIANUS being killed, according to the moſt probable opinion, in the month of Auguſt of the year 253, the ſenate, with great joy, confirmed the election of Valerian, and conferred upon his ſon Gallienus the title of Cæſar. Valerian was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome, had commanded armies, and diſcharged with great reputation the chief employments of the empire, both civil and military. He was adored by perſons of all ranks, on account of his integrity, prudence, modeſty, and extraordinary accompliſhments; for he was well verſed in all the branches of learning, and had ever lived free from the vices, which generally prevailed in thoſe diſſolute times; a friend to virtue, an enemy to all wickedneſs and tyranny, a great admirer of the cuſtoms of the primitive Romans, and no-ways inferior to thoſe among them, who were moſt cried up for their love of virtue, and averſion to vice; inſomuch, that if every perſon in the empire had been allowed the liberty of naming to the ſovereignty whom he pleaſed, no one, ſays the hiſtorian, would have thought of chuſing any but Valerian [y]. Thus he was univerſally judged worthy of the empire before he attained it; but was afterwards found no-ways equal to ſuch a mighty charge; whence moſt writers aſcribe to his want of activity, prudence, and reſolution, the many calamities which befel the empire in his and his ſon's reign [z]. Before his acceſſion

[w] Onuph. in faſt. p. 262. [x] Pancir. in not. imp. Rom. c. 89.
[y] Valer. vit. p. 173. [z] Vict. epit. Eutrop. Zoſ. l. i. p. 640.

ceſſion to the empire, he was prince of the ſenate, which gave him a right to vote before all the conſulars. Afterwards he commanded the third legion, and was by degrees raiſed to the firſt poſts in the army. He attended Decius in his wars with the Goths, and was, while he continued with him in Thrace, named by the ſenate to the cenſorſhip, in the manner we have related above. In the antient inſcriptions he is ſtyled P. Licinius Valerianus; to theſe names Victor the younger adds that of Colobius; and Onuphrius quotes an inſcription, in which he is named P. Aurelius Licinius Valerius Valerianus [a]. He married two wives, and had by the firſt, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory, Gallienus, who ſucceeded him in the empire. By his ſecond wife, named by ſome writers Mariniana [b], he had Valerian, who was twice conſul, viz. in 258, and 263, and honoured, either by his father, or by his brother Gallienus, with the title of Cæſar [c]. He had other ſons; for Gallienus is ſaid to have married his brother's ſons, and to have ſtyled himſelf the brother of many princes [d]. Valerian began his reign with great applauſe, and behaved himſelf ſo as to gain the affections both of the ſenate and people, paying the utmoſt reſpect to the former, and eaſing the latter of the heavy taxes, with which they had been loaded by his predeceſſors. He enacted many excellent laws, and by that means ſuppreſſed moſt of the diſorders, which in thoſe unhappy times prevailed, not only at Rome, but all over the empire. Authors obſerve, that he employed only men of merit, and that moſt of thoſe whom he preferred to the command of his armies, were afterwards raiſed to the empire [k]. In the beginning of the following year 254, he entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having his ſon Gallienus for his collegue. Zoſimus writes, that this very year, the firſt of his reign, he took Gallienus for his partner in the empire, being prompted thereunto by the danger to which the empire, invaded on all ſides by the barbarians, was then expoſed [l]; for the Germans and the Franks committed great devaſtations in that part of Gaul which bordered on the Rhine; the Goths and the Carpi invaded the provinces of Mœſia, Thrace, and Macedon; and the Perſians, paſſing the Euphrates, over-ran

He gains the affections of all.

The empire invaded on all ſides by the barbarians.

[a] Onuph. ubi ſupra. [b] Birag. p. 369. [c] Val. vit. p. 175. Goltz. p. 114. [d] Idem ibid. [k] Aur. vit. p. 211. Trebel. Pollio. hiſt. triguit. tyrann. c. 9. p. 189. Prob. vit. p. 234 [l] Zoſ. l. i. p. 646.

over-ran Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. Aurelian, at that time tribune of a legion quartered in Mentz, fell upon the Franks, while they were ravaging the neighbouring country, killed ſeven hundred of them, took three hundred priſoners, whom he ſold for ſlaves, and obliged the reſt to quit their booty, and retire [m]. The country of the Franks, now for the firſt time mentioned in hiſtory, was bounded on the north by the ocean; on the weſt by the ocean and the river Rhone; and on the ſouth by the Weſer: according to which deſcription, they poſſeſſed the modern countries of Weſtphalia, Heſſe, and ſome adjacent ſtates [n]. They were a motely multitude, conſiſting of various German nations dwelling beyond the Rhine; who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of Franks, the word Frank ſignifying in their language, as it ſtill does in ours, free [o]. Among them we find the following nations mentioned, viz. the Actarii, Chamavi, Bructeri, Salii, Friſii, Chauci, Amſivarii, and Catti [p]. The Franks are ſometimes called Sicambri, becauſe they inhabited the country formerly poſſeſſed by that nation, which was entirely cut off by Auguſtus, as we have related in our thirteenth volume. The following year, Valerian being conſul the third time, and Gallienus the ſecond, a great victory was gained in Germany by the latter, who thereupon aſſumed the title of Germanicus Maximus, as appears from ſeveral medals of this year [q]; but what nation he overcame, whether the Franks or the Alemanni, who inhabited the countries lying between the Rhine, the Maine, and the Danube, hiſtory does not inform us. The next conſuls were Maximus and Glabrio, during whoſe adminiſtration, Gallienus, with a body only of ten thouſand men, defeated, if Zonaras is to be credited, three hundred thouſand Alemanni in the neighbourhood of Milan; overcame the Heruli, a Gothic nation, and with great ſucceſs made war upon the Franks [r]. We wiſh that writer had given us a more diſtinct account of theſe mighty exploits. In Gaul, Poſthumius, a commander of great proweſs and experience, gained great advantages over ſeveral German nations, who had invaded that province [s]. The following year, Valerian being conſul the fourth time, and Gallienus the third, a violent perſecution broke out againſt the chriſtians,

The Germans defeated by Gallienus,

The chriſtians perſecuted,

[m] Vit. Aur. p. 211. [n] Adrian. Voleſ. rer. Francicar. Buch. p. 209. [o] Buch. ibid. [p] Vide Adrian Valeſ. not. Gall. p 201. & Buch. p. 210. [q] Birag. p. 367, & 371. [r] Zonar. vit. Gallien. p. 235. [s] Trebel. Pol. in vit. trigint. tyrann. p. 184.

chriſtians, Macrianus, a celebrated magician of Egypt, having ſeduced the emperor, who had been hitherto a great patron of the chriſtian religion, by perſuading him, that the affairs of the empire would never proſper, till the pagan rites were reſtored, and the religion of the chriſtians, ſo odious to the gods, utterly aboliſhed. This perſecution, commonly reckoned the eighth, raged throughout the whole empire with no leſs fury than that under Decius had done. Perſons of all ranks, ſays Dionyſius of Alexandria, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were dragged to the tribunals, hurried to execution, and racked with the moſt exquiſite torments, which the implacable hatred of their enemies could invent. This perſecution laſted three years; that is, from the preſent year 257, to the year 260, when Valerian was taken priſoner by the Perſians. The ſame year, Aurelian being ſent to ſucceed Ulpius Crinitus in the command of the troops in Illyricum and Thrace, drove the Goths out of thoſe provinces, took an incredible number of them priſoners, and purſuing them beyond the Danube, laid waſte their country, and returned to Mœſia loaded with booty [t]. At the ſame time Probus, paſſing the Danube, made war with great ſucceſs upon the Sarmatians and Quadi, and reſcued out of the hands of the latter Valerius Flaccus, a youth of a noble deſcent, and nearly related to the emperor, who rewarded Probus with a civic crown; which, in the times of the republic, was given to ſuch as had ſaved the life of a citizen [u]. About the latter end of this year, the emperor leaving Rome, ſet out for the eaſt, to make head againſt the Perſians, who had invaded Meſopotamia and Syria, and committed dreadful ravages in thoſe provinces. He reached Byzantium in the beginning of the following year, when Memmius Tuſcus and Baſſus were conſuls; and there held a council, at which aſſiſted all the chief officers of the empire, to deliberate about the meaſures to be taken with reſpect to the Perſian war; for Sapor, king of Perſia, had already ſeized all Armenia, made himſelf maſter of Niſibis and Carrhæ in Meſopotamia; and thence advancing into Syria at the head of a mighty army, had ravaged that province, and taken Antioch itſelf. His guide in this expedition was one Cyriades, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, but abandoned from his youth to all manner of wickedneſs; inſomuch that, not able to bear the reproaches and wholſome admonitions of his father, he fled from home, and retired into Perſia, carrying thither with him a great quantity of gold and ſilver, which he

The Goths defeated by Aurelian, and the Sarmatians by Probus.

The Perſians over-run ſeveral provinces.

[t] Aurel. vit. p. 213. [u] Prob. vit. p. 234, 235.

had purloined. There he entered into the ſervice of the Perſian king, ſtirred him up to make war upon the Romans, and ſerved him as a guide, being well acquainted with the countries, in his marches through Meſopotamia, Armenia, and Syria. Sapor, after he had taken and plundered Antioch, returned into Perſia, to diſcharge his army of the immenſe booty, with which they were incumbered, and left Cyriades governor of the conquered countries, who thereupon aſſumed the title of Cæſar, and ſoon after that of Auguſtus, and was acknowledged as emperor by moſt of the eaſtern provinces [w].

The Scythians commit great devaſtations in Aſia.

At the ſame time, the Borani, a Scythian nation, croſſing the Euxine ſea, ſurpriſed and plundered the cities of Pytus in Boſphorus, and Trapezus in Pontus; and thence advancing to the neighbourhood of Byzantium, croſſed over into Aſia, and ſurpriſed the cities of Chalcedon, Nicea, Apamea, Pruſa, and ſeveral other places, which they plundered, and then returned with an immenſe booty into their own country, before Valerian could come up with them [x]. The following year, when Secularis and Baſſus were conſuls, Valerian marched from Cappadocia, whither he had purſued the Scythians, into Syria, recovered Antioch, and thence advanced into Meſopotamia, where he met Sapor, engaged him, but, by the treachery of Macrianus, who perſuaded him to engage in a diſadvantageous poſt, loſt the flower of his troops in the engagement, and was himſelf taken priſoner [y]. Thus Zonaras, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Agathias; but Zoſimus writes, that Valerian having, after the battle in which he was defeated, been prevailed upon to confer in perſon with Sapor, was by that treacherous prince ſeized and carried into Perſia. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken priſoner, carried in triumph by Sapor into Perſia, and there inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner by that haughty conqueror; who, after having ſhewn him loaded with chains in all the chief cities of his empire, treated him with greater indignities than the meaneſt ſlave, making him his foot-ſtool whenever he mounted on horſeback [z]. He was taken in the year 260, the ſeventieth of his age, and ſixth of his reign, and was ſtill alive in the year 263, nay, the chronicle of Alexandria tells us, that he did not die till the year 269. After his death, his body was flayed by Sapor's orders, and preſerved in ſalt, and

Valerian defeated by the Perſians, and taken priſoner.

[w] Vit. trigint. tyran. p. 185. [x] Zoſ. l. i. p. 648. [y] Zonar. p. 234. Vict. epit. Eutrop. feſt. Agath. l. iv. p. 153. [z] Euſeb. orat. Conſt. c. 24. Lact. perſecut. c. 5. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 22. Vit. Valer. p. 175.

and his ſkin dreſſed, dyed red, and expoſed in a temple; where, to the eternal ignominy of the Roman name, it was ſhewn to all foreign princes and embaſſadors, as a laſting monument of the power of the Perſian monarch. Agathias writes, that Valerian was flayed alive [a]; but is therein contradicted by all the antient hiſtorians. We are told, that nothing grieved the unhappy Valerian in his deplorable condition ſo much, as to ſee himſelf entirely neglected by his ſon Gallienus, who was ſo far from preſſing the Perſian king to ſet him at liberty, or offering to ranſom him, that, on the contrary, he expreſſed no ſmall joy when news was brought him of his captivity, tho' moſt foreign princes, nay, even thoſe who had aſſiſted Sapor in his wars againſt the Romans, did all that lay in their power to prevail upon him to grant the Roman emperor his liberty; but the haughty Perſian was too much elated with his ſucceſs, to be terrified with the menaces of his enemies, or to hearken to the entreaties of his friends.

[a] Agath. l. iv. p. 233.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the captivity of* Valerian, *to the reſignation of* Diocleſian.

THE news of the defeat of the Roman army by the Perſians, and the captivity of Valerian, no ſooner reached the barbarous nations at war with Rome, than they flew to arms; and, pouring on all ſides incredible multitudes into the Roman territories, threatened the empire and Rome itſelf with utter deſtruction. The Goths and Scythians ravaged anew Pontus and Aſia, committing every-where dreadful devaſtations: the Germans, that is, the Alemanni and the Franks, having over-run Rhœtia, entered Italy itſelf, and advanced as far as Ravenna, putting all to fire and ſword: the Quadi and Sarmatians ſeized on great part of Dacia and Pannonia; and other barbarous nations, invading Spain, made themſelves maſters of Tarraco and other important places in that province [b]. Gallienus, who was then in Gaul, hearing that the Alemanni and Franks had entered Italy, and were

The empire invaded on all ſides by the barbarians.

[b] Zoſ. l. 1. c. 650.

advancing towards Rome, flew to the defence of the capital, and obliged the enemy to retire. Whether they were overcome in battle, as ſome authors write, or marched back upon the news of his approach, as we read in others, is uncertain. The barbarians, who had invaded Dacia and Pannonia, were driven back by Regillianus, who commanded there, and is ſaid to have gained ſeveral victories over them in one day [c]. While Regillianus was employed againſt the barbarians, whom he had purſued into Mœſia, Ingenuus cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in Pannonia, and was acknowledged by the inhabitants both of that province and of Mœſia; for he was a man of great valour and experience in war, and univerſally beloved both by the people and ſoldiery. Gallienus no ſooner heard of his revolt, than he marched from the neighbourhood of Ravenna, where he then was, into Illyricum, engaged Ingenuus, and put him to flight. Some authors write, that Ingenuus was killed after the battle by his own ſoldiers, while others tell us, that he put an end to his own life, to avoid by that means falling into the hands of ſo cruel an enemy as Gallienus, who uſed his victory with a barbarity hardly to be equalled, commanding his ſoldiers to put all the inhabitants of Mœſia they could meet with to the ſword, whether they had taken up arms in favour of the uſurper, or no; as appears from the following letter, which he wrote to Verianus Celer, one of his officers: "I ſhall "not be ſatisfied with your putting to death ſuch only as "have borne arms againſt me, and might have fallen in the "field: you muſt in every city deſtroy all the males, old "and young: ſpare none who have wiſhed ill to me, none "who have ſpoken ill of me, the ſon of Valerian, the fa"ther and brother of princes. Ingenuus emperor! tear, "kill, cut in pieces without mercy: you underſtand me; "do then as you know I would do, who have written to "you with my own hand [d]." Purſuant to theſe cruel orders, a moſt dreadful havock was made of that unhappy people, and in ſeveral cities not one male child left alive. The troops, who had formerly ſerved under Ingenuus, and the inhabitants of Mœſia, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, provoked by theſe cruelties, proclaimed Q. Nonius Regillianus emperor. He was a Dacian by nation, deſcended, as was ſaid, from the celebrated king Decebalus, whom Trajan had conquered, and had by ſeveral gallant actions gained great reputation

Ingenuus cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor,

But is defeated and killed.

The cruelty of Gallienus,

Regillianus emperor.

[c] Trig. tyran. vit. p. 188. [d] Idem ibid. c. 8.

reputation in the Roman armies. Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, wrote the following letter to him, congratulating him upon the victory he had gained over the Quadi and Sarmatians in Mœſia: "Happy is the republic in having "at this time ſuch a commander as you; happy Gallienus, "tho' no one dares ſpeak truth to him, nor blame or com-"mend men according to their deſerts. Bonitus and Celſus, "two of the prince's life-guard-men, have given me an ac-"count of your gallant behaviour in the neighbourhood of "Scupi, where you gained ſeveral victories over the barba-"rians in one day. In antient times you would have been "thought worthy of a triumph; but at preſent I would have "you to conquer with more caution, mindful of a certain "perſon, to whom your victories may give umbrage, &c."

After he was proclaimed emperor, he gained very conſiderable advantages over the Sarmatians, but was ſoon murdered by his own ſoldiers and the people of Illyricum, who had raiſed him to the empire, but, not long after his aſſumption, began to dread the effects of Gallienus's cruelty. The Roxolani, who ſerved under him, revolted the firſt; and their example was ſoon followed by the reſt of the army and the people of Illyricum [e]. Aurelius Victor writes, that he was overcome in battle by Gallienus. The ſame year, M. Caſſius Labienus Poſthumius revolted in Gaul. He was meanly born, but endowed with extraordinary parts, and reckoned one of the beſt commanders in the whole empire. Valerian, when he ſet out for the eaſt, committed to his care both his ſon Gallienus and the troops that were left in the weſtern provinces, declaring, that he loved and eſteemed Poſthumius above all officers of his army. When he appointed him governor of Gaul and commander of the troops on the Rhine, he wrote on that occaſion a letter to the inhabitants of Gaul, in which he expreſſed his eſteem for Poſthumius in the following terms: "You will, I hope, be convinced, "that I have particular regard for you, ſince I have ſet over you "ſuch a man as Poſthumius. He is one whom I eſteem "above the reſt, and think the moſt worthy of all to repre-"ſent the prince. If I am deceived in the opinion I enter-"tain of him, I will not pretend to know any man [f]."

He is murdered by his own men.

Poſthumius revolts in Gaul.

When Gallienus, upon the news of his father's captivity and the invaſion of the Franks and Alemanni, ſet out for Italy, he left his eldeſt ſon Saloninus, named alſo Valerian, then an

[e] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 9. p. 189. [f] Idem, c. 2. p. 185.

infant, at Cologn, under the tuition, ſome ſay, of Poſthumius, and others of Sylvanus, ordering all things to be tranſacted in his name. Soon after the emperor's departure, Poſthumius having defeated ſome German nations who had invaded Gaul, Sylvanus obliged him to ſend all the booty to him and the young prince; which provoked the ſoldiery to ſuch a degree, that they revolted, and proclaimed Poſthumius emperor, who marching without loſs of time to Cologn, beſieged the place, and reduced the inhabitants to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to deliver up to him both Sylvanus and Saloninus, whom he cauſed to be immediately put to death. Thus Zoſimus [g]: but Trebellius Pollio aſcribes the revolt and the death of the young prince to the Gauls, who, hating Gallienus, and not able to brook the government of a child, ſtirred up the ſoldiers to murder him, and proclaimed Poſthumius emperor [h], who was with great joy acknowledged, not only in Gaul, but in Spain and Britain [i]. He reigned ſeven years, during which time he drove all the Germans out of Gaul, and even built ſeveral forts in their country, reſtored peace and tranquillity to that afflicted province, and governed with ſuch equity and moderation, that he was univerſally adored, and honoured with the titles of The reſtorer of Gaul, The defender of the empire; for had he not repulſed the Germans, they would, in thoſe diſtracted times, have overrun with great eaſe the whole empire [k]. On ſeveral of his medals mention is made of his victories over the Germans, that is, according to Adrianus Valeſius [l], over the Franks; and on ſome he is ſtyled Germanicus Maximus [m]. He had by his wife Junia Donata, perhaps the daughter of Junius Donatus, who was governor of Rome in the year 257, and this year conſul, at leaſt one ſon, ſtyled on the antient coins C. Junius Coſſius Poſthumius. The emperor Valerian appointed him tribune of a band or company of Vocontii, that is, of Dauphinois. His father afterwards created him Cæſar, took him for his partner in the empire, and honoured him with the title of Auguſtus [n]. He was thought to have equalled in eloquence Quintilian, whom he ſtudied to imitate; whence his declamations were inſerted among thoſe of that excellent writer [o]; and the nineteen declamations, which paſs under

The ſon of Gallienus murdered.

Poſthumius acknowledged by Gaul, Spain and Britain.

He delivers Gaul from the Germans.

[g] Zoſ. p. 651. [h] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. [i] Claud. vit. p. 204. Spanh. l. ix. p. 845. [k] Trig. tyrann. vit. ibid. Birag. p. 393. [l] Val. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 6. [m] Birag. p. 394. Goltz. p. 116. [n] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 2. p. 185. [o] Idem ibid. p. 186.

under the name of Quintilian, but ſeem not altogether worthy of him, are by ſome modern critics aſcribed to young Poſthumius [p]. Gallienus, though greatly concerned for the death of his ſon, whom he immediately cauſed to be ranked among the gods [q], did not march in perſon againſt the uſurper till ſome years after.

The Perſians over-run and plunder all the eaſtern provinces.

DURING theſe diſturbances in the weſt, Sapor king of Perſia, elated with his late ſucceſs, over-ran moſt of the eaſtern provinces, laid waſte Meſopotamia, and entering Syria, took Antioch, the third, or at leaſt the ſecond, time, and levelled with the ground all the public buildings of that ſtately metropolis. From Syria he led his army into Cilicia, took and plundered the city of Tarſus, the capital of that province; and advancing from thence into Cappadocia, made himſelf maſter of Cæſarea, and cut all the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thouſand, in pieces, for having oppoſed him under the conduct of one Demoſthenes, a man of great reſolution and intrepidity, who, after the city was taken, opened himſelf a way, ſword in hand, through the midſt of the enemy, and made his eſcape [r]. Thus the Perſian over-ran all the provinces of the eaſt, committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages. Agathias tells us, that he filled up deep valleys with dead bodies, and took pride in paſſing over them on horſeback from one hill to another [s]. To the captives, whom he was pleaſed to ſpare, he allowed only what food was barely ſufficient to keep them alive, and ordered them to be driven once a day in herds to water like ſo many cattle [t]. In the mean time, the Roman troops, who had diſperſed upon the captivity of Valerian, rallying, choſe for their leader Calliſtus, or rather Baliſta, who had been captain of the guards to Valerian, and was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity, and experience in war. He, without loſs of time, tranſported his forces in boats into Cilicia, and obliged the Perſians to raiſe the ſiege of Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of that province, when it was upon the point of ſubmitting. From Cilicia he flew with great celerity into Lycaonia, and there made a dreadful havock of the Perſians, whom he found buſied in plundering the open places, and no-ways upon their guard. He took from them all their booty and captives, made a great many priſoners, and among the reſt the wives of Sapor. From Lycaonia he retired with his booty and captives, before the Perſians could draw together their diſperſed forces; and

Baliſta cuts many of them in pieces.

[p] Vide Voſſ. rhet. c. 15. p. 192. [q] Birag. p. 382. [r] Zonar. p. 234. [s] Agath. l. iv. p. 134. [t] Zonar. p. 234.

and embarking his army on the veſſels and boats he had aſſembled, landed ſome of his men at Sebaſte, and others at Corycus, two cities on the coaſt of Cilicia, and in both places ſurpriſed and cut in pieces above three thouſand Perſians [u].

Odenatus of Palmyra.

Baliſta was well ſeconded in his attempts by Odenatus, whoſe name is famous in the hiſtory of thoſe times on account of the many victories he gained over the Perſians, and his ſaving the Roman empire in the eaſt. All authors agree, that he was a native of Palmyra, a city of Phœnicia, about one day's journey from the Euphrates; but ſome writers call him a citizen and decurion, while others ſtyle him prince of that place. Procopius gives him the title of prince of the Saracens, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and were allies of the Romans [w]. Zoſimus tells us, that his army had been long before diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of honour by the Roman emperors, and that he had troops of his own [x]. As Palmyra was at this time a Roman colony [y], Odenatus was prince, not of that city, but probably of the Saracens, who dwelt in that neighbourhood. As he had been accuſtomed from his infancy to the manly exerciſes of hunting, he bore with great chearfulneſs and alacrity the toils of a military life [z]. Of his wife Zenobia, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Odenatus was ſcarce known till the captivity of Valerian, when, dreading the power of that mighty conqueror, as he lived in amity with the Romans, he wrote to him a moſt reſpectful and ſubmiſſive letter, proteſting, that he had never borne arms againſt the Perſians, and at the ſame time ſent him ſeveral camels loaded with rich preſents. But

How treated by Sapor.

Sapor, highly provoked at the arrogance of ſuch an inſignificant perſon, as he expreſſed himſelf, in preſuming to write to him, tore his letter, ordered his preſents to be thrown into the river, and, with a threatening voice, told his embaſſadors, that he would teach their maſter the reſpect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and ſovereign; that he would exterminate and utterly deſtroy him, his whole family, and country.; adding, that if he came and threw himſelf proſtrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps by that ſubmiſſion atone in ſome degree for his temerity and preſumption. Odenatus, reſenting, as it became a man of his ſpirit, this vile treatment, ſwore he would purſue the Perſians to the laſt with fire and ſword, and either

[u] Zonar. p. 382. Syncell. p. 235. [w] Procop. p. 97. [x] Zoſ. p. 651. [y] Noris. de epoch. Syromaced. p. 103. [z] Trig. tyran. c. 14.

ther bring down the pride of their mighty monarch, or periſh in the attempt [a]. With this view, he immediately declared for the Romans; and joining Baliſta with all his forces, bore a great, if not the chief, ſhare, in the above-mentioned exploits; for to him Trebellius Pollio aſcribes the taking of Sapor's wives [b]. The Perſian, greatly concerned for that loſs, and apprehending it might be attended with others ſtill greater, (for Odenatus and Baliſta purſued him cloſe) reſolved to retire; and accordingly bent his march towards the Euphrates. But as he was marching through the province of Euphrateſiana, at a ſmall diſtance from Palmyra, Odenatus, falling upon his rear, made a dreadful havock of them, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the Euphrates with great hurry and confuſion. Many periſhed in the river; and Sapor was glad to compound with the Roman garriſon in Edeſſa, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding to them all the Syrian money he had amaſſed in the plunder of ſo many cities [c]. Zonaras writes, that Odenatus found among the Perſian captives, and likewiſe among the dead, many women attired and armed like men [d]. After theſe victories, Odenatus aſſumed the title of king of Palmyra, which he likewiſe gave to his eldeſt ſon Herod, as he did that of queen to his wife Zenobia. Gallienus, to reward his eminent ſervices, appointed him commander in chief of all the Roman forces in the eaſt; which truſt he diſcharged with great fidelity, and was attended with better ſucceſs than any of the Roman generals. For the following year 261, when Gallienus was conſul, the fourth time, with Petronius Voluſianus, Odenatus, not ſatisfied with having driven Sapor out of the Roman dominions, entered Meſopotamia, and there recovered the cities of Niſibis and Carrhæ. From Meſopotamia he advanced into the very heart of the Perſian dominions, being extremely deſirous of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of Valerian. Sapor met him at the head of a mighty army; whereupon an engagement enſuing, the Perſians were utterly defeated, and Sapor with his children obliged to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of Cteſiphon, the metropolis of the Perſian dominions. Thither Odenatus purſued them, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place, after having deſtroyed with fire and ſword the neighbouring country to a great diſtance. The Perſian lords, alarmed at the danger that threatened their prince

He ſides with the Romans.

And gains great advantages over the Perſians.

Odenatus aſſumes the title of king of Palmyra.

Defeats Sapor and beſieges Cteſiphon.

[a] Petr. Patr. in excerpt. de legat p. 29. [b] Trig. tyr. c. 14. p. 192. [c] Petr. Patr. ibid. p. 25. [d] Zonar. p. 235.

prince and country, armed all their vaſſals, and flew from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom to Cteſiphon. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which ſerved only to encreaſe the number of Odenatus's victories; many Perſians of great diſtinction were taken priſoners, and ſent by the conqueror to Gallienus: Sapor on one ſide, and the brave Odenatus on the other, exerted their utmoſt efforts, the latter to deliver Valerian, and the former to avoid the like doom, which now threatened him [e]. But here Trebellius Pollio, after having raiſed our expectation, drops at once both Odenatus and the ſiege of Cteſiphon; and, giving himſelf no farther trouble about either, leaves us quite in the dark as to the iſſue of ſo glorious and important an undertaking. The reader may thence judge of his abilities in the capacity of an hiſtorian. All we know for certain is, that Sapor was not taken, nor Valerian reſcued from his cruel bondage. Some writers ſeem to inſinuate, that the revolt of Ma-

The riſe of Macrianus.

crianus, which, according to moſt hiſtorians, happened this year, obliged Odenatus to raiſe the ſiege of Cteſiphon. Macrianus was of a mean deſcent; but had, by his courage and experience in war, raiſed himſelf from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier to the higheſt poſts in the army. He was exceeding rich, and had married a lady of great diſtinction, by whom he had two ſons Macrianus and Quietus, who had been raiſed to the rank of tribunes by Valerian, and were eſteemed two of the beſt officers of the whole army [f]. The father is ſtyled by Dionyſius of Alexandria, the chief of the Egyptian magicians [g]; whence we conclude him to have been by nation an Egyptian, and greatly addicted to the ſtudy of magic. As the abominable myſteries of that art were abhorred and deſervedly cried down by the chriſtians, Macrianus thence became their implacable enemy, and inſpired Valerian, with whom he bore great ſway, with an irreconcileable hatred to them, which occaſioned the eighth perſecution, as we have hinted above [h]. Some authors write, that abuſing the confidence Valerian repoſed in him, he betrayed that prince to the Perſians [i], but others clear him from that imputation. Be that as it will, about a year after the captivity of the unhappy emperor, he revolted from his ſon; and having gain-

He is proclaimed emperor.

ed over Baliſta, was by his means acknowledged emperor by moſt of the troops who had ſerved under Valerian, but deſpiſed

[e] Vit. Gall. p. 179. Zoſ. p. 651. [f] Gall. vit. p. 175. Trig. tyrann. c. 13. [g] Euſeb. l. vii. c. 10. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Trig. tyran. p. 174.

Piſed Gallienus. He immediately took his two ſons for his partners in the empire, and appointed Baliſta his captain of the guards. Trebellius Pollio, of all writers the leaſt exact, to ſay no more, does not inform us in what country Macrianus was created emperor, nor where, or how long he reigned; and as to the other hiſtorians, Zonaras is the only one among them that takes any notice at all of him. That writer tells us, that the inhabitants of Aſia received him with extraordinary marks of joy [k]. Dionyſius of Alexandria gives us room to think, that he was acknowledged in Egypt; and that his and his ſon's reign ended before the ninth year of Gallienus, that is, before the Auguſt of the year 262 [l]. During his uſurpation happened, in all likelihood, at Alexandria the diſturbances deſcribed by that writer, whowas biſhop of the place. Fury and diſcord, ſays he, raged there to ſuch a degree, that it was more eaſy to paſs from the eaſt to the moſt remote provinces of the weſt, than from one place of Alexandria to another: the inhabitants had no intercourſe but by letters, which with great difficulty were conveyed from one friend to another: it was more dangerous to croſs the ſtreet, than the moſt tempeſtuous ſeas, the moſt dry and inhoſpitable deſert: the port reſembled the ſhore of the red-ſea, ſtrewn with the carcaſſes of the drowned Egyptians; the ſea was dyed with blood, and the Nile choaked up with dead bodies [m]. The war was attended with a general famine, and the famine by a dreadful plague, which daily ſwept off great numbers of people, inſomuch, that there were then in Alexandria fewer inhabitants from the age of fourteen to that of eighty, than there uſed to be from forty to ſeventy [n]. Of ſuch perſons a regiſter, it ſeems, was kept; and a certain quantity of corn diſtributed among them.

Egypt ſubmits to him.

Great diſturbances at Alexandria.

MACRIANUS no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereignty, than he marched with all the forces he could aſſemble into the eaſt, ſays Pollio, that is, as we conjecture, from Egypt into Syria. He engaged ſeveral times and defeated the Perſians; but looked upon P. Valerius Valens as a far more formidable enemy. Valens had been ſent by Gallienus into Achaia, or Greece, with the title of proconſul; but hearing there, that Macrianus had been proclaimed emperor, he aſſumed the ſame title. Hereupon Macrianus immediately detached Piſo, with a competent force, to ſuppreſs this new uſurper. But Piſo, finding him upon his guard, and ready

Valens proclaimed emperor in Achaia, and Piſo in Theſſaly; but they are both killed.

[k] Zonar. p. 236. [l] Euſeb. l. vii. c. 23. [m] Idem ibid. c. 21. [n] Idem ibid.

ready to receive him, retired into Theſſaly, and there aſſumed the ſame title of emperor, with the ſurname of Theſſalicus, as appears from his medals [o]. But he did not long enjoy that empty and ſeducing title, being ſoon after murdered by ſome ſoldiers ſent by Valens for that purpoſe. Valens himſelf was ſlain a few days after by his own men; and his death, as well as that of his rival, was known at Rome before the twenty-fifth of June [p]. Piſo, who was deſcended from one of the moſt antient and illuſtrious families of Rome, was univerſally lamented there on account of the merits of his anceſtors, as well as his own. He had been highly eſteemed by the emperors, nay, and by Valens himſelf, who upon hearing the news of his death, What account, ſaid he, ſhall I give to the gods, the infernal judges, of the death of Piſo? The Roman empire has not a perſon equal to Piſo. Upon the news of his death, it was moved in the ſenate, that divine honours might be decreed to him as to a lawful prince; nay ſome writers tell us, that he was actually ranked among the gods with this remarkable elogium, That there never was a better man, nor a man of more firmneſs and conſtancy. However that be, he was decreed a ſtatue with a triumphal chariot: the ſtatue was ſtill to be ſeen in the time of Conſtantine; but the chariot had been taken down, to make room for the famous baths of Diocleſian, and was never after ſet up again [q]. About the ſame time that Macrianus uſurped the empire in the eaſt, Manius Acilius Aureolus was forced by the army, which he commanded in Illyricum, to take upon him the ſovereignty; for the ſoldiers every-where abhorred Gallienus, and would only obey emperors ſet up by themſelves. Aureolus from Illyricum marched into Italy, and made himſelf maſter of Milan [r]. Gallienus, after various unſucceſsful attempts to ſuppreſs him, was in the end obliged to come to an accommodation with him, and accept of his aſſiſtance againſt Poſthumius, as we ſhall relate hereafter. He was, according to Zonaras, a native of Dacia, of a mean deſcent, and in his youth a ſhepherd; but lifting himſelf afterwards in the army, he was ſoon raiſed from the rank of a common ſoldier to the command of a body of horſe. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner under Gallienus, in the battle againſt Ingenuus; for ſome authors aſcribe to him the whole glory of that victory [s]. This year 261, the Scythians breaking anew

The character of Piſo.

Aureolus made emperor in Illyricum.

[o] Birag. p. 388. [p] Trig. tyrann. p. 194, 195. [q] Trig. tyr. vit. c. 20. p. 194. [r] Idem, c. 10. p. 189. Vict. epit. [s] Zonar. p. 235.

new into Bithynia, laid waſte the whole country a ſecond time, levelled with the ground ſeveral cities, plundered Nicomedia, and returned unmoleſted into their own country, with a great booty and many captives [i]. At the ſame time, that no part of the empire might be exempt from ſome ſignal calamity, the iſland of Sicily, leſs expoſed than other countries to the ravages of the barbarians, was miſerably haraſſed by a band of robbers, who, roving up and down, committed dreadful devaſtations, and kindled a kind of ſervile war, which was not ſuppreſſed without much difficulty and bloodſhed [k]. The following year, Gallienus being conſul, the fifth time, with Fauſtianus, the empire was in many places afflicted by other calamities, beſides the wars and commotions we have mentioned. The ſun was overcaſt with thick clouds, and a great darkneſs continued for ſeveral days together, attended with a violent earthquake and dreadful claps of thunder, not in the air, but in the bowels of the earth, which opened in many places, and ſwallowed up great numbers of people, with their habitations. The ſea, ſwelling beyond meaſure, broke in upon the continent, and drowned whole cities; the plague raged with great violence in Greece, Egypt, and eſpecially at Rome, where it ſwept off for ſome time five thouſand perſons a day. The books of the Sibyls were conſulted, public proceſſions ordained, ſacrifices offered to Jupiter the author of health, &c. But all to no purpoſe; nay, to their other calamities were added the incurſions of the Goths in great ſwarms into Greece, and of the Scythians into Aſia. The former having made themſelves maſters of Thrace, over-ran all Macedon, and laid ſiege to Theſſalonica, the capital of that province, which threw all Greece into the utmoſt conſternation: troops were diſpatched to guard the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, ſo famous in hiſtory; the Athenians rebuilt their walls, which had lain in ruins ever ſince the time of Sylla; the inhabitants of Peloponneſus ſhut up the iſthmus from ſea to ſea; new levies were made; the troops quartered in that province drawn together, &c. But, in the mean time, Macrianus arriving in Greece on his march into Italy, fell upon the barbarians while they were attempting to enter Achaia, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into their own country, whither they carried, however, great part of their booty [l]. At the ſame time, the Scythians, that is, another party of Goths, croſſing the Helleſpont under the conduct of one Raſpa, committed dreadful ravages in Aſia,

Bithynia plundered by the Scythians.

The empire affected with a plague, famine, earthquakes, &c.

New irruptions of the Scythians.

[i] Gall. vit. p. 177. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid.

Who plunder the temple of Diana at Epheſus.

Aſia, burnt ſeveral cities there, and plundered the celebrated temple of Diana at Epheſus, ſo much reſpected by the pagans, and ſo famous for its rich ornaments and immenſe wealth [m]. Thus was the deſtruction of the moſt illuſtrious monuments of paganiſm begun by the Goths, who were themſelves pagans; and we ſhall ſee them in the two following centuries complete what they now begin. In this irruption they ruined the city of Chalcedon, deſtroyed the poor remains of antient Troy and the famous Ilium; and, repaſſing the Helleſpont, laid waſte all Thrace, and returned to their own country with an immenſe booty [n].

In the mean time, Macrianus having ſettled the affairs of Syria, left there his younger ſon Quietus, with Baliſta, to guard that province againſt the Perſians; and ſet out for Italy, with his eldeſt ſon Macrianus, at the head of forty-five thouſand men, to try his fortune againſt Aureolus in Illyricum, and Gallienus at Rome. He was met by the forces of the former either in Illyricum, or on the borders of Thrace; whereupon a battle enſued, in which Macrianus and his ſon being killed, their whole army ſubmitted to Aureolus, and were incorporated in his troops [o]. The news of their defeat and death was no ſooner heard in the eaſt, than moſt cities there revolted from Quietus, who thereupon ſhut himſelf up with Baliſta in the city of Emeſa, whither Aureolus, to complete his victory, ſent ruffians to diſpatch him. But before their arrival, Odenatus had beſieged the place; which ſo terrified the inhabitants and the garriſon, that they killed Quietus, threw his head over the walls, and then ſubmitted to Odenatus. Macrianus and his children being thus cut off, Gallienus was acknowledged a-new in Egypt and Syria; for Odenatus, tho' maſter of almoſt all the eaſtern provinces, acted, or at leaſt pretended to act, in his name [p]. He had no ſooner withdrawn his troops from before Emeſa, than Baliſta, whom he had ſpared on account of his adviſing the inhabitants to murder Quietus, aſſumed the title of emperor, and put ſuch numbers of the citizens of Emeſa to the ſword, no doubt for refuſing to acknowledge him, that the unhappy city was almoſt turned into a deſert [q]. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him hereafter for he ſeems to have reigned at Emeſa three years. About the ſame time, Æmilianus, ſtyled on the

Macrianus and his eldeſt ſon defeated and killed by Aureolus.

Baliſta aſſumes the title of emperor.

[m] Idem p. 177, 178. Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 20. [n] Jornand. ibid. [o] Zonar. p. 236. Trig. tyran. c. 10. Gall. vit. p. 176. [p] Gall. vit. p. 179. Trig. tyran. c. 14. [q] Gall. vit. p. 176.

the antient medals Tiberius Ceſtius Alexander Æmilianus [e], commander of the legions in Egypt, took upon him the title of emperor, hoping, by thus openly revolting from Gallienus, who was no leſs abhorred in Egypt than in the other provinces, to appeaſe the populace of Alexandria, who had riſen upon a very trifling occaſion, and inveſted the houſe where Æmilianus lodged, threatening him with preſent death. He no ſooner proclaimed himſelf emperor, in oppoſition to Gallienus, than the rage of the incenſed multitude was aſſwaged, and the whole city of Alexandria, with loud acclamations, acknowledged him for their ſovereign. He immediately ſeized all the corn in the public granaries, and by that means occaſioned a famine in ſeveral provinces. He viſited in perſon the moſt diſtant parts of Egypt, redreſſed many grievances, repulſed with great vigor the neighbouring barbarians, which procured him the name of Alexander, and was preparing for an expedition into India, when the troops ſent againſt him by Gallienus arrived in Egypt [f], as we ſhall relate hereafter. This year, Gallienus, agreeing with Aureolus, marched into Gaul with him and Claudius, who ſucceeded him in the empire, to make war upon Poſthumius, who had reigned three years undiſturbed. As Poſthumius was greatly beloved, and vigorouſly ſupported by the Gauls, the war laſted ſome years. Gallienus was defeated in the firſt general engagement of this year, and Poſthumius in the ſecond, after having loſt the flower of his troops. But Aureolus, who was ſent to purſue him, having ſuffered him to eſcape when he might have eaſily taken him, he levied new forces, and began the war with freſh vigor [g]. Gallienus, however, quitting Gaul the following year, when Albinus and Dexter were conſuls, returned to Rome, and from thence haſtened into the eaſt, where he wreaked his rage on the city of Byzantium; but upon what provocation, Trebellius Pollio, who deſcribes the miſerable condition to which that place was reduced, has not thought proper to acquaint us. All we know is, that Gallienus, as ſoon as he appeared before it, loſt all hopes of ever being able to maſter it; but being nevertheleſs admitted, the day after his arrival, within the gates, upon terms, without any regard to the agreement, he cauſed the garriſon, and all the inhabitants, to be put to the ſword. Not one perſon, ſays Trebellius Pollio was left alive in the place [h].

And likewiſe Æmilianus.

Gallienus makes war upon Poſthumius in Gaul.

The Byzantines ſlaughtered by Gallienus.

Vorburgius

[e] Goltz. 115. Zon. p. 236. [f] Trig. tyr. c. 21. [g] Gall. vit. p. 178. [h] Gall. vit. p. 178, 179.

Vorburgius aſcribes this ſlaughter to the ſoldiers of Gallienus; and pretends, that the emperor left Gaul, and haſtened into the eaſt, on purpoſe to revenge the ſlaughter of the Byzantines, and puniſh the cruelty of the ſoldiers [i]. From Byzantium, Gallienus returned to Rome, where he celebrated the tenth year of his reign with extraordinary pomp, and a kind of triumph, in which were led mock-captives, dreſſed like Goths, Sarmatians, Franks, and Perſians. During this ſhew, ſome perſons of humour, mixing with thoſe who perſonated the Perſians, viewed with great attention their faces, examined their dreſs, and ſeemed to betray great ſurprize. Being in the end aſked, what they wanted? We are looking, ſaid they, for the emperor's father; which ſo incenſed Gallienus, that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alive [k].

Saturninus aſſumes the title of emperor, and is murdered by his ſoldiers.

This year, a new tyrant ſtarted up, by name P. Sempronius Saturninus. He was a man of great parts, and renowned for his victories over the barbarians. Hiſtory does not inform us where or how long he reigned; but only tells us, that he performed great things while he was emperor, and was, on account of his ſeverity, put to death by the ſame ſoldiers who had raiſed him to the empire. When he was firſt proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command, he told them, that they had loſt a good captain, and made a bad prince [l].

Æmilianus defeated, taken, and ſtrangled.

Towards the end of the year, Theodotus, a native of Egypt, diſpatched by Gallienus againſt Æmilianus, who reigned in that country, overcame him in a pitched battle, took him priſoner, and ſent him to Rome; where he was, by the emperor's orders, ſtrangled in priſon, according to the antient cuſtom of putting captive princes to death. The emperor, to reward Theodotus, deſigned to make Egypt a proconſular province, and honour him with that proconſulſhip; but was diverted from it by the prieſts alledging a prediction, which had prevailed even in Cicero's time, viz. that Egypt would recover its antient liberty, when the faſces appeared there [m]. The faſces were carried, as is well known, before the proconſuls.

Bruchium beſieged and taken.

At this time, happened, as we conjecture, the ſiege of Bruchium, deſcribed by Euſebius; Æmilianus himſelf, or his partizans, having probably taken ſhelter there after the battle. Bruchium, or as Euſebius ſtyles it, Pyruchium, was a quarter of the city of Alexandria near the ſea, on the ſide of the Pharos, and as it were, the citadel of that metropolis. There ſtood the royal palace, the place where the Egyptian ſenate

[i] Vorb. hiſt. Rom. Germanic. p. 339. [k] Gal. vit, p. 179.
[l] Trig. vit. c. 22. p. 196, [m] Idem ibid. c. 21. p. 195.

ſenate or council met, the public granaries, the muſeum, and the celebrated library of the Egyptian kings, containing once ſeven hundred thouſand volumes, of which four hundred thouſand were burnt in Julius Cæſar's time. The Roman army, under the command of Theodotus, having taken the reſt of the city, laid ſiege to this quarter, and in the end reduced it by famine [n]. This year the Scythians made a new irruption into Aſia, but were with great ſlaughter driven back into their own country by the Roman forces quartered in that province [o].

THE next conſuls were Gallienus, the ſixth time, and Saturninus. Gallienus, by the advice of his brother Valerian and his kinſman Lucillus, to reward the brave Odenatus for the many victories he had gained over the Perſians, took him for his partner in the empire, honoured him with the titles of Cæſar, Auguſtus, and emperor, and all the badges of ſovereignty, and cauſed money to be coined with his name, on which he was repreſented leading the Perſians captive. The title of Auguſta was given to his wife, and that of Cæſar to his children [p]. This action of Gallienus was highly applauded by the ſenate, by the people of Rome, and the whole empire; for to his valor was entirely owing the preſervation of the eaſtern provinces, over-run and ſorely haraſſed by the Perſians. This year, 264, Baliſta, who had held ſome provinces in the eaſt ever ſince the death of Macrinus and his children, was at laſt killed, according to the moſt probable opinion, by a ſoldier ſent by Odenatus for that purpoſe [q]. Gallienus, in the ſpring of this year, left Rome, and marched a ſecond time in perſon againſt Poſthumius, who ſtill reigned in Gaul. At his approach, Poſthumius withdrew into a ſtrong hold, which the emperor immediately inveſted, but ſoon after raiſed the ſiege, having received a wound in the back with an arrow while he was viewing the walls [r]. On ſeveral medals of this year, notice is taken of a victory gained by Gallienus in Gaul, and he is ſtyled the reſtorer of that province [s]. However, Poſthumius ſtill maintained himſelf in poſſeſſion of great part of that country; and this year being preſſed by Gallienus, he choſe for his collegue M. Aurelius Piauvonius Victorinus, as he is ſtyled on the antient coins, of whom we read the following character in Julius Aterianus, a writer of thoſe times: No one, in my opinion, ought to be preferred

Gallienus declares Odenatus his partner in the empire.

Baliſta murdered.

Gallienus goes into Gaul.

Poſthumius takes Victorinus for his partner.

[n] Euſeb. l. vii. c. 31. p. 285. [o] Gall. vit. p. 178. [p] Gall. vit. p. 179. Goltz. p. 115. [q] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193. [r] Gall. vit. p. 177. [s] Birag. p. 376, 377.

to Victorinus, who reigned ſome time in Gaul; he equalled Trajan in bravery, Antoninus in clemency, Nerva in gravity, Veſpaſian in managing the public money, and Pertinax and Severus in his care of the military diſcipline: but his unbridled luſt drowned all his good qualities, and caſt ſuch a blemiſh upon his reputation, that no one dares to record the virtues of a man, whom all owned to have deſerved the doom which in the end overtook him [t]. Of this doom we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. The next year, Valerian, the emperor's brother, and Lucillus, his kinſman, being conſuls, the Iſaurians revolting in Aſia Minor, choſe for their leader C. Annius Trebellianus, who took upon him the title of Auguſtus, cauſed money to be coined with his name, and reigned ſome time in Iſauria and Cilicia; but was in the end drawn by Cauſiſoleus, the brother of Theodotus, from among the rocks and mountains, where he had taken refuge, into a plain, and there defeated and killed. The Iſaurians ranked him after his death among the gods; and, refuſing to ſubmit to Gallienus, whoſe cruelty they dreaded, maintained themſelves a free people in the very heart of the Roman empire, at leaſt till the time of the emperor Conſtantine, and committed dreadful ravages in Aſia Minor and Syria [u]. While Gaul, Pontus, Thrace, and Illyricum, were held either by a domeſtic or foreign enemy, Africa too had its tyrant, viz. T. Cornelius Celſus, ſet up by Vibius Paſſienus, proconſul of Africa, and Fabius Pomponianus, who commanded on the frontiers of Libya. He was but a tribune, and led at that time a retired life in the country. A lady, by name Galliena, nearly related to the emperor, bore a great ſhare in this revolt. Celſus was a man of great integrity, and worthy of the rank to which he was raiſed; but he held it a ſhort time, being killed the ſeventh day after his election. The inhabitants of Sicca, who had continued faithful to Gallienus, threw his body to the dogs, and crucified him in effigie, which, as our hiſtorian obſerves, had never been practiſed before [v]. Among the other misfortunes of this unhappy reign, we may reckon the loſs of all the conqueſts of Trajan, that is, of the whole province of Dacia, ſeized by the Goths and other northern nations; and the dreadful ravages committed by the Franks in Spain. Victor is of opinion, that they entered that province on the ſide of Gaul [p]; but Adrianus Valeſius proves, from the panegyric of Nazarius on Conſtantine, that they conveyed

The Iſaurians revolt.

Celſus made emperor in Africa, and ſoon after murdered.

Spain plundered by the Franks.

[t] Trig. tyrann. c. 5. p. 186, 187. [u] Idem, c. 25. p. 198.
[v] Idem, c. 28. p. 198. [p] Aur. Vict. in Gall.

conveyed themſelves thither by ſea [q]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that they entered Spain, ravaged the country far and wide, and took by ſtorm, plundered, and almoſt utterly deſtroyed, the city of Tarraco, which for the ſpace of an hundred and fifty years, bore the marks of what it ſuffered at this time [r]. Some of the Franks from Spain croſſed over into Africa [s]; but what was the iſſue of that raſh undertaking, we are no-where told.

THE following year, Gallienus being conſul, the ſeventh time, with Sabinillus, the brave Odenatus, entering the Perſian territories, put all there to fire and ſword, overcame Sapor in ſeveral battles, beſieged a ſecond time, and, according to Syncellus, made himſelf maſter of, Cteſiphon. But in the mean time, the Goths entering Aſia by the Euxine ſea, over-ran Lydia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Troas, Cappadocia, and Galatia, laying waſte the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immenſe booty and an incredible number of captives [t]. The next year, Paternus and Arceſilaus being conſuls, Odenatus, leaving Cteſiphon, haſtened back to the relief of Aſia; but the Goths, not thinking it adviſeable to wait his arrival, reimbarqued at Heraclea in Pontus, and returned home, loaded with booty. Many of them, however, were drowned, being overtaken in the Euxine ſea by the Roman fleet. Odenatus gains great advantages over the Perſians.

All authors agree, that Odenatus was killed about this time, but differ both as to the place and manner of his death. According to Syncellus, he was killed at Heraclea [u]; according to Zoſimus, at Emeſa [w]. Trebellius Pollio writes, that he was murdered by one Mæonius, his couſin, who was proclaimed emperor in his room, but ſoon after put to death. Syncellus aſcribes his death to another Odenatus, who was himſelf murdered by the guards [x]. Some writers ſuppoſe Zenobia herſelf to have aſſiſted the conſpirators underhand, being provoked againſt her huſband for preferring his eldeſt ſon Herod, by a former wife, to the children he had by her [y]. It is certain, that Herod was killed with his father, who, according to ſome writers had taken him for his partner. Such was the end of Odenatus, deſervedly ranked by hiſtorians among the greateſt princes that ever reigned in the eaſt. God, ſays Trebellius Pollio, was angry with the Romans, ſince he took Valerian He is murdered.

[q] Val. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 3, 4. [r] Oroſ. l. vii p. 223. Hier. chron. Eutrop. Vict. [s] Vict. & Val. p. 5. [t] Gall. vit. p. 179. [u] Syncell. p. 382. [w] Zoſ. p. 651. Trig. tyr. c. 14, 16. [x] Syncell. p. 382. [y] Trig. tyrann. c. 16. p. 193.

from them, and did not long preſerve Odenatus [z]. He had begun, as appears from ſome medals [a], the fourth year of his reign. He left behind him three ſons by Zenobia, Herennianus, Timolaus, and Vabalath, or, as he is ſtyled on ſome medals, Hermias Vhaballat [b]. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, Zenobia governed in their name with the title of queen of the eaſt, arrayed them with purple robes and other enſigns of the imperial dignity; and in that attire preſented them, after the death of their father, to the armies, and the aſſemblies of the people [c]. It is uncertain, whether they were put to death by Aurelian, or died before [d]. From their medals it appears, that Herennianus reigned at leaſt two years, Timolaus three, and Vhaballat ſeven [e]. Zenobia did not, it ſeems, tread in the footſteps of her huſband, and keep up, as he had done, a good underſtanding with Gallienus. For we find, that Heraclianus, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of Odenatus, had ſent into the eaſt to make war upon the Perſians, was this very year defeated by Zenobia, and obliged to return to Rome. Towards the end of the year, one L. Ælianus aſſumed the title of emperor at Mentz; but was ſoon overcome by Poſthumius, who reduced the rebellious city, but would not give it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, who, thereupon mutinied, and tranſported with rage, murdered their brave leader, with young Poſthumius his ſon. Trebellius Pollio aſcribes his death to Lollianus, who had revolted from him and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. Lollianus, ſtyled on the antient coins Spurius Servilius Lollianus [f], was meanly born, but had raiſed himſelf in the army by his gallant conduct. He reigned in that part of Gaul which bordered on the Rhine, while Victorinus, whom Poſthumius had taken for his partner, held the reſt. But he did not long enjoy the ſovereignty, being murdered on account of his ſeverity by his own ſoldiers, ſtirred up by Victorinus, who, upon his death, became ſole maſter of all Gaul, but was ſoon after mortally wounded at Cologn, by one whoſe wife he had debauched. Before he died, he named his ſon L. Aurelius Victorinus his ſucceſſor, though then an infant. But the Gauls, not able to brook the government of a child, murdered him, and ſet up in his room one M. Aurelius Marius, originally an armourer,

His wife Zenobia governs in the name of her children.

Poſthumius murdered in Gaul, and Lollianus declared emperor.

Victorinus and his ſon murdered.

[z] Idem, c. 14. p. 192. [a] Goltz. p. 115. [b] Idem, p.
[c] p. 386. [c] Trig. tyrann. c. 26. p. 192. [d] Idem
[e] Goltz. p. 116. [f] Idem, p. 117.

armourer, but a man of great valour and extraordinary ſtrength. He was killed the third day of his reign by a ſoldier, who had formerly worked under him. The aſſaſſin run him through with his ſword, telling him that it was of his own making [g]. Upon his death the troops in Gaul proclaimed P. Piveſus or Peſuvius Tetricus emperor. He was a Roman ſenator, had been conſul, and was at this time governor of Aquitaine. He was acknowledged in Spain and Britain, as well as in Gaul, and held thoſe provinces with the title of emperor till the fourth year of Aurelian's reign, when he was taken and led in triumph by that prince [h], as we ſhall relate hereafter. He immediately conferred the title of Cæſar upon his ſon C. Pacuvius Piveſus Tetricus, who was then but an infant. All theſe uſurpers in Gaul, viz. Poſthumius, Lollianus, Victorinus, Marius, and Tetricus, were ſet up by Victorina, or Victoria, the mother of Victorinus, who had a great intereſt in Gaul, and bore an irreconcileable hatred to Gallienus. She was honoured, probably by her ſon Victorinus, with the titles of Auguſta, and The mother of the armies. As ſhe was a woman of maſculine courage, and poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, which ſhe liberally diſtributed among the ſoldiers, ſhe gave the empire of Gaul to whom ſhe pleaſed, and bore under all the uſurpers, who were but her creatures, an abſolute ſway. She died during the uſurpation of Tetricus; but whether a natural or violent death, is uncertain; for ſome writers ſeem to inſinuate, that ſhe was privately diſpatched by his orders [i].

Marius declared emperor and murdered; and Tetricus raiſed to the empire in his room.

THE ſame year, the Scythians, that is the Goths, ravaged anew the provinces of Aſia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, and thence carried back with them an immenſe booty; while the Heruli paſſing from the Palus Mœotis into the Euxine ſea with five hundred veſſels, landed at Byzantium and Chryſopolis, now Scutari, under the conduct of one Naulobat. At the latter place they were attacked and defeated by Venerianus, who was himſelf killed in the engagement. Notwithſtanding their defeat, inſtead of returning to their own country, they croſſed the Boſphorus; and ſteering their courſe towards Cyzicus, ſurpriſed and plundered that great and wealthy city, with part of Aſia, and the iſlands of Lemnos and Scyros in the Archipelago. Then they ſailed towards Greece; and landing there, beſieged and burnt Athens, Corinth, Sparta, and Argos, and laid waſte all Achaia; but were in the end attacked and defeated with great ſlaughter by the Athenians,

The irruptions of the Goths.

And the Heruli.

[g] Trig. tyrann. c. 7. p. 187. [h] Idem ibid. c. 23. p. 196.
[i] Idem, c. 30. p. 200.

under the conduct of Dexippus the hiſtorian. However, in their retreat, they committed dreadful devaſtations in Bœotia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Thrace [k]. Gallienus, who was juſt then returned from Gaul, where he had been making war upon Lollianus, leaving Aureolus at Milan, haſtened into Illyricum; and coming unexpectedly upon the barbarians there, gave them a total overthrow. Naulobat, their leader, was obliged to yield himſelf to the emperor's mercy, who treated him with great humanity; and, to gain the affections of the barbarians, even honoured him either with the conſulſhip, or the conſular ornaments [l]. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, St. Jerom, Oroſius, and Trebellius Pollio, ſpeak of a great victory gained by Gallienus in Illyricum over the Goths, meaning no doubt the Heruli; for all the northern nations are by ſome writers ſtyled Goths, by others Scythians. After this victory, Gallienus haſtened back to Italy, leaving Marcianus in Illyricum, to purſue the war with the Heruli; which he did with no leſs courage than ſucceſs, cutting off great numbers of them, and obliging the reſt to quit their booty, and abandon the Roman dominions [m]. The revolt of Aureolus was what obliged Gallienus to return in great haſte to Italy. For Aureolus, not ſatisfied with the power which he already enjoyed, took advantage of Gallienus's abſence to march with all the troops under his command towards Rome, with a deſign to depoſe Gallienus, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed ſole emperor; for ſome writers tell us, that Gallienus had already taken him for his partner in the empire; while others ſtyle him only the emperor's general. Gallienus, hearing of his march, and ſuſpecting his deſign, left Illyricum, and reaching Italy in a few days, came up with him, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of Milan; which city Gallienus immediately inveſted. This happened in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of Gallienus's reign, when Paternus was conſul, the ſecond time, with Marinianus [n]. All authors agree, that Gallienus was killed during this ſiege, but differ both as to the manner and authors of his death. The moſt probable opinion is, that Marcianus, who was returned from Illyricum, Heraclianus, and Cecrops, a native of Mauritania and commander of the Dalmatian cavalry, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conſpired againſt him, and alarming the

Who are defeated by Gallienus.

War beween Aureolus and Gallienus.

Gallienus murdered.

[k] Gall. vit. p. 184. Syncell. p. 382. Zoſ. p. 651. [l] Gall. vit. p. 181. Syncell. ibid. [m] Claud. vit. p. 208. Gall. vit. ibid. [n] Gall. vit. p. 181.

the camp in the dead of the night, as if Aureolus were ſallying out with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his ſon Gallienus, and his two brothers, Valerian and Egnatius. The ſoldiers, hearing the emperor was dead, and ſuſpecting he had been murdered, began to mutiny; but Marcianus diſtributing large ſums among them, twenty pieces of gold a man, (for Gallienus always carried immenſe treaſures with him) the mutiny was appeaſed, and the whole army declared Gallienus a tyrant, and took the uſual oaths to Claudius, whom the conſpirators propoſed to them as the beſt qualified man in the whole empire to ſuſtain the name and dignity of a Roman emperor [o]. Such was the end of Gallienus, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, according to the moſt probable opinion, after he had reigned fifteen years, ſeven before, and eight after the captivity of his father Valerian. The ſenate declared him a public enemy, ordered moſt of his friends, miniſters, and relations to be thrown down headlong from the Tarpeian rock, and cauſed his name to be erazed out of all public inſcriptions. He was one of the moſt wicked princes mentioned in hiſtory, and is ſaid to have equalled Nero in cruelty, and Heliogabalus in lewdneſs. He paſſed his whole time in the company of the moſt infamous proſtitutes in Rome, and, laying aſide all care and thought of the public, ſuffered the Roman dominions to be over-run by the barbarians, and the empire to be rent in pieces by the many uſurpers who ſtarted up in his time, ſhewing no more concern for the loſs of a province, to uſe the expreſſion of Trebellius Pollio, than for that of an old garment. He exerted his cruelty chiefly againſt the ſoldiers, of whom he is ſaid to have ſometimes ordered three or four thouſand to be put to death in one day. He excluded all ſenators from military employments, and would not even ſuffer any of that illuſtrious body to appear in the camp, or among the ſoldiers. Notwithſtanding all his vices, he was a great encourager of learning, being himſelf well verſed in all the branches of polite literature, eſpecially in oratory and poetry. His hiſtorian tells us, that on occaſion of the marriage of his brother's ſon, he made an extemporary epithalamium, which far excelled thoſe that were written at the ſame time, after many days ſtudy, by the beſt Greek and Latin poets then in Rome [p]. After his death, Claudius cauſed him, though univerſally abhorred both by the ſenate and people, to be deified with the uſual ceremonies. His body was in all likelihood conveyed by

And moſt of his miniſters and friends condemned by the ſenate.

Gallienus generally abhorred but deified.

[o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem, p. 180.

by Claudius's orders to Rome; for Ammianus Marcellinus ſpeaks of his tomb on the Appian way, about nine miles from the city [q]. Of the few writers who flouriſhed under him, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (Y).

Claudius proclaimed emperor.

As ſoon as the tumult occaſioned by the death of Gallienus was appeaſed, the ſoldiers, with loud acclamations, proclaimed Claudius emperor. The news of what had happened at Milan reaching Rome on the twenty-fourth of March, the ſenate immediately aſſembled; and the letter which Claudius wrote to them being publicly read, they unanimouſly confirmed the election of the army, proclaimed Claudius emperor, and heaped upon him all the honours which had ever been conferred upon any prince, repeating forty times, That they had always wiſhed to have Claudius, or ſuch a perſon as Claudius,

[q] Ammian. p. 472.

(Y) Palfurius Sura wrote the hiſtory of the reign of Gallienus (65); and this is all we know of him. Cœleſtinus and Mæonius Aſtyanax, quoted by ſome of the Auguſtine writers, are equally unknown. They all flouriſhed under Gallienus; for of the tranſactions of his reign they ſpeak as of things happening in their time (66). Voſſius ranks them among the Latin hiſtorians (67). Suidas mentions one Ephorus of Cumæ, who wrote the hiſtory of Calenus, or rather, as others read, Gallienus, in twenty ſeven books (68). Voſſius places him among the Greek hiſtorians, and takes him to have been a native of Cumæ in Aſia (69). He wrote other hiſtories; but none of them have reached us (70). Trebellius Pollio quotes a paſſage out of one Julius Acerianus, much to the credit and reputation of Victorinus, who uſurped the empire in Gaul (71). The ſame writer quotes another paſſage out of one Gallus Antipater, who wrote the hiſtory of Aureolus, and probably of the other tyrants: but he ſeems to have entertained a very bad opinion of him; for he calls him a ſlave to honours, and the diſgrace of hiſtorians, though the paſſage he quotes, does not, in our opinion, deſerve ſuch a ſevere cenſure (72). Under Gallienus flouriſhed likewiſe Lupercus of Berytus, a celebrated grammarian, who wrote ſeveral grammatical pieces, and was in many things preferred to Herodian (73).

(65) Gall. vit. p. 183. (66) Valer. vit. p. 175. Trigint. tyrann. c. 11. p. 190. (67) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p. 182. (68) Suid. p. 1111. (69) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii c. 16. p. 240. (70) Idem l. i. c. 7. p. 37. (71) Trigint. tyrann. c. 5. p. 187. (72) Claud. vit. p. 203. (73) Suid. p. 58. Voſſ. hiſt Græc. l. ii. c. 16. p. 240.

Claudius, for emperor [r]. He was a native of Illyricum, born, according to ſome, in Dardania, according to others, in Dalmatia. Of his father and anceſtors, Trebellius Pollio owns, that he knows but very little, though, after his acceſſion to the empire, ſome flattering genealogiſts pretended to derive his pedigree from Dardanus and the Trojans [s]. On moſt medals he is ſtyled M. Aurelius Claudius [t]. He had no children, but two brothers, Quintillus, who ſucceeded him, and Criſpus, the father of Claudia, who married Eutropius, and had by him Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine the Great. The name of Conſtantine was, it ſeems, peculiar to the family of Claudius; for one of his ſiſters was called Conſtantia, a name hitherto never mentioned in hiſtory. The preſent emperor is by all writers, even by Zoſimus, an avowed enemy to Conſtantine, cried up as one of the beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. He was highly eſteemed by the emperor Valerian, who firſt gave him the command of the fifth legion, and afterwards, at the requeſt of the ſenate, appointed him general of all the troops in Illyricum, which comprehended Thrace, Mœſia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Dacia. The ſame emperor deſigned to raiſe him to the conſulſhip, and give him the command of the prætorian guards. Gallienus ſtood in great awe of him; and being informed, that Claudius diſapproved of his conduct, he did all that lay im his power to attach him to his intereſt, ſent him rich preſents, and wrote to one Venuſtus, his particular friend, charging him by all means to gain Claudius, and remove from him all jealouſies and ſuſpicions [u]. In his letter he ſtyled Claudius his friend and kinſman. Claudius attended him in his wars againſt Poſthumius in Gaul, and the Heruli in Illyricum, and was ſent by him, after the revolt of Aureolus, to defend the city of Ticinum, or Pavia. But, in the mean time, Gallienus being killed, he was, though, according to ſome writers, not privy to the conſpiracy, proclaimed emperor [w]. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than he attacked Aureolus, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from Milan, utterly defeated the troops under his command, and took the uſurper himſelf priſoner. He deſigned to grant him his life; but the ſoldiers killed him without his orders. The emperor raiſed a monument to his memory, cauſed his body to be honourably interred, and ordered a bridge to be built over the Adda, at the place where he had been killed; which,

His extraction and preferments.

Aureolus defeated and killed.

[r] Claud. vit. p. 203. [s] Idem, p. 206. [t] Goltz. p. 117. Birag. p. 402. [u] Claud. vit, p. 207. [w] Idem, p. 203.

which, from his name, he called Pons Aureoli, The bridge of Aureolus; whence the preſent village of Pontirolo, on the Adda, between Milan and Bergamo, in all likelihood, took its name [x]. After the death of Aureolus, the troops that had ſerved under him acknowledged Claudius, who, without loſs of time, led them and the reſt of his army againſt the Germans, who had broken into Italy, and were advanced as far as the lake Benacus, now Lago di Garda, near Verona. There the emperor defeated them in a pitched battle, cut incredible numbers of them in pieces, obliged thoſe who outlived the general ſlaughter to ſave themſelves by a precipitous flight into their own country, and returning to Rome, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, paſſed the remaining part of the year in ſettling affairs there; which he did with great prudence and juſtice, redreſſing all grievances, and ſuppreſſing the many abuſes and diſorders which had prevailed in the late reign.

The Germans defeated by Claudius.

In the beginning of the following year, he entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having Paternus for his collegue, and ſoon after ſet out from Rome, to make head againſt the Goths and other northern nations, who, to the number of three hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, beſides women, ſervants, and children, had invaded the Roman dominions, and committed every where moſt dreadful ravages, laying waſte whole provinces, burning cities, and putting all to fire and ſword. The emperor came up with them, as they were retiring, loaded with booty, through Upper Mœſia. As he was upon the point of engaging them, he wrote with his own hand the following letter to the ſenate: "I am, conſcript fathers, in ſight of the enemy, "and ready to engage them: they are three hundred and "twenty thouſand ſtrong. If I overcome them, you will "not, I hope, be ungrateful. If I ſhould not be attended "with ſucceſs, you will remember that I fight after the reign "of Gallienus. The whole empire is quite ſpent and ex-"hauſted, partly by him, and partly by the many tyrants, "who, during his reign, uſurped the ſovereignty, and laid "waſte our provinces. We want even ſhields, ſwords, and "ſpears. The provinces of Gaul and Spain, the main "ſtrength of the empire, are in the hands of Tetricus. Our "archers to our great ſhame, are with-held from us by Ze-"nobia. Whatever therefore we perform ſucceſsfully in "our preſent circumſtances, muſt be accounted great."

He marches againſt the Goths, and other northern nations.

But,

[x] Trigint. tyran. c. 10. p. 190.

But, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, Claudius advanced boldly againſt the barbarians, and, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, gained one of the greateſt victories mentioned in hiſtory; for no fewer than three hundred thouſand of the enemy were killed or taken priſoners. The emperor himſelf gave the following account of this memorable victory in a letter, which he wrote after the battle, to Junius Brocchus, governor of Illyricum: "We have utterly defeated an amy "of three hundred and twenty thouſand Goths, and deſtroy-"ed their fleet, conſiſting of two thouſand ſail. The fields "and ſhores are covered with ſwords, ſhields, and dead "bodies. We have taken ſuch numbers of captives, that, "not to mention the men, two or three women will fall "to the ſhare of each ſoldier in our victorious army [x]." Among the priſoners were many princes and perſons of great diſtinction. All the provinces of the empire were filled with captives, who were employed to till the ground, and every city could ſhew you, ſays Pollio, glorious monuments of the fortune and courage of the brave and invincible Claudius [y]. For this victory the emperor took the ſurname of Gothicus [z]. While Claudius was thus employed againſt the barbarians, Zenobia, having overcome Probus, who commanded ſome troops in Egypt, reduced that province, and, after a long ſiege, took and utterly deſtroyed Bruchium, the citadel of Alexandria. Probus, finding he could not by any means eſcape falling into the hands of the victorious queen, diſpatched himſelf with his own ſword [a]. The following year, when Antiochianus and Orphitus were conſuls, the emperor having nothing to fear from the barbarians, reſolved to march againſt Zenobia, who held all the provinces in the eaſt; but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and made a dreadful havock of his men. The emperor himſelf was in the end ſeized and carried off by the raging diſtemper at Sirmium in Pannonia, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after he had reigned, according to the moſt probable opinion, two years and one month [b]. In him centered, ſays Trebellius Pollio, the moderation of Auguſtus, the valour of Trajan, the piety of Antoninus, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him [c]. He may be truly ſaid to have re-eſtabliſhed, during his ſhort, but glorious reign, the tottering empire, and to have reſtored it to its former

And gains a memorable victory over them.

Zenobia reduces Egypt.

The death of Claudius.

[x] Claud. vit. p. 204. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Goltz. p. 118.
[a] Zoſ. p. 654, 655. [b] Idem, p. 654. Euſeb. chron. p. 138. Gruter, p. 276. [c] Claud. vit. p. 203.

Extraordinary honours conferred on him by the ſenate and people of Rome.

former luſtre. The ſenate not only beſtowed divine honours upon him after his death, but hung up in the place where they aſſembled a ſhield of gold, on which was engraved his image. This ſhield was ſtill to be ſeen in the reign of Conſtantine the Great. The people erected to him at their own expence two ſtatues, one of gold ten foot high, which they placed by that of Jupiter in the capitol, and another of ſilver in the forum, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, and repreſenting the emperor in his triumphal robes [d]. Claudius, and not Gallienus, as Spanhemius pretends [e], was the laſt emperor, who aſſumed on his medals the titles of high pontiff and tribune of the people [f]. Upon the death of Claudius, the ſenate and people of Rome proclaimed his brother Quintillus emperor, who was then at Aquileia, in which city he was murdered by his ſoldiers, after a ſhort reign of ſeventeen days, for attempting to reſtore with too much ſeverity the diſcipline of the primitive times. Thus Trebellius Pollio [g]. But Zoſimus [h] and Zonaras [i] tells us, that Quintillus, hearing Aurelian had been acknowledged emperor by the army in Pannonia, and finding his own troops ready to revolt, by the advice of his friends, cauſed his veins to be opened, and by that means put an end to his life and reign. Moſt writers ſpeak of him as one in every reſpect equal to his brother.

His brother Quintillus proclaimed emperor; but dies ſoon after.

Upon his death, the ſenate readily confirmed the election of Aurelian, and honoured him with the title of Auguſtus. He was, according to moſt writers, a native of Sirmium in Pannonia, of a mean deſcent, but univerſally admired on account of his extraordinary ſtrength and courage. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner under the emperors Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius, in their wars with the barbarians, of whom he is ſaid to have killed with his own hand forty-eight in one engagement, and in ſeveral others nine hundred and fifty; whence ſongs were made upon his exploits, and ſung publicly by the youth on feſtival days. As there were two Aurelians at the ſame time in the army, and both tribunes, the ſoldiers uſed to diſtinguiſh the preſent Aurelian with the ſurname of Manu ad ferrum, that is, Hand to the ſword; ſo ready was he on all occaſions to draw his ſword, and encounter the enemy [k]. He was a moſt ſtrict obſerver of the military diſcipline, and uſed to puniſh with the

Aurelian raiſed to the empire.

His extraction and preferments.

[d] Idem, p. 208. [e] Spanh. l. viii. p. 699. [f] Vide Birag. p. 402. Noris. de Licinii nummo, c. 3. p. 49. [g] Claud. vit. p. 206. [h] Zoſ. p. 654. [i] Zonar. p. 239. [k] Aurel. vit. p. 210, 211.

the utmoſt ſeverity the leaſt neglect of duty, and the leaſt injury offered by his ſoldiers to any of the inhabitants of the provinces, through which he marched. He was, when proclaimed emperor, commander in chief of the cavalry, to which poſt he had raiſed himſelf from the low ſtation of a common ſoldier [1]. From Sirmium, where he was ſaluted emperor by the whole army, after the death of Claudius, he haſtened to Rome, and was received there, both by the ſenate and people, with extraordinary demonſtrations of joy; but, before he could ſettle affairs in the metropolis of the empire, he was obliged to return in great haſte to Pannonia, the Goths, notwithſtanding their late moſt dreadful overthrow, having anew broken into that province. Aurelian engaged them, and the battle laſted without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide, till night, when the enemy repaſſed the Danube, and the next day ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which Aurelian readily granted them, being informed, that the Alemanni, the Juthongæ, whoſe country bordered upon Rhœtia, and the Marcomanni, threatened to invade Italy itſelf, and were committing dreadful ravages and devaſtations in ſeveral parts. Againſt them therefore Aurelian led the flower of his army, and meeting them in Vindelicia, which comprehended all the preſent Bavaria and great part of Suevia, he put them to flight, and cut off great numbers of them, as they attempted to paſs the Danube. Hereupon they ſent embaſſadors to the emperor, offering to renew their antient alliance with Rome, provided they were allowed to return unmoleſted into their own country; for Aurelian had cut off their retreat, and detached part of his army to guard the banks of the Danube. The emperor, elated with his victory, would hearken to no terms; which threw the enemy into the utmoſt deſpair. After various conſultations and debates among themſelves, they reſolved at length to enter Italy, ſince they could not return to their own country; and accordingly, finding the paſſes unguarded, (for Aurelian apprehended no attempt of that nature) they advanced before the emperor came up with them, as far as Placentia. There Aurelian attacked them; but, after having loſt moſt of his troops, was put to flight and utterly defeated. The barbarians, puffed up with ſo ſignal a victory, purſued their march, not doubting, but they ſhould be able to take Rome itſelf, as the Gauls had formerly done. But, in the mean time, Aurelian, having rallied his diſperſed troops, and reinforced them with the legions

Concludes a peace with the Goths.

He defeats ſeveral German nations;

Who nevertheleſs enter Italy, and put the emperor to flight:

[1] Idem, p. 211.

gions quartered in Illyricum, came unexpectedly upon the enemy in the neighbourhood of Fanum Fortunæ, now Fano, and gave them a dreadful overthrow. Such of them as eſcaped from this firſt battle, were ſlain in two others, one of which was fought near Placentia, and the other in the plains of Ticinium. Thus was the whole multitude cut off to a man [m]. To this day is to be ſeen at Peſaro, a city about five miles from Fano, a monument erected by the inhabitants in memory of the victory gained there by Aurelian over the Germans [n]. While the emperor was preparing to return to Rome, news was brought him, that the Vandals had paſſed the Danube, under the conduct of two of their kings and ſeveral other princes. This obliged him to haſten to the defence of the threatened provinces. The Vandals retired upon his approach; the emperor, however, purſued and overtook them before they reached the Danube, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſue for peace; which he readily granted them, upon their delivering to him as hoſtages the ſons of their two kings, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction. He incorporated two thouſand of their beſt men in his army, and ordered the reſt to be ſupplied with proviſions at the public expence, till they reached the Danube [o]. Aurelian, having thus happily ended the wars with the Goths, Germans, and Vandals, returned to Rome, and, in the beginning of the following year, entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, having for his collegue, Numerius Ceionius Virius Baſſus. As ſeveral diſturbances had happened in Rome during his abſence, he puniſhed the authors of them with great ſeverity, and ſuch too as were accuſed of having blamed his conduct in the German war. Trebellius Pollio tells us, that, tho' he was in other reſpects an excellent prince, he often ſufferred his paſſion to get the better of his reaſon, and puniſhed with exceſſive rigor faults, which an humane prince would have over-looked. He put ſeveral ſenators to death, upon the depoſition of a ſingle witneſs; and often gave ear to the accuſations of perſons, who deſerved no credit; which much leſſened the reputation he had gained by his exploits in the field, and eſtranged from him the minds both of the ſenate and people [p]. The emperor Julian charges him with having put many perſons to death unjuſtly [q]; and Ammianus Marcellinus writes, that he was glad of any pretence

But are in the end all cut off.

The Vandals defeated.

Aurelian eſtranges the minds of the ſenate and people with his ſeverity.

[m] Idem, p. 215, 216. Dexipp. legat. p. 7.—11. [n] Gruter. p. 276. [o] Dexipp. legat. p. 12. [p] Aurel. vit. p. 116. [q] Julian. Cæſ. p. 16.

tence to condemn the rich, being in great want of money to carry on the war and pay his troops [r]. This year, with the consent and approbation of the senate, he undertook the repairing the walls of the city, which he likewise extended; so that they were near fifty miles in compass [s]. This great work was not accomplished till the latter end of the reign of Probus [t].

THE following year, when Quietus and Voldumianus were consuls, Aurelian, having settled affairs in Pannonia, Italy, and at Rome, left the city anew, and set out for the east, to make war upon the celebrated Zenobia, who, to the great disgrace of the empire, had held for several years most of the eastern provinces. This queen, one of the most illustrious women mentioned in history, is styled on several medals Septimia Zenobia [u]; whence some writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor Septimius Severus. She pretended to derive her pedigree from the Cleopatras and Ptolemies of Egypt, and her family was reckoned one of the most conspicuous in the east. She was well versed in all the branches of polite literature, understood thoroughly the Egyptian, Greek, and Latin languages, and in the knowledge of history, excelled most men of her time. She is even said to have compiled an abridgment of the Egyptian and Oriental historians, which was in great request among the learned [w]. St. Athanasius writes, that she professed the Jewish religion [x], and is therein followed by Abulfaragius [y]. She married the celebrated Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, and afterwards partner in the empire with Gallienus. She had great share in the many signal victories gained by her husband over the Persians, and is said to have been no less courageous than that brave commander, and equally experienced in military affairs. Upon his death, she arrayed her three sons, Herennianus, Timolaus, and Vhaballat, in purple, caused them to be acknowledged by all the eastern provinces as joint-emperors of Rome, and obliged them to conform to the Roman customs, and use not the Greek, which was spoken by other eastern princes, but the Latin, tongue. As they were under age, she governed in their name, with the title of queen of the east, for the space of five, or, as others will have it, six, years, discharging each duty of an excellent prince and experienced commander,

He marches against Zenobia.

Her extraction, conduct, and administration.

[r] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 431. [s] Aur. Vict. epit. Aurel. vit. p. 216. [t] Zos. p. 655. [u] Birag. p. 385. Spanh p. 937. [w] Aur. vit. p. 219. [x] Athan. solit. p. 857. [y] Abul. p. 81.

mander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She ſhewed great wiſdom in her counſels, was ſteady in her reſolutions, kind and generous to perſons of merit, but inexorable when ſeverity was judged neceſſary. She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the Perſian monarch, and cauſing all thoſe who approached her to fall proſtrate before her, after the manner of the Perſian court. She often appeared at the head of her troops, armed with an helmet and arrayed with the imperial robes, harangued them, and marched with them ſeveral miles on foot, uſing a horſe, and ſometimes a chariot, when the marches were long, but ſeldom a litter. In imitation of the Roman emperors, ſhe gave magnificent entertainments, not ſcrupling on theſe occaſions to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the Perſian and Armenian embaſſadors, though otherwiſe very ſober and temperate [z]. In the reign of Gallienus, ſhe defeated Heraclianus, as we have related above, and, by his overthrow, remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of all Syria and Meſopotamia, to which ſhe added Egypt, while Claudius was taken up with the Gothic war. Not ſatisfied with theſe acquiſitions, in the reign of Aurelian, ſhe ſeized on great part of Aſia, and attempted to reduce Bithynia *. Aurelian, deſirous to put an end to her uſurpation, ordered all his forces to aſſemble in Illyricum, and ſetting out from Rome early in the ſpring of this year 272, bent his march through Thrace, where he engaged and put to flight ſeveral barbarous nations, who had madeirruptions into that province. He even paſſed the Danube, and in an engagement with Caunabaud, a Gothick prince, ſlew him and five thouſand of his men [a]. Having thus defeated the Goths, he purſued his march to Byzantium, and, croſſing the Boſphorus, entered Bithynia, which was held by Zenobia, according to Vopiſcus, but immediately ſubmitted. From Bithynia he advanced into Cappadocia, where the inhabitants of Tyana ſhut their gates againſt him; which ſo incenſed Aurelian, that he ſwore he would not leave a dog alive in the place. His ſoldiers attacked it with great fury; but were in their repeated aſſaults repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the inhabitants, till one of them, by name Heraclammon, betrayed his country and fellow-citizens to the enemy. We are told by Vopiſcus, that the ghoſt of the famous Apollonius Tyaneus, appearing to Aurelian, warned him not to deſtroy the place of his nativity; and that the emperor, moved

Her exploits.

Aurelian defeats the Goths, and kills one of their kings.

Takes Tyana in Cappadocia.

[z] Trigint. tyran. c. 29. p. 198. * Zoſ. p. 655. [a] Aur. vit. p. 216.

moved by this apparition, would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to offer the leaſt injury to the inhabitants, anſwering them, when they put him in mind of his vow not to leave a dog alive in the place, that they might kill, if they pleaſed, all the dogs, provided they ſpared the inhabitants. This anſwer was received with great applauſe by the ſoldiers themſelves, who were no leſs pleaſed, ſays Vopiſcus, with the humour of their general, than if he had abandoned to them all the riches of that opulent city [b]. Heraclammon, who betrayed the place, was the only perſon whom the emperor ſuffered to be put to death. Concerning him he wrote the following letter to Mallius Chilo, who was, it ſeems, the emperor's particular friend:

Suffers the perſon who betrayed it to be put to death.

" I have taken Tyana, and ſuffered the perſon, by whoſe fa-
" vour, and, as it were, good offices, I took it, to be cut
" in pieces by my ſoldiers. I have ſpared the reſt; but could
" not endure ſuch a traitor. Would he ever have been faith-
" ful to me, who betrayed his own country? He was rich,
" I own it; but his eſtate I have given to his children, that
" no one might accuſe me, as if I had put him to death for
" the ſake of his wealth [c] ". From Tyana Aurelian led his army ſtrait to Antioch, defeated the troops of Zenobia in the neighbourhood of that city, and entered, as it were, in triumph the metropolis of Syria. This victory, however, coſt him dear; for the Palmyrenians (ſo the troops of Zenobia are ſtyled by hiſtorians) fought with incredible bravery, and the Romans owed the victory rather to art than valour; for obſerving the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they betook themſelves to flight; and facing about unexpectedly, when they were quite ſpent with the long purſuit, put them eaſily in diſorder, and gained a complete victory [d]. From Antioch Aurelian purſued his march to Emeſa, whither Zenobia had retired with her army, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand men. Under her commanded one Zabas, or Zabdas, a man of great courage and experience, who had ſignalized himſelf in the Perſian wars in the time of Odenatus. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with various ſucceſs, both armies came to a general engagement, in which the Roman horſe were put to flight at the firſt onſet; but their infantry attacking the enemy both in the front and flanks, left naked and expoſed by the departure of their cavalry, who were purſuing the Romans, obliged them, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, to give ground, and ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of Emeſa; which place, however, they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army,

Zenobia's army defeated.

Zenobia defeated a ſecond time.

[b] Idem, p. 217. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Zoſ. p 655.

and withdrew with Zenobia to Palmyra, whither Aurelian purſued them cloſe, though ſtrangely haraſſed in his march by the Syrian robbers, who cut off great numbers of his men.

Palmyra beſieged.

He immediately inveſted the place, hoping to carry it by repeated aſſaults; but all his efforts proving unſucceſsful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The beſieged, animated by the example of their queen, not only repulſed the aggreſſors with ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones, but rallied them from the walls, without ſparing the emperor himſelf. Aurelian owned in one of his letters, that he had never engaged a more brave and reſolute enemy; and mentioning Zenobia, ſays, that ſhe did not behave like a timorous woman, but fought with all the boldneſs of a man in deſpair. "It is incredible, adds he, what thick ſhowers "of arrows, darts, and ſtones ſhe diſcharges upon us; ſhe "harraſſes us night and day with fire from her engines, &c. "However, I hope the gods, who have never yet failed to "ſecond our endeavours, will not on this occaſion abandon "the cauſe of the Roman people." The emperor, at length quite tired out with the toils and fatigues of ſo long a ſiege, wrote a letter to Zenobia, exhorting her to ſurrender, and promiſing her her life. To this letter Zenobia returned the following anſwer: "No man ever before you made "ſuch a demand. It is not by letters, but valour, that you "muſt induce me to ſubmit. You cannot but know, that "Cleopatra choſe rather to die, than to live under Auguſtus, "notwithſtanding the mighty promiſes he made her. I expect "daily the Perſians, Saracens, and Armenians, who are all "haſtening to my relief; and what will then become of you "and your army, whom the robbers of Syria have put to "flight? You will then lay aſide that pride and preſumption "with which you command me to ſurrender, as if you were "the conqueror of the univerſe[c]." Aurelian, piqued with this anſwer, immediately ordered a general aſſault; but was repulſed with great loſs, and obliged to give over the attempt. However, he defeated a few days after, the Perſians, who came to the relief of the place; and what by menaces, what by mighty promiſes, prevailed upon the Armenians and Saracens to join him againſt the queen, whom they were come to aſſiſt. Zenobia, finding her ſelf diſappointed as to the ſuccours, which ſhe had long expected, and deſpairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, reſolved to withdraw privately from the city into Perſia,

Zenobia's anſwer to Aurelian, requiring her to ſubmit.

and

[c] Aur. vit. p. 218.

and there ſollicit in perſon more powerful ſupplies. Accordingly ſhe ſet out in the dead of the night with a ſmall retinue on fleet camels, carrying with her part of her jewels and treaſures. But Aurelian, who was very watchful, having had timely notice of her flight, detached a party of horſe after the fugitive queen; who coming up with her as ſhe was ready to croſs the Euphrates in a boat, ſeized her, and carried her back to Aurelian, who from that moment began to look upon himſelf as the conqueror and ſole lord of the eaſt. When ſhe was brought into his preſence, he aſked her, What had prompted her to take up arms againſt, and inſult over, the emperors of Rome? To this queſtion the queen replied, with no leſs intrepidity than addreſs, That ſhe looked upon him indeed, who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but as for Gallienus, Aureolus, and ſuch as reſembled them, ſhe had never thought them worthy of that name [f].

Zenobia taken and brought to Aurelian.

The city of Palmyra ſtill held out, and ſome were againſt ſubmitting upon any terms whatſoever; but others ſued for mercy, and, upon the emperor's promiſing to grant them their lives, opened their gates to the conqueror, who ſpared the inhabitants, but ſtripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed one Sandarion governor of the place, with five hundred archers and other troops under his command [g]. After this, the emperor returned to Emeſa, carrying with him the captive queen, whoſe death the ſoldiers demanded with loud clamours; but the emperor thought it beneath him to ſpill the blood of a woman, the more, becauſe ſhe had with great care defended the eaſtern provinces againſt the Perſians and other neighbouring nations, ready to ſeize them during the domeſtic diſturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire [h]. The emperor likewiſe ſpared Vhaballat, the queen's youngeſt ſon [i]. As for the other two, Herennianus and Timolaus, Pollio tells us in one place, that it is uncertain whether they died a natural or violent death [k]; and elſewhere, that they were led in triumph with the queen their mother [l]. All writers agree, that Aurelian cauſed many perſons of diſtinction to be executed at Emeſa for ſiding with Zenobia, and ordered others to be thrown over-board when he croſſed over from Chalcedon to Thrace. Among the former was the celebrated philoſopher Longinus, of whom hereafter. The fame of this victory ſoon reached the moſt diſtant nations;

The city of Palmyra ſubmits.

[f] Trigint. tyran. c. 29. p. 199. [g] Aur. vit. p. 219. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Zoſ. p. 661. Birag. p. 385. [k] Trig. tyran. c. 26. p. 198. [l] Idem, c. 23. p. 196.

All the eaſtern and ſouthern nations court the friendſhip of Aurelian.

and they all ſtrove, with ſolemn embaſſies and rich preſents, to gain the friendſhip of the conqueror of Zenobia. Among theſe are mentioned the Blemyes, the Auxumites, the inhabitants of Arabia Felix, the Bactrians, Iberians, Albanians, Saracens, Armenians, Ethiopians, Indians, Perſians, and even the Seres or Chineſe. Hormiſdas, or, as Eutychius calls him, Hormoz al Horri, who had ſucceeded his father Sapor in the kingdom of Perſia, ſent to the emperor, amongſt other preſents, a chariot, covered all over with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value, and a ſcarlet mantle of ſuch a lively colour, that the Romans had never ſeen any but what came infinitely ſhort of it. Aurelian, and after him Probus and Diocleſian, taken with its extraordinary brightneſs and beauty, ſent, but to no effect, perſons into the eaſt, on purpoſe to diſcover the art of dying to ſuch an extraordinary perfection [m]. Aurelian, having thus recovered and ſettled in peace the eaſtern provinces, returned by Chalcedon and Byzantium into Europe, carrying with him his illuſtrious captive. He defeated, on his march through Thrace, the Carpi, who had broken into that province; but at the ſame time he was informed, that the inhabitants of Palmyra had revolted, put the Roman governor and garriſon to the ſword, and proclaimed a kinſman of Zenobia, named Achilleus, or, as Zoſimus calls him, Antiochus, their ſovereign. Upon this intelligence, the emperor, with great expedition, haſtened back into Syria, and arriving at Palmyra before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, he took the city without oppoſition, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition [n]. He had not yet quitted the eaſt, when news was brought him, that Egypt had revolted, and ſet up for emperor one Firmus, or rather Firmius, as he is ſtyled on ſuch of his medals as have reached our times [o]. He was a native of Seleucia in Syria; but poſſeſſed an immenſe eſtate in Egypt, and carried on an advantageous trade with the Saracens, the Blemyes, a people of Ethiopia, and the inhabitants of India; for he uſed to brag, that with his gains only upon paper and glue, he could maintain a whole army. Vopiſcus relates wonderful things of his ſtrength and appetite. He was greatly attached to Zenobia, and, to keep up her party and intereſt, aſſumed the title of Auguſtus, made himſelf maſter of Egypt, and ſtopped the corn which it uſed to ſend yearly to Rome. Aurelian marched

Palmyra revolts; but is retaken, and all the inhabitants put to the ſword

The revolt of Firmius.

[m] Aur. vit. p. 218. [n] Aur. vit p. 219. [o] Goltz. p. 119. Spanh. l. vii. p. 599.

marched againſt him with that expedition which was peculiar to him, and, being attended with his uſual ſucceſs, overcame the uſurper, ſtormed a ſtrong hold to which he fled, and having taken him priſoner, cauſed him to be publicly executed [p]. Having thus ſuppreſſed all troubles in the eaſt, he returned the ſecond time to Europe, with a deſign to recover and reunite to the empire the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which were ſtill held by Tetricus. This he eaſily compaſſed, Tetricus himſelf, no longer able to bear the continual diſorders and mutinies of his troops, inviting him privately into Gaul [q]. However, a battle was fought near Chalon on the Marne; during which, Tetricus voluntarily yielding to Aurelian, his troops, deſtitute of a leader, were cut in pieces. Thus was Gaul, after it had been held for the ſpace of thirteen years by different tyrants, united a-new to the empire. Towards the end of this year, when Tacitus, afterwards emperor, and Placidianus were conſuls, Aurelian returned to Rome, where he was received with the moſt magnificent triumph the city had ever beheld. There were four royal and ſtately chariots: the firſt, which had belonged to Odenatus, was entirely covered with ſilver, gold, and jewels; another, equally rich and magnificent, was a preſent to Aurelian from the king of Perſia; the third was Zenobia's own chariot; and the fourth, which was drawn by four ſtags, had been taken by Aurelian from a Gothic prince. In the latter the emperor himſelf made his entry. Theſe chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beaſts from different countries. Next came eight hundred couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives of different nations, with their hands tied behind their backs, viz. Goths, Alans, Roxalans, Sarmatians, Franks, Suevians, Vandals, Alemans, Blemyes, Auxumites, Arabians, Eudæmonians, Indians, Bactrians, Iberians, Saracens, Armenians, Perſians, ſuch of the Palmyrenians as had outlived the late ſlaughter, ſome Egyptians taken in the late rebellion of Firmius, and ten Gothic women, whom Aurelian had taken fighting in the habit of men. Theſe were followed by Tetricus, in a ſcarlet robe, and his ſon, whom he had taken for his partner in the empire. Next to them marched Zenobia, whoſe uncommon beauty, noble ſtature, and majeſtic mien attracted the eyes of the ſpectators, and ſeemed to eclipſe the grandeur and luſtre of the emperor himſelf. She

Gaul reduced.

Aurelian's triumph.

[p] Aur. vit. p. 220. Zoſ. p. 66. [q] Trig. tyran. c. 23. p. 119.

was bound with chains of gold, which other perſons bore up, apparelled with the richeſt tiſſues and robes, and ſo loaded with pearls and precious ſtones, that ſhe was often obliged to halt, being ready to ſink under ſo great a burden. Zenobia was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the ſenate in a body, the people of Rome with their various ſtandards, and the victorious legions, horſe and foot, in rich and ſplendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees, the ſymbol of victory, in their hands. The ſenate, however, in the midſt of the public rejoicings, betrayed no ſmall concern to ſee Tetricus, one of their own body, who had even been conſul, led in triumph. In the capitol Aurelian ſacrificed to Jupiter the four ſtags that had drawn his chariot, in compliance with a vow he had made, when he took them. From the capitol, he went to the palace, attended by the ſenate and ſuch crouds of people, that the day was far ſpent before he could reach it. The next and ſeveral following days, he diverted the people with plays, races in the circus, ſhews of gladiators, combats of wild beaſts, ſea-fights in the naumachia, and all ſorts of entertainments [r]. He treated his illuſtrious captives with great humanity and kindneſs. To

His humanity towards Zenobia and her children;

Zenobia he gave lands and poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of Tibur, now Tivoli, ſufficient to maintain her according to her rank. On that eſtate ſhe lived, ſays Trebellius Pollio, like a Roman matron, with her children, that is, according to Zonaras, with her daughters, whom Aurelian took under his protection, and married to perſons of the firſt quality in Rome [s]. The ſame writer adds, that Aurelian himſelf married one of them; which may perhaps be as true as what Syncellus had written before him, viz. that the emperor gave Zenobia herſelf in marriage to an illuſtrious ſenator [t]. Be that as it will, it is certain that her deſcendents lived ſtill at Rome in great ſplendor about the latter end of the fourth century [u]. Baronius takes the holy biſhop of Florence, Zenobius, who was contemporary with St. Ambroſe, to have been of her family [w]. As for her ſon Vhaballat, he retired into Armenia, where Aurelian gave him, it ſeems, a ſmall principality; for he coined money, and is ſtyled on ſome of his coins, which are ſtill to be ſeen, Vhaballat of Armenia, and on others, Vhaballat king of the Verimi, probably an obſcure people of Armenia [x]. The emperor ſhewed no leſs kindneſs

[r] Aur. vit. p. 220. [s] Trig. tyrann. c. 29. p. 198. Zon. p. 240. [t] Syncell. p. 385. [u] Hier. chron. [w] Baron. ad ann. 274. [x] Birag. p. 407. Goltz. p. 116.

kindneſs to Tetricus, than to Zenobia. To make ſome amends for the injury he had done him, by leading him like a captive in triumph, he heaped many honours upon him, ſtyling him his collegue, his fellow-ſoldier, and even honouring him ſometimes with the title of emperor. He appointed him governor of Lucania, telling him pleaſantly, that it was more to his reputation to govern a province of Italy, than to reign beyond the Alps [y]. He treated with the ſame humanity and good-nature young Tetricus, whom he had led in triumph with his father, ſuffering him to continue in the ſenate, and leaving his eſtate untouched, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity, who lived at Rome, under the ſucceeding princes, in great ſplendor, eſteemed and revered by perſons of all ranks. In the houſe of the Tetrici, on mount Cœlius, was ſtill to be ſeen, in the time of Conſtantine the Great, a moſt beautiful piece, repreſenting in moſaic work the father and ſon delivering up a ſceptre and crown to Aurelian, and Aurelian reſtoring to them the ſenatorial robes, and inveſting them in their former dignity [z].

And towards Tetricus and his ſon.

THE next conſuls were Aurelian, the ſecond time, and C. Julius Capitolinus. This year, the emperor continued at Rome; and, being now diverted by no foreign or domeſtic wars, he applied himſelf wholly to the ſuppreſſing of ſeveral abuſes, which had prevailed in the time of Gallienus, and which Claudius had not been able to obviate, during his ſhort reign. He made ſeveral regulations, which gained him the affections of the people, whom he had eſtranged from him, in the beginning of his reign, with his cruelty, to which he had naturally a great bias. To the bounties of the emperors his predeceſſors, who had eſtabliſhed funds for diſtributing bread and oil among the people, he added a certain portion of hogs-fleſh to be given with the bread and oil; and encreaſed the latter largeſs by the addition of an ounce to each pound. He even deſigned to eſtabliſh a fund for diſtributing a certain quantity of wine among them; but was either prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution, or, as others write, diverted from it by the captain of the guards, who told him, that if he allowed the populace wine, they would next expect geeſe and chickens [a]. When he left Rome to make war upon Zenobia, he promiſed to give to each man among the people a crown weighing two pounds, if he returned conqueror. The people thought he meant crowns of gold;

Several regulations made by Aurelian.

[y] Eutrop. Aur. Vict. epit. [z] Trig. tyr. c. 23, 24 p. 196, 197. [a] Aurel. vit. p. 225.

gold; but when they challenged his promiſe, the emperor cauſed loaves to be made of the fineſt flour in the form of crowns, each weighing two pounds, and diſtributed them daily among the people ſo long as he lived, as he frequently did money and cloaths. He appointed, that Egypt ſhould ſupply the city of Rome yearly with a certain quantity of glaſs, paper, linen, and ſeveral other things, that were either the natural growth of, or manufactured in, that country [b]. He cauſed wharfs to be built along the banks of the Tiber, and the chanel of that river to be cleanſed and dug deeper. But nothing more obliged perſons of all ranks, than his generouſly remitting whatever was owing this year by private perſons to the exchequer, and his publicly burning in the forum of Trajan all the papers, bonds, and regiſters, relating to ſuch debts. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an act of oblivion with reſpect to all crimes committed againſt the ſtate to that day. From that time forward he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch as accuſed others, without being able to make good their charge [c]. He enacted many wholeſome laws, by which he is ſaid to have purged Rome of all profeſſed lewdneſs, irreligion, and wicked arts. Finding that eunuchs began to be ſold at a very great rate, he fixed the number which each perſon might keep of ſuch ſlaves, according to their different ranks. He enacted moſt ſevere laws againſt adultery, and puniſhed with death one of his own domeſtics guilty of that crime. He would ſuffer none to keep women free-born for concubines. His domeſtics, freed-men, and ſlaves, he kept in great awe, cauſing them, as he was naturally inclined to cruelty, to be inhumanly beaten in his preſence for the ſmalleſt faults, and delivering them up, when guilty of tranſgreſſing the laws, to the civil magiſtrates [d]. He deſigned to forbid all tiſſue of gold and gilding, pretending, that in nature there was as great a ſtock of gold, as of ſilver; and, that the former metal, if ſuch a prohibition ſhould take place, would become as common as the latter. This prohibition, however, was not publiſhed by him, but by his ſucceſſor Tacitus, who is ſuppoſed to have ſuggeſted it to him [e]. About this time, he built and conſecrated a moſt magnificent temple to the ſun, of which frequent mention is made in hiſtory, and embelliſhed it with moſt rich and coſtly ornaments, and with an infinite quantity of gold, pearls, and precious ſtones. It was one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent ſtructures

His generoſity.

He builds a magnificent temple to the ſun.

[b] Idem, p. 224. [c] Idem, p. 222. [d] Idem, p. 224.
[e] Idem ibid. & Tacit. vit. p. 230.

ſtructures in Rome. The gold veſſels belonging to it weighed fifteen hundred pounds. He likewiſe enriched the capitol, and moſt of the temples in the city, with preſents of great value ſent him by foreign princes [f]. He extended the juriſdiction of the pontiffs, encreaſed their revenues, and eſtabliſhed funds for the repairs of the temples, and the ſalaries of the inferior miniſters. Towards the end of the year, a dangerous ſedition was raiſed in Rome by the perſons employed in the mint, who having, by a notorious breach of truſt, coined a great quantity of falſe money, to avoid the puniſhment due to their crime, joined in a body, and, under the conduct of one Feliciſſimus, formerly a ſlave, but appointed by Aurelian one of the receivers of the exchequer, raiſed ſuch diſturbances, that the emperor was obliged to order his troops to march againſt them, whom they received drawn up in battle-array on mount Cœlius, killed ſeven thouſand of them; but were in the end, though they fought with all the boldneſs of men in deſpair, overcome, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, not to ſay, cruelty. After this the emperor called in all the falſe coin, and gave true money in its room [g]. Soon after this ſedition, he put ſeveral ſenators to death, and likewiſe the ſon, or, as others will have it, the daughter, of his own ſiſter, for faults not ſpecified in hiſtory, but only ſaid not to have deſerved ſuch a ſevere puniſhment [h]. Towards the cloſe of this, or the very beginning of the following, year, when Aurelian was conſul the third time, with Marcellinus, ſome diſturbances happened in Gaul, which obliged the emperor to quit Rome, and haſten thither. All we know of this expedition is, that Gaul was reſtored to its former tranquillity, and that the emperor, marching from that province into Vindelicia, obliged the barbarians, who had made an irruption on that ſide, to repaſs the Danube [i]. A modern writer [k] is of opinion, that the emperor, before he left Gaul, rebuilt the city of Orleans, which at leaſt ever ſince the fifth century has been called by the Latin writers Aureliani urbs and urbs Aurelianorum: its antient name was Genabum or Cenabum. Gregory of Tours tells us, that he likewiſe either built or fortified the city of Dijon, at preſent the capital of Burgundy [l]. From Vindelicia the emperor marched into Illyricum; and there finding the province of Dacia in the hands

A great ſedition in Rome.

Aurelian marches into Gaul, to appeaſe ſome diſturbances there.

[f] Aur. vit. p. 217. 222. Zoſ. p. 661. [g] Aur. vit. p. 222. Zoſ. p. 665. [h] Aur. vit. ibid. Aur. Vict. epit. [i] Aur. vit. p. 221. Zon. p. 240. [k] Le Maire, antiq. d'Orleans, c. 3. p. 9. [l] Greg. p. 172.

He abandons to the barbarians the province of Dacia.

hands of the barbarians, who had ſeized it in the reign of Gallienus, he did not think it worth his while to recover a country, which he was well appriſed he could not maintain in the midſt of ſo many barbarous nations. He therefore withdrew the Roman troops from the few forts they ſtill held beyond the Danube, and gave to the inhabitants, who had been driven out by the barbarians, part of Mæſia and Dardania to ſettle in. Thus out of theſe two countries he formed a new province, called by ſome the Aurelian Dacia, by others New Dacia, to diſtinguiſh it from Trajan's Dacia, which lay beyond the Danube. The metropolis of this new province, which, according to Sanſon, comprehended the moſt diſtant parts of Bulgaria and Servia, was Sardica, now known to us by the name of Sofia, but called by the inhabitants Triadizza [m]. The Goths, it ſeems, poſſeſſed themſelves of the country, which the emperor had abandoned. From Illyricum, the emperor marched into Thrace, with a deſign to paſs the winter there; and early in the ſpring to croſs over into Aſia, and lead his army againſt the Perſians, upon what provocation hiſtory does not inform us. But while he was wholly bent upon this war, death overtook him, and put a period to this, and his other vaſt deſigns. Hiſtorians give us the following account of his unhappy end. He ſuſpected Mneſtheus, one of his freedmen and ſecretaries, of ſome extortion, and had threatened to puniſh him. Hereupon Mneſtheus, probably conſcious to himſelf of the crime laid to his charge, and well acquainted with the emperor's cruel and inflexible temper, reſolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, counterfeiting his maſter's hand, he wrote a roll of the names of the chief officers in the army, and among the reſt his own; and ſhewing it to thoſe whoſe names he had ſet down, he told them, that he had found it in the emperor's cloſet; that they were all doomed to deſtruction; and that only by ſome deſperate attempt they could avert their impending ruin. They all believed him, and, prompted partly by fear, partly by indignation, to ſee their ſervices thus rewarded, took, without heſitation, the reſolution ſuggeſted to them by Mneſtheus; and a few days after, as the army was marching to a place named Cænophrurium, that is, the new-caſtle, half way between Byzantium and Heraclea, they fell upon the emperor ſword in hand, while he was attended only by a ſmall guard, and

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

[m] Aur. vit. p. 222. Lactan. perſec. c. 9. p. 8. Syncell. p. 385.

and diſpatched him with many wounds. Vopiſcus writes, that he fell by the hand of Mucapor, who, it ſeems, was a man of rank, ſince he is ſtyled general; and a letter is ſtill extant written to him by Aurelian, wherein the emperor gives him an account of the vigorous oppoſition he met with from Zenobia at the ſiege of Palmyra [n]. The emperor muſt have been killed about the latter end of January; for his death was known at Rome on the third of February of this year 275, ſo that he had reigned five full years; and lived, according to the moſt probable opinion, ſixty-three [o]. His death did not remain unpuniſhed; for the officers, who had killed him, finding, ſoon after his death, that they had been impoſed upon by Mneſtheus, threw him to the wild beaſts, and built a magnificent temple and tomb to the honour of the deceaſed emperor in the place where he had been killed, the whole army ſolemnizing his obſequies with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. All thoſe who had had any hand in his death were either cut in pieces on the ſpot by the enraged ſoldiery, or afterwards executed under his ſucceſſors Tacitus and Probus. His death was much lamented by the ſenate, who, at the requeſt of the army, ranked him among the gods; but more by the people, whom he had obliged with more bounties and largeſſes, than any of his predeceſſors had done. Aurelian is commonly ſtyled the reſtorer of the empire, which, after the evils it had ſuffered by the captivity of Valerian and indolence of Gallienus, began to revive under Claudius, and was by Aurelian reſtored to its former ſtrength and luſtre. He delivered Italy from the incurſions of the Alemanni, reſcued the eaſt from the ſhameful yoke of a woman, humbled the Perſians, ſtill elated with the captivity of Valerian, re-united Gaul to the empire, and reſtored to Rome Thrace and Illyricum, over-run and oppreſſed by the barbarians. His arms were dreaded, and his friendſhip courted, by the moſt diſtant nations. He was a prince of great bravery, prudence, and generoſity; but as his exceſſive cruelty over-balanced all his other good qualities, he is by Vopiſcus and moſt other writers ranked, not among the good, but the uſeful, princes. In the beginning of his reign, he ſeems to have countenanced the true religion [p]; but being afterwards ſeduced by wicked counſellors, he reſolved utterly to extirpate the chriſtian name, and had already taken up the pen to ſign the bloody letters and edicts drawn up againſt them, when a ſudden flaſh of lightning

He is murdered.

His character.

[n] Aur. vit. p. 218. [o] Idem p. 221. Aur. Vict. epit. Zoſ. p. 661. [p] Euſeb. l. vii. c. 30. p. 282, 283.

lightning ſtruck the pen out of his hand, and filled both him and all about him with terror and diſmay. However, as the effects of fear which ſtops the hand without changing the heart, are but ſhort-lived, he returned to his former reſolution, and publiſhed againſt us, ſays Lactantius, edicts of blood and ſlaughter, which ſerved only to draw vengeance from heaven upon his own head [q]; for before his edicts reached the more diſtant provinces, he was aſſaſſinated in the manner we have related above. Hence this is not by the eccleſiaſtic writers reckoned one of the ten general perſecutions, though ſeveral champions of the faith ſuffered martyrdom in the provinces, where his edicts were publiſhed. Of Aurelian, Victor the younger obſerves, that he appeared in public with a diadem on his head, which no emperor had dared to do before him. Jornandes writes, that Diocleſian was the firſt Roman emperor who preſumed to wear that royal ornament [r]. But that he, and not Victor, was miſtaken, appears from one of the duke of Arſchot's medals, on which Aurelian is repreſented with a crown on his head reſembling our ducal crown [s]. The ſucceeding princes followed his example; but the diadem was not commonly worn till the time of Conſtantine. Of the writers, who flouriſhed under this prince, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (Z).

As

[q] Lact. perſec. c. 6. p. 6. Euſeb. ibid. [r] Jorn. reg. c. 23. p. 445. [s] Arſchotana numiſm. Croii ducis, tab. 63. Antwerp. ann. 1604. Spanhem. l. viii. p. 682, 683.

(Z) Under Aurelian flouriſhed two celebrated philoſopers, Longinus and Amelius. The former, named Caſſius Longinus, and likewiſe Dionyſius, which name is prefixed to his treatiſe on the ſublime, is by moſt writers thought to have been a native of Athens (74). From Vopiſcus it appears, that he could not write in the Syriac tongue (75); and conſequently that he was not by birth a Syrian, as ſome have aſſerted. His family, it ſeems, came originally from that country (76); for his mother Frontonides was ſiſter to Fronto of Emeſa in Phœnicia, who taught rhetoric at Athens in the reign of Severus, publiſhed many works, and dying in that city, bequeathed his eſtate to his nephew (77) Longinus, when he was yet very young, travelled with his father into ſeveral countries, which gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the great philoſophers of thoſe times. In

on

(74) Jonſ. l. iii. c. 14. p. 284. (75) Aur. vit. p. 219
(76) Suid. 1088. (77) Idem ibid.

one of his works, which Porphyrius, his epitomizer, has conveyed to us, he names ſeveral philoſophers of different ſects, among whom the moſt famous are Plotinus, his diſciple Amelius, Ammonius, a chriſtian philoſopher, and one Origenes. Longinus was a long time the diſciple of the two latter (78). He profeſſed and taught the philoſophy of Plato, and had the celebrated philoſopher Porphyrius for his diſciple, who tells us, that he and ſome other philoſophers were feaſted at Athens by Longinus on Plato's birth-day (79). Longinus was not only a great philoſopher, but the beſt critic and orator of his age, and ſo well verſed in the various branches of literature, that he was commonly ſtyled a treaſure of knowledge, and a living library (80). He was a man, ſays Eunapius, of an extraordinary diſcernment in diſcovering beauties and faults in the writings of others, and therein ſurpaſſed all men (81.) He was charged, ſays that writer, without telling us by whom, to write critical diſſertations on the works of the antients, and his judgment was preferred to what others had written on the ſame ſubject before him (82). He taught Zenobia the Greek tongue, eſpouſed her cauſe with great warmth againſt Aurelian, and was ſuppoſed to have dictated the letter which that princeſs wrote to the emperor during the ſiege of Palmyra. That letter ſo provoked Aurelian, that, upon the reduction of the place, he cauſed the ſuppoſed author to be put to death; which he ſuffered with great firmneſs and intrepidity, comforting thoſe who were affected with his misfortune. This baſe revenge reflected no ſmall diſhonour on Aurelian (83); for the loſs of ſo great a man was looked upon as a public calamity (84). He left many works behind him very uſeful, ſays Zoſimus (85), to ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed in the ſciences, and which were admired by all the world. He muſt have begun to write very early, if what Porphyrius aſſerted be true, viz. that Origen, who died in 253, read with application his works (86). Euſebius quotes a paſſage out of one of his works, ſhewing the abſurdity of the opinion of the Stoics concerning the ſoul (87). Porphyrius mentions a work of his upon vehemence, inſcribed to Porphyrius himſelf, and to one Cleodamus (88); and the preface of another upon the Supreme Being, addreſſed to one Marcellus, wherein he confuted the opinions of Plotinus and Amelius (89), quoting a work, which he had written againſt Porphyrius himſelf for his having preferred the

(78) Plot. vit. p. 13. (79) Euſeb. præpar. evang. l. x. c. 3. p. 464. Plot. vit. p. 14. (80) Eunap. c. 2. p. 17. Plot. vit. p. 13. (81) Eunap. c. 2. p. 16, 17. (82) Idem ibid. (83) Aur. vit. p. 219. Zoſ. l. i. p. 652. (84) Eunap. c. 2. p. 17. (85) Zoſ. l. i. p. 659. (86) Euſeb. l. vi. c. 19. (87) Idem præp. evang. l. xv. c. 20. p. 822. (88) Plot. vit. p. 10. (89) Idem, p. 13, 14.

the opinion of Plotinus to what he had learnt of him concerning ideas: in the ſame preface he made mention of a long letter, which he had written to Amelius againſt ſome particular ſentiments of Plotinus, and upon Plato's opinion touching juſtice (90). Porphyrius gives us the abſtract of a letter, which Longinus wrote to him about the year 270, deſiring him to ſend him the works of Plotinus, and to leave Sicily, where Porphyrius then was, and come to him in Phœnicia. Porphyrius adds, that if his affairs had allowed him to go thither, Longinus would have better underſtood the ſentiments of Plotinus, and ſaved himſelf the trouble of confuting them (91). The ſame writer quotes three other works of Longinus, viz. on principles, or firſt cauſes, on the love of antiquity, and on men of letters (92). Suidas mentions ſeveral philological pieces publiſhed by Longinus (93); but takes no notice of his treatiſe on the ſublime, the only entire work of Longinus which has reached our times, and fully anſwers the great idea which the antients raiſe in us of its author. Cæcilius, who flouriſhed in the time of Auguſtus, wrote a treatiſe on the ſublime; but contented himſelf only with ſhewing in what true ſublimeneſs conſiſted, without preſcribing any rules leading us to the attainment of it, which is the chief ſubject of Longinus's treatiſe, handled in a manner worthy of ſo great a writer. Among the inſtances he alledges of thoſe who have written in a ſtyle truly ſublime, and ſuitable to the greatneſs of their ſubject, he ſpeaks of Moſes thus: The Jewiſh legiſlator, who was no common man, having filled his mind with ſublime notions of the grandeur and power of God, expreſſed them at the beginning of his laws in a ſtile anſwering the mighty ſubject; *God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light; let the earth appear, and it was ſo* (94). Longinus inſcribed this work to one Poſthumius Terentianus, his intimate friend, and a man of letters, whom ſome writers take to be the ſame perſon with Terentianus Maurus, who publiſhed ſeveral works, ſome of which have reached our times. But of him we have ſpoken in the reign of Domitian (95); for he flouriſhed, according to Voſſius, under that prince.

Amelius, againſt whom Longinus wrote, was a philoſopher of great note among the Platonics (96). Suidas ſays he was of Apamea, but Porphyrius aſſures us, that he was born in Hetruria: perhaps his family came originally from Apamea in Syria, and ſettled in Hetruria. Cyrillus of Alexandria ſuppoſes Amelius and

(90) Idem ibid. (91) Plot. vit. p. 15. (92) Idem, p. 9. Jonſ. l. 3. c. 14. p. 284. (93) Suid. λ. p. 50. (94) Long. c. 8. p. 20. (95) Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. XIV. note F. chap. 19. near the end. (96) Euſeb. præpar. l. xi. c. 18. p. 540.

and Gentilianus to have been two diſtinct perſons; and quotes for that Porphyrius, who tells us in expreſs terms, that Amelius was likewiſe called Gentilianus (97). He was diſciple to Plotinus, and greatly attached to him; for he lived twenty-four years with him at Rome, from the third year of Philip to the firſt of Claudius, that is, from the year 246, to the beginning of 269 (98). He had ſtudied before under Lyſimachus, a ſtoic philoſopher (99). He was at Apamea in Syria at the beginning of the year 270, when Plotinus died. He was a very laborious man, and is ſaid to have compoſed an hundred volumes, containing only what he had heard of Plotinus in the frequent conferences that philoſopher had held with him and others of the ſame ſect (100). In the year 263, he had not yet publiſhed any thing of his own; but before the death of Plotinus, he wrote forty books againſt magic, and the heretics called Gnoſtics (1). He compoſed one in three days time, ſhewing in what chiefly the doctrine of Plotinus differed from that of Numenes. This piece he inſcribed to Porphyrius by a letter, which is ſtill extant (2). To him he likewiſe addreſſed ſome other works, to clear up the difficulties he met with in the doctrine of Plotinus. Amelius and Plotinus were, in the opinion of Longinus, the only philoſophers who, in his time, publiſhed works worth peruſing (3). The tenets of theſe two philoſophers were the ſame, but Amelius explained them more, perhaps too much, at length; and hence probably it was that his works were greatly neglected and undervalued by the Platonics themſelves, about the latter end of the following century (4). Euſebius (5), Theodoret (6), and Cyrillus of Alexandria (7) produce a paſſage out of his works, wherein he quotes the beginning of St. John's goſpel. Theodoret calls him the chief of the ſchool of Porphyrius, that is, of Plotinus, whoſe tenets were held by Porphyrius (8). Suidas writes, that Porphyrius was inſtructed by him in the principles of the Platonic philoſophy (9). About the ſame time flouriſhed one Androclides, author of a piece upon the ſophiſts, who made extemporary ſpeeches: in that work he mentions Porphyrius; whence Suidas concludes him to have flouriſhed at the ſame time. He was the ſon of one Syneſius of Philadelphia in Lydia (10).

Some hiſtorians too flouriſhed under Aurelian, viz. Callicrates of Tyre, whom Vopiſcus ſtyles the moſt learned of all the Greek hiſtorians of his time (11); and Theoclius, or Theon of Chios, as

(97) Cyrill. in Jul. l. viii. c. 6. p. 283. Plot. vit. p. 5. (98) Plot. vit. p. 3, 6. (99) Idem, p. 13. (100) Idem, p. 3. (1) Idem, p. 10. (2) Idem, p. 11. (3) Idem, p. 14. (4) Euſeb. præp. l. xi. c. 19. p. 540. (5) Idem ibid. (6) Theod. de curand. Græcor. affect. p. 500. (7) Cyr. in Jul. l. viii. p. 283. (8) Theod. ibid. (9) Suid. α. p. 198. (10) Idem, α. p. 2614. (11) Vit. Aurel. p. 209.

as ſome critics conjecture (12). Both theſe hiſtorians wrote the life of Aurelian; but dwelt, it ſeems, too much on moſt trifling incidents (13). Nicomachus, another Greek hiſtorian, wrote at the ſame time; for Vopiſcus tells us, that he copied from him the letter which Zenobia wrote to Aurelian; that Zenobia dictated it in the Syriac language; and that Nicomachus tranſlated it into Greek, in which language it was ſent to Aurelian, who had written to her in the ſame dialect (14). Voſſius takes this to be the Nicomachus who tranſcribed, as we read in Sidonius (15), and corrected the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, in confronting it with the original of Philoſtratus (16). Aurelianus Feſtivus, a freedman of the emperor Aurelian, wrote the hiſtory of his reign, or at leaſt part of it, with the life of Firmus, who uſurped the title of emperor in Egypt (17). Voſſius ranks him, Cornelius Capitolinus, who wrote the hiſtory of Zenobia and Gellius Fuſcus, who wrote the life of Tetricus, tyrant of Gaul, among the Latin writers, no doubt, an account of their names; for Vopiſcus, who quotes the two former, and wrote in the reign of Conſtantius Chlorus tells us, that ſome Greek, but no Latin, author had undertaken before him to write the hiſtory of Aurelian's reign (18). Erennius Dexippus, by birth an Athenian, by profeſſion an orator, the ſon of another Dexippus, flouriſhed under Aurelian, and was reckoned one of the greateſt orators Greece had ever produced (19). His ſtyle, ſays Photius, was grave and majeſtic; his words expreſſive; his phraſes proper, and well-ſuited to the ſubject; ſo that he may be called a ſecond Thucydides; but in clearneſs he far excels the firſt (20). Though he was a man of letters, yet he fought with ſucceſs at the head of his countrymen againſt the Goths, or Heruli, in the year 267 (21). He wrote the hiſtory of the Roman emperors from Alexander to Claudius, with no leſs conciſeneſs, ſays Capitolinus (22), than ſincerity; whence he is often quoted by him and Trebellius Pollio, who ſtyle his hiſtory the hiſtory of the times. He wrote a ſeparate hiſtory of the wars of the Romans with the Scythians, which he entitled Scythica. This Photius preferred, for the elegance of ſtyle, to all his other works (23). He likewiſe wrote in four books the hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great (24). Voſſius aſcribes to him the book on Ariſtotle's categories which has reached our times 25. But others maintain, that Dexippus, the author

(12) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. iv. c. 17. p. 485. (13) Aur. vit. p. 210. (14) Idem, p. 218 (15) Sidon. l. viii. epiſt. 3. p. 214. (16) Voſſ. ibid. l. ii. c. 16. p. 214. (17) Firm. vit p. 244. (18) Aur. vit. p. 209. (19) Suid. & p 659 Eunap. c. 2. p. 21. (20) Phot. c. 82. p 200. (21) Gallien. vit. p. 181. (22) Capit. p. 150. (23) Phot. c 82. p. 200. (24) Idem ibid. p. 201. (25) Voſſ. p. 243.

As all the chief officers in the army had been concerned in the death of Aurelian, the ſoldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, not able to prevail upon themſelves to name any of them in his room, wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and referring to them the choice of a new prince. When their letter was read, Tacitus, who was at that time prince of the ſenate, and voted the firſt, declared, that he was for referring the choice of a new emperor to the army, as the army had done to the ſenate: For what diſputes, ſaid he, and diſturbances will inevitably enſue, ſhould not the army approve of the perſon whom we name? The ſenate acquieſced to his propoſal; but the ſoldiers referred the choice a ſecond and a third time to the ſenate, as the ſenate did to the ſoldiers; ſo that the empire, by this reciprocal exchange of compliments and commendable diſpute between the ſenate and army, remained near eight months without an head, and nevertheleſs no uſurper ſtarted up during that time; no diſturbances happened, either at Rome or in the provinces. But the barbarians in the mean time, taking advantage of the inter-regnum, began to put themſelves in motion. The Germans, that is, the Lyges, the Franks, the Burgundiones, and the Vandals, broke into Gaul; the Goths threatened Illyricum; and every one expected, that the Perſians, againſt whom Aurelian had declared war, would not continue long quiet. Theſe things Velius Cornificius Gordianus, then conſul, laid before the ſenate on the twenty-fifth of September, and earneſtly preſſed them to proceed, without further delay, to the election of a new prince. He concluded his ſpeech by telling them, That the empire could no longer ſubſiſt without an head, and that the army would either accept the prince whom they choſe, or, rejecting him, chuſe another. There had been ſome talk before of raiſing Tacitus to the empire, who thereupon had withdrawn into Campania, and lived there two months in retirement; but being recalled by the ſenate, he was preſent at this meeting held on the twenty-fifth of September; and after the conſul Gordianus had ended his ſpeech, he roſe up to

The army refer the election of a new prince to the ſenate, and the ſenate to the army.

thor of that work, was diſciple to Iamblichus, who flouriſhed in the reign of Julian the apoſtate (26). We ought perhaps to diſtinguiſh likewiſe Dexippus, the author of ſome comedies (27), from the hiſtorian, though Voſſius confounds them (28).

(26) Johnſ. l. iii. p. 299. (27) Suid. p. 1516. (28) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 16. p. 243.

deliver his opinion firſt, as prince of the ſenate; but before he had uttered a ſingle word, the whole aſſembly cried out with one voice, We ſalute you, Tacitus, emperor: to you we commit the care of the ſtate and the world. Take the empire given you by the authority of the ſenate: your rank, your character, your paſt conduct, deſerve it. He attempted to excuſe himſelf in regard of his great age (for he was then ſeventy-five); but they all cried out, That other emperors, ſtricken in years, had governed with great applauſe; that they wanted not a ſoldier, but an emperor; not a ſtrong body, but a vigorous mind; and that he had a brother, who would bear with him part of the burden. After this was taken the ſuffrage of each ſenator in particular, when Metius Falconius Nicomachus, the eldeſt conſular, after having in an elegant ſpeech beſtowed the higheſt encomiums upon Tacitus, enlarged in a very affecting manner on the many evils attending the adminiſtration of young and unexperienced princes, and conjured Tacitus, by the love he bore his country, not to leave the empire to his ſons, who were yet children, but to name for his ſucceſſor a perſon, whom he judged equal to ſo great a truſt, if the ſtate were, by the immutable decrees of the fates, deprived of him before his children attained to maturity of age. He added, that to diſpoſe of the ſenate, the people of Rome, and the whole empire, in the ſame manner as he diſpoſed of his houſes, lands, and ſlaves, was repugnant to the laws of juſtice and equity; and that nothing would ſo much commend his name to all future ages, as to ſhew at his death, that he loved the republic above his family and iſſue [t]. When Metius had ended his ſpeech, the ſenators all to a man cried out, Tacitus is emperor. The decree was accordingly drawn up, inveſting him with the ſovereign power, and ſigned by all the ſenators, even by Tacitus himſelf. From the ſenate they all went to the field of Mars, where Ælius Ceſetianus, then governor of Rome, declared to the ſoldiers and people aſſembled there, the election of Tacitus, which was received with the uſual acclamations [u].

Tacitus unanimouſly choſen by the ſenate.

THE preſent emperor, named on his coins M. Claudius Tacitus, but, by Vopiſcus, Aurelianus, or Aurelius, Tacitus, acknowledged Cornelius Tacitus, the celebrated hiſtorian, for his kinſman; and therefore, to ſecure his inimitable performance againſt the injuries of time, he ordered ten copies of it to be tranſcribed every year, and to be lodged in the public libraries and in the cabinets of the learned; but notwith-

[t] Tacit. vit. p. 227—231. [u] Idem ibid.

notwithſtanding his care, only a ſmall part of what that excellent hiſtorian wrote, has reached our times. The emperor, as we have hinted above, was ſtricken in years, but had ſeveral children, who were very young. Florianus, named on the antient coins M. Annius Florianus, was only his uterine brother. All we know of his preferments is, that he had been conſul, and was, at the time of his election, prince of the ſenate. He was a man of learning, of a mild temper, an enemy to all pomp, and a great admirer of the manners of the primitive Romans. When he was created emperor, he gave his immenſe eſtate to the public, allotting part of it for the repairing and beautifying of the temples. What ready money he had by him, he diſtributed among the ſoldiers. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves he had at Rome, and cauſed his houſe to be pulled down, in order to build public baths in the place where it ſtood. His temperance and regularity, his œconomy and care of the public money, his impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, are much commended by the authors of his life. In the firſt ſpeech he made to the ſenate he declared, that he would tranſact nothing without their conſent and authority; and then propoſed the two following laws, which were received with great applauſe, and confirmed by a decree; viz. that whoever ſhould mix metals with a baſer ſort ſhould forfeit his eſtate and life; that ſlaves ſhould not be admitted as witneſſes againſt their maſters, even in caſes of treaſon. In the ſame ſpeech he deſired the conſulſhip for his brother Florianus; but the ſenate did not think fit to grant him his requeſt; which he was ſo far from reſenting, that, on the contrary, he ſeemed highly pleaſed with the liberty they had taken, ſaying, I am glad they know him. From the very beginning of his reign he applied himſelf tothe ſuppreſſing of ſeveral abuſes which ſtill prevailed in Rome. By one edict he put down all the brothel-houſes; by another he ordered all the public baths to be ſhut up at ſun-ſet; and by a third prohibited all ſorts of gold tiſſue and gilding. He reſpected the memory of the good emperors, and cauſed a temple to be built to their honour, and ſacrifices to be offered to them on their ſeveral anniverſaries. He paid a particular regard to Aurelian, and prevailed upon the ſenate to decree him a ſtatue of gold, to be ſet up in the capitol, and others of ſilver, to be placed in the ſenate, in the temple of the ſun, and in the ſquare of Trajan [b]. The ſenate, overjoyed for the recovery of their antient rights of creating emperors, ordered public

His preferments.

Two of his laws.

[b] Idem, p. 232.

proceſſions, vowed hecatombs, appeared in white garments, feaſted their friends, and wrote letters to all the ſtates and cities in alliance with Rome, acquainting them, that they were at length reſtored to their former authority; that the kings and princes of the barbarians were to apply to them; and that all appeals from the proconſuls were to be made, not to the emperor, or the captain of the guards, but to the governor of Rome, from whom they might appeal to the ſenate [c]. The new prince was ſcarce well ſettled in the empire, when news was brought him, that incredible multitudes of barbarians were advancing from the Palus Mæotis through Colchis, pretending to have been invited by Aurelian to aſſiſt him in his intended expedition againſt the Perſians. Tacitus immediately left Rome, and arriving in Thrace, where he was received by the army with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, paſſed from thence over into Aſia, defeated the barbarians, and obliged them to return into their own country [d]. The following year, the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having Æmilianus for his collegue; and having paſſed the winter in Cilicia, was preparing to return to Italy, when he was, according to ſome writers, ſeized with a violent diſtemper, which, in a few days, put an end to his life; but, according to others, killed by his own ſoldiers [e]. He died at Tarſus in Cilicia, or, as others write, at Tiana in Cappadocia, after a ſhort reign of about ſix months. Upon his death, his brother Florianus, whom he had appointed captain of the guards, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and was acknowledged in all the provinces of Europe and Africa; but the legions quartered in Syria, Phœnicia, Paleſtine, and Egypt, declared for Probus, whom Tacitus had appointed commander of all the forces in the eaſt. Hereupon a civil war was kindled in the bowels of the empire, while the barbarians were ready to invade it on all ſides. Florianus gained at firſt ſome advantages over his competitor; but as the troops under his command were more addicted to Probus than to him, they began to mutiny, and, at the approach of Probus, who was reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, fell upon their own leader, cut him in pieces, after he had reigned about two months, and joined Probus. This happened in the neighbourhood of Tarſus in Cilicia. The death of Florianus was no ſooner known in Europe and Africa, than the armies every-where proclaimed Probus

Tacitus marches againſt the barbarians, and defeats them.

His death.

Florianus aſſumes the empire; but is murdered by his own men.

[c] Idem, p. 231, 232.
[d] Zonar. p. 240. Zoſ. p. 662.
[e] Tacit. vit. p. 230.

Probus emperor, and the ſenate readily confirmed their election, honouring the new emperor with the titles of Auguſtus, father of his country, high pontiff, &c. and inveſting him with the tribunitial and proconſular power; for they all entertained a great opinion of his juſtice, equity, moderation, &c. and looked upon him as a perſon in every reſpect qualified for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt: and truly, if Vopiſcus is to be credited, he was one of the beſt and greateſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. That writer prefers him to Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Alexander, Claudius, nay, and to Auguſtus himſelf. He was, ſays he, an excellent commander, an amiable ſtateſman, a friend to virtue, an enemy to vice, generous, affable, good-natured, and, in ſhort, endowed with every good quality commendable in a prince [m]. He was a native of Sirmium in Pannonia. His father, by name Maximus, was, in his youth, by profeſſion a gardener; but afterwards lifting himſelf among the troops, he was raiſed to the poſt of tribune; and married a woman of rank, by whom he had one ſon, the preſent emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention in hiſtory. Probus entered into the army when very young, and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions under Valerian, Gallienus, Claudius, and Aurelian, he was by theſe princes raiſed to the higheſt poſts of the army, and employed, always with ſucceſs, in the many wars which they waged with the barbarians. He was about forty-four years old, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, when preferred to the empire. His election was no ſooner confirmed by the ſenate, than he left Cilicia, and returned to Europe. He paſſed the winter in Pannonia, and having there taken upon him his firſt conſulſhip, and named M. Aurelius Paulinus for his collegue, he ſet out in the ſpring for Gaul, where the Franks and other German nations had committed dreadful ravages. He is ſaid to have fought in that province many ſucceſsful battles, to have killed near four hundred thouſand of the barbarians, and to have obliged the reſt to quit the booty they had taken, and ſave themſelves by flight beyond the Rhine. Having thus reſtored Gaul to its former tranquillity, he paſſed the Rhine at the head of his victorious army, and made war upon the enemy in their own country, with greater ſucceſs than any of his predeceſſors had ever done, as appears from the account which he himſelf tranſmitted to the ſenate in the following letter: "I re-
"turn thanks to the immortal gods, conſcript fathers, who
"have

Probus proclaimed emperor.

His character.

Extraction and preferments.

He delivers Gaul from the barbarians, and reduces great part of Germany.

[m] Prob. vit. p. 233, 234, 241. [n] Idem p. 235—237.

" have given manifeſt tokens of their approving your choice " in raiſing me to the empire. Germany, that wide and ex- " tenſive country, is entirely ſubdued. Nine kings of dif- " ferent nations have thrown themſelves proſtrate at my feet, " or rather at yours. All the barbarians now plow and ſow " for you, nay, and fight for you. Return therefore thanks " to the gods for ſo ſignal a conqueſt. Four hundred thou- " ſand of the enemy have been cut in pieces; ſixteen thou- " ſand have been incorporated in our troops. We have re- " covered ſixty great cities which they had taken, and deli- " vered Gaul from the yoke under which it groaned. The " crowns of gold, with which the cities of Gaul have preſented " me, I have tranſmitted to you, to be conſecrated, and, by " your hands, offered to the great Jupiter, and to the other " gods and goddeſſes. We have not only recovered the " booty which they had taken, but enriched ourſelves with " their ſpoils. The fields of Gaul are ploughed with the " cattle of the barbarians; their ſheep are encloſed in our " folds, and our magazines are filled with their corn: in " ſhort, we have left them nothing but the bare ſoil. I have " had ſome thoughts of reducing Germany to a Roman pro- " vince; but the republic, exhauſted with ſo many wars, is " not perhaps at preſent in a condition to maintain the addi- " tional troops which muſt be raiſed for that purpoſe [o]." Vopiſcus adds, that he drove the enemy beyond the Elb and the Necker, and built a great many forts in the country lying between thoſe rivers and the Rhine, which he might have eaſily reduced to a Roman province; but did not think it adviſeable to burden the republic with new troops, which he muſt have raiſed, and left there, to keep thoſe warlike nations in awe. Zoſimus tells us, that one of the battles, which he fought with the Logi, a German nation, probably the ſame people whom Tacitus calls Lyges, laſted two days, the armies being parted only by night; that the victory inclined ſometimes to the Romans, and ſometimes to the Germans, who fought with incredible bravery; but that the former at length prevailed, by the bravery of Probus, and not only gave the enemy a total overthrow, but took their king, by name Semnon, priſoner, with his ſons and the flower of their nobility; whom, however, the emperor afterwards ſet at liberty, upon their reſtoring to him all the booty and priſoners they had taken [p]. The ſame writer adds, that in another engagement with the Burgundians and Vandals on the banks of the

He overcomes the Logi, the Burgundians, and the Vandals.

[o] Idem, p. 239. [p] Zoſ. l. 1. p. 864.

the Rhine, he took their king Igillus priſoner, with many others of thoſe two nations, whom he tranſplanted into Britain, where they proved very ſerviceable to the Romans upon all ſeditions and inſurrections [q]. They ſettled perhaps in Cambridgeſhire; for Gervaſius Tilburienſis mentions an old vallum in that county, which he calls Vandelſburg, and ſays, it was the work of the Vandals [r].

THE following year, the emperor entered upon his ſecond conſulſhip, having Lupus for his collegue, and early in the ſpring ſet out from Gaul; and bending his march through Rhœtia, he arrived in Illyricum, whence the Sarmatians, who had made an irruption into that province, withdrew, upon the news of his approach, leaving their booty behind them. From Illyricum he purſued his march into Thrace, where he was met by deputies from all the Gothic nations, ſent by their reſpective ſtates and princes to ſue for peace, and court his friendſhip [s]. Having thus ſettled peace and tranquillity in all the provinces of Europe, he paſſed over into Aſia, and entering Iſauria, which had revolted from Rome, as we have related above, after many dangerous conflicts with the Iſaurian robbers and Palfurius their leader, whom he took and put to death, he entirely reduced that country, tranſplanted the inhabitants into diſtant provinces, and divided Iſauria among his veterans, upon condition that they ſhould ſend their ſons, as ſoon as they attained the age of eighteen, to ſerve in the army, leſt truſting to their rocks and mountains, they ſhould follow the example of the antient inhabitants, and turn robbers [t]. From Iſauria the emperor marched into Syria, where he entered upon his third conſulſhip, having Paternus for his collegue, and early in the ſpring led his army againſt the Blemyes, a barbarous nation, dwelling between Egypt and Ethiopia, who had made themſelves maſters of Coptos and Ptolemais in Thebais, and ſtruck terror into the neighbouring countries. Probus defeated them with great ſlaughter, recovered the above-mentioned cities, took a great number of the barbarians priſoners, and ſent them to Rome, where their extraordinary figure, ſays Vopiſcus, raiſed great admiration in the Roman people [u]. Pliny had deſcribed them many years before, as a people without heads, and having their mouths and eyes in their breaſts [w]. Some writers think, that

The Goths ſue for peace.

Iſauria reduced.

The Blemyes defeated.

[q] Idem ibid. p. 865. [r] Vide Cambd. Britain. p. 156. & Buch. Belg. l. vii. p. 218. [s] Prob. vit. p. 239. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Plin. l. v. c. 8.

that the ſhortneſs of their necks gave riſe to this fable. The king of Perſia, Varranes II. alarmed at the fame of the victories gained by Probus over ſo fierce and warlike a nation, ſent embaſſadors to him, with rich preſents to ſue for peace; but the emperor, not ſatisfied with their propoſals, refuſed the preſents and ſent back the deputies; which ſo terrified the king, that he concluded a peace with Probus upon his own terms [x]. The eaſtern provinces being thus ſettled in peace, the emperor returned to Thrace, where he allotted lands to one hundred thouſand Baſtarnæ, a Scythian nation, of whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. They all remained faithful to him; but the Gepidæ, Juthungi, and Vandals, to whom he allotted lands in the ſame province, revolted while the emperor was engaged in domeſtic wars, which broke out the following year. From Thrace the emperor returned to Rome, and there triumphed over the Germans and Blemyes [y], and diverted the people for ſeveral days together, with all ſorts of ſhews, combats and entertainments. And now no foreign nation daring to attempt an invaſion, peace reigned throughout the whole empire; but this general tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by domeſtic broils, which firſt broke out in the eaſt, where Sext. Julius Saturninus, as he is ſtyled on the antient coins, was proclaimed emperor. He was, according to ſome, a native of Mauritania, according to others, of Gaul, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many wars; for he is ſaid to have reſtored tranquillity to Gaul, to have recovered Africa from the Moors, and appeaſed the diſturbances that had long prevailed in Spain [z]. The emperor Aurelian had appointed him commander of the troops quartered on the frontiers of the eaſtern provinces, and at the ſame time ordered him never to ſet foot in Egypt, fearing, ſays Vopiſcus, as he was well acquainted with the ambitious temper of the Gauls, and the ſtrange inclination of the Egyptians to novelty, leſt he might be prompted by them to aſſume the ſovereignty. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, Saturninus being led by his curioſity to viſit Egypt, he no ſooner appeared at Alexandria, than he was by that turbulent and reſtleſs people proclaimed emperor. He declined at firſt that dignity, and, quitting Alexandria, returned in great haſte to Paleſtine: but afterwards apprehending, that what had already happened might give Probus no ſmall umbrage, and occaſion his ruin, he ſuffered himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, ſhedding many tears

The Perſians ſue for peace.

Probus triumphs.

Saturninus revolts.

[x] Prob. vit. p. 239. [y] Idem, p. 240. [z] Saturn. vit. p. 244. Zoſ. p. 663. Goltz. p. 116. Birag. p. 309.

tears amidſt the acclamations of the ſoldiery and populace [q]. Zonaras writes, that Probus, who had a great kindneſs for him, not believing he had revolted, cauſed the perſon to be puniſhed who brought him the firſt news of his rebellion. He afterwards wrote ſeveral kind letters to him; but his ſoldiers threatening him with death, if he hearkened to, or complied with, the emperor's offers, he was forced to reject them. Hereupon Probus diſpatched ſome troops againſt them, which being joined by others in the eaſt, engaged Saturninus, put him to flight, and obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the citadel of Apamea, which they took by ſtorm, and put the whole garriſon, together with Saturninus, to the ſword. The emperor, who deſigned to pardon him, ſhewed no ſmall concern for his death [r]. The following year, Meſſala and Gratus being conſuls, two uſurpers ſtarted up in Gaul, Proculus and Bonoſus. The former was a native of Albingaunum, now Albenga, ſubject to the republic of Genoa. His anceſtors had been famous robbers, and had, by their robberies, acquired immenſe wealth; for Proculus is ſaid to have armed two thouſand ſlaves of his own when he revolted. In his youth he had been himſelf a robber; but entering afterwards into the army, he had ſignalized himſelf by many noble exploits. He was tribune, and had the command of ſeveral legions, when he took upon him the title of emperor, prompted thereunto chiefly by his wife, called firſt Viturgia, and afterwards Sampſo, a woman of great ambition and a manly courage, and by the inhabitants of Lions, who had been treated with great ſeverity by Aurelian, and apprehended the like treatment from Probus. He was proclaimed emperor at Cologn, and acknowledged, according to Vopiſcus, in Narbonne Gaul, Britain, and Spain. The ſame writer tells us, that he defeated the Alemanni in ſeveral battles; but was himſelf at laſt overcome by Probus, and forced to take refuge among the Franks, from whom he pretended to derive his origin. The Franks promiſed him their aſſiſtance; but, inſtead of performing their promiſe, they betrayed him to the emperor, by whom he was puniſhed according to his deſerts [s]. Bonoſus, or, as he is ſtyled on the antient coins, Q. Bonoſius, was deſcended of a Spaniſh family, but born in Britain. His father kept a public ſchool, and taught children the firſt rudiments of the Latin tongue. The ſon entered early into the army, and raiſed himſelf by degrees from the low rank of a common ſoldier to the poſt of general, and was employed

He is overcome and killed.

Proculus revolts.

Is betrayed by the Franks, and put to death.

as

[q] Sat. vit. p. 249. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem, p. 245, —247.

as ſuch to guard the frontiers of Rhœtia; but having ſuffered the Germans to ſurpriſe and burn the Roman fleet on the Rhine, his dread of being puniſhed for this neglect prompted him to aſſume the ſovereignty, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command. He maintained himſelf in that dignity longer than was expected, and fought ſeveral battles with Probus; but being at length reduced to great ſtreights, he choſe rather to ſtrangle himſelf, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror. Authors obſerve of him, that he could drink as much as ten men, without being in the leaſt diſordered; and that by drinking with the embaſſadors of the barbarians, he often diſcovered the ſecrets with which they were intruſted. Vopiſcus tells us, that the emperor Aurelian married to him a princeſs of the royal blood of the Goths, by name Hunila, whom he had taken priſoner, that Bonoſus might, by her means, become acquainted with the great men among the Goths, and diſcover, in drinking with them their ſecret views and deſigns [t]. Hunila was a woman of great wit, beauty, and virtue; and therefore Probus, upon the death of her huſband, not only ſpared her, and the two ſons ſhe had by Bonoſus, but ſettled an annual penſion upon the mother, and ſuffered the children to enjoy their paternal eſtate [u]. Zoſimus [w] and Zonaras [x] ſpeak of the revolt of the governor of Britain, whom they do not name; and tell us, that the emperor complaining of him to a Moor, named Victorinus, upon whoſe recommendation he had preferred him to that government, the Moor begged and obtained leave to go into Britain, and try whether he could bring back his friend to a ſenſe of his duty. Upon his arrival, he was received by the uſurper with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; which he requited by murdering his old friend in the night-time. His death put an end to the revolt in Britain. We are not told whether or no Probus approved of this treachery.

Bonoſus proclaimed emperor.

Is overcome, and lays violent hands on himſelf.

The governor of Britain revolts, and is murdered.

THE following year, the emperor entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having Tiberianus for his collegue. The whole empire now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; all domeſtic troubles were happily appeaſed, and foreign enemies awed by the fame of Probus's mighty atchievements. However, that the troops might not abandon themſelves to idleneſs, he took care to employ them in many uſeful works, ſaying, That ſince

How Probus employed his ſoldiers in time of peace.

[t] Bonoſ. vit. p. 247. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Zoſ. l. i. p. 663.
[x] Zonar. p. 246.

ſince they were maintained by the public, they ought either to fight or labour for the public. As Hannibal therefore, to find ſome employment for his ſoldiers, had formerly filled Africa with olive-trees planted by them, ſo Probus, for his valour ſtyled by many a ſecond Hannibal, employed his troops in planting vines on the hills of Gaul, Pannonia, and Mœſia, allowing, ſays Vopiſcus, the Gauls, Pannonians, Spaniards, and Britons full liberty to cultivate as many vineyards as they pleaſed; which had been denied them ever ſince the time of Domitian [y]. The emperor Julian writes, that Probus, during his ſhort reign, either rebuilt or repaired ſeventy cities [z]. As the city of Sirmium, the place of his nativity, ſtood in a low marſhy ground, he employed great numbers of his ſoldiers in digging a canal to convey the waters into the ſea. This incenſed them againſt him, and their rage was heightened by the apprehenſion they were under of being ſoon diſbanded; for the emperor had ſaid, That he hoped in a ſhort time there would be no occaſion for ſoldiers or armies. This they could not bear, and therefore the following year, when Probus was conſul the fifth time with Victorinus, they attacked him with great fury, as he was marching from one town in Illyricum to another. The emperor had time to retire into an iron tower of an extraordinary height, which he himſelf had built, to obſerve from thence the ſoldiers while they were at work. But thither the incenſed multitude purſued him, and having eaſily ſtormed the place, as it was defended by the prince alone, diſpatched him with many wounds, after he had lived fifty, and reigned ſix years and four months. His death is aſcribed by many to Carus, who ſucceeded him in the empire, and was then captain of the guards; but Vopiſcus endeavours to clear him from that imputation. The whole army raiſed a ſtately monument to the honour of the deceaſed prince, with the following epitaph: Here lies the emperor Probus, whoſe life and manners anſwered his name. He ſubdued all the barbarous nations, and conquered the tyrants who ſtarted up in his time. The loſs of ſo good a prince was greatly lamented, not only by the ſenate and people of Rome, but by the barbarians themſelves, who dreaded his valour, and revered his probity, clemency, and juſtice. His ſucceſſors honoured his memory with all poſſible marks of reſpect and eſteem, ranking him among the gods, conſecrating temples to his name, celebrating with great pomp his anniverſary, &c. He was, without all doubt, one of the beſt, as well as of

He is murdered by the mutinous ſoldiery,

[y] Prob. vit. p. 240. [z] Jul. Cæſ. p. 17.

of the greateſt, princes, that ever reigned at Rome [a]. After his death, his family withdrew from Rome, probably not to give umbrage to his ſucceſſors, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of Verona [b]. As for the few writers who flouriſhed in his reign, we refer the reader to our note (A).

Carus proclaimed emperor.

UPON the death of Probus, Carus, then captain of the prætorian guards, was, by the unanimous conſent of the army, raiſed to the empire, as a perſon in every reſpect well qualified to ſucceed ſo good a prince, ſo great a warrior. The ſenate were well pleaſed with the election of Carus; but dreading the vicious and cruel temper of his ſon Carinus, were unwilling to confirm the choice of the ſoldiery. However, apprehending the power of the army, and deſirous to maintain the peace and tranquillity eſtabliſhed by Probus, they at laſt acknowledged Carus, and conferred upon him the uſual titles and honours *. Of his family and anceſtors we know but very little. Some ſay, that he was by birth a Roman, but by deſcent an Illyrican; others, that he was born in Illyricum, but of Carthaginian parents. In a journal quoted by Vopiſcus,

[a] Prob. vit. p. 241. [b] Idem ibid. * Car. vit. p. 243.

(A) Under Probus flouriſhed Turdulus Gallicanus, who wrote a kind of journal, often quoted by Vopiſcus in his life of Probus, who ſtyles the author of it a man of honour and ſincerity (29). He likewiſe cites M. Salvidienus, from whom he copied the ſpeech made by Saturninus, when he put on the purple, and aſſumed the title of emperor (30); which prompts us to believe, that Salvidienus wrote the hiſtory of that uſurper. Oneſimus publiſhed the life of Probus, done, according to Vopiſcus, with great exactneſs (31), and likewiſe that of the emperor Carus (32). Voſſius ranks them all three among the Latin hiſtorians (33), and mentions a Greek hiſtorian, by name Onaſimus, a native of Sparta or Cyprus, who lived, according to Suidas, under Conſtantine, and was both a ſophiſt and hiſtorian. Perhaps Oneſimus and Onaſimus were one and the ſame perſon, there having paſſed but twenty four years between Probus and Conſtantine. Suidas aſcribes to Onaſimus ſeveral philological and other works (34). About the ſame time flouriſhed another ſophiſt, named likewiſe Onaſimus, but who was a native of Athens (35).

(29) Prob. vit p. 233. (30) Saturn. vit. p. 245. (31) Bonoſ. vit. p. 246. & Car. vit. p. 250. (32) Idem ibid. (33) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. ii. c. 4. p. 184. (34) Suid. p. 523. (35) Idem ibid.

Vopiſcus, he is ſtyled a native of Milan [c]. The two Victors, Eutropius, and ſeveral others, will have him to have been born in Narbonne. The emperor himſelf pretended, that his anceſtors were originally Romans [d]. He raiſed himſelf by degrees to the chief employments in the ſtate, both civil and military. He had been conſul; for the conſulſhip, which he took after his acceſſion to the empire, is called his ſecond conſulſhip. Probus, after having employed him in moſt of his expeditions, appointed him captain of the guards, in which office he gained the affections of the ſoldiers to ſuch a degree, that, upon the death of Probus, they all agreed to raiſe him to the empire in his room. That prince entertained a mighty opinion of the prudence, juſtice, and integrity of Carus, as appears from a letter quoted by Vopiſcus, which he wrote to the ſenate in his behalf, deſiring them to reward his eminent ſervices, by erecting to him an equeſtrian ſtatue, and building him a houſe at the public charge, for which the emperor himſelf promiſed to ſupply the neceſſary marble [e]. His extraction and preferments.

Carus was no ſooner ſettled in the empire, than he gave the title of Cæſar to his two ſons, Carinus and Numerianus, of whom the former was a youth entirely abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs, and the latter endowed with every good quality requiſite in a prince. Some writers pretend, that at the ſame time he declared them his partners in the empire, giving them equal power and authority with himſelf; but on the medals of this year 282, the firſt of Carus's reign, his two ſons are only ſtyled Cæſars [f]. The Sarmatians no ſooner heard of the death of Probus, than they broke into Illyricum and Thrace, over-ran thoſe countries, and threatened Italy itſelf. Hereupon Carus, drawing together his forces, marched againſt the barbarians, and coming, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, to a general engagement with them, cut ſixteen thouſand of them in pieces, took twenty thouſand priſoners, and obliged the reſt to abandon the Roman dominions, and retire into their own country, whither he would have purſued them, had he not been informed, that the Perſians were ready to invade the eaſtern provinces with a mighty army, under the conduct of their king Varranes II. a warlike prince, who had lately ſignalized himſelf againſt the Segetani, and entirely reduced that brave and powerful people. Upon this intelligence, Carus, committing the care of the weſtern provinces to his eldeſt ſon Carinus, and taking with him Numerianus, left Thrace,

He creates his two ſons Cæſars.

Defeats the Sarmatians.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem, p. 249. [e] Idem. p. 242.
[f] Birag p. 426.

Thrace, and, croſſing over into Aſia, marched ſtrait to Antioch, and thence into Meſopotamia; which the Perſians, who, it ſeems, had already ſeized that province, abandoned at his approach. From Meſopotamia he advanced into Perſia, laid waſte the country far and wide; and meeting with no oppoſition, as the Perſians were then engaged in a civil war, he beſieged and took the famous cities of Seleucia and Cteſiphon, with Coche, which was a place of great ſtrength on the other ſide of the Tigris, and, as it were, the citadel of Cteſiphon [g]. For theſe conqueſts he took the ſurname of Perſicus, which we read on moſt of his coins [h]. He was bent upon utterly ruining the Perſian monarchy, and would, in all likelihood, have ſucceeded in that great deſign, the Perſians being then divided among themſelves, had he not been prevented by death, which overtook him in the neighbourhood of Cteſiphon, while he was preparing to purſue his conqueſts beyond that city, which the Romans, as was pretended, were by an antient oracle forbidden to do. Junius Calpurnius, one of the emperor's ſecretaries, gave the following account of his death, in a letter which he wrote to the governor of Rome: "While Carus, our truly dear prince, lay ſick in his tent, "a violent ſtorm broke out, attended with dreadful flaſhes of "lightning and claps of thunder. Day was all on a ſudden turned into night, and the air darkened to ſuch a degree, that we "could not diſcern one another. While we were under the "utmoſt conſternation, frightened and diſmayed, after a clap "of thunder more loud and terrible than all the reſt, we "heard one cry out, The emperor is dead. Soon after, his "chamberlains, diſtracted with grief, ſet fire to his tent; which "gave riſe to the report, that he was killed with lightning; "but it is certain, that he died of his illneſs." Thus one of his ſecretaries, whoſe letter Vopiſcus produces, to confute thoſe who aſcribed the emperor's death to divine vengeance, for his attempting to extend his conqueſts beyond Cteſiphon [i]. However the two Victors, Eutropius, Rufus, Feſtus, Apollinaris, Sidonius, St. Jerom, Euſebius, Georgius Syncellus, and Zonaras, write, that he was killed, and his tent burnt, with lightning. He had begun the ſecond year of his reign, and his death happened between the eighth of December of this year 283, and the twelfth of January of the year enſuing; for his name is prefixed to all the laws that were publiſhed till the eighth of December, and thoſe of Carinus and Numerianus

Gains great advantages over the Perſians, and takes Seleucia and Cteſiphon.

His death.

[g] Car. vit. p. 250. Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 115. [h] Birag. p. 419. Spanh. l. v. p. 419. [i] Car. vit. p. 256.

Numerianus to a law dated the twelfth of January of the year 284 [k]. He reigned, according to the moſt probable opinion, a year and four months. He was conſul when he died, and had his ſon Carinus for his collegue in that dignity. Upon the death of Carus, his ſon Numerianus was immediately ſaluted by the whole army with the title of emperor. As to his other ſon, Carinus, he was then in Gaul, and had been raiſed by his father to the ſovereignty before he ſet out for the Perſian war. Numerianus, grieved beyond expreſſion for the death of his father, broke up his camp, and began to retire. As his eyes, weakened with the great quantity of tears he had ſhed, could not bear the light, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a cloſe litter. Arrius Aper, his father-in-law and captain of the guards, who had free acceſs to him, laid hold of that opportunity to murder him privately, with a deſign to raiſe himſelf to the empire. The body of the deceaſed prince he left in the litter, telling the ſoldiers who wanted to ſee their emperor, that he could not endure the air, and ſtriving in the mean time to gain them over to his own intereſt. The dead body was thus carried three days; but as it began in the end to be offenſive to the ſmell, the crime was diſcovered ſooner than Aper expected, and he immediately ſeized, no one doubting, but he had been the author of the murder. Upon the death of Numerianus, the army with one voice proclaimed Diocleſian emperor. Such was the unhappy end of Numerianus, after he had reigned about eight months. He was killed near Heraclea in Thrace, as he was leading his army back into Italy. All the antients ſpeak of him as a prince endowed with every good quality becoming a perſon of his rank. He was an excellent orator, and is ſaid to have once ſent ſuch an eloquent ſpeech to the ſenate, that a ſtatue was decreed him, to be ſet up in the Ulpian library, with this inſcription, To Numerianus Cæſar, the moſt eloquent orator of his age. In poetry he far ſurpaſſed all the writers of his time, and left ſeveral pieces behind him, both in verſe and proſe, which were mightily cried up by the learned [l]. He had often declared in public, and it was probably of him that Calphurnius, a celebrated poet of thoſe times, ſaid, That he diverted himſelf with pleading, while he was ſtill in his mother's arms [m]; that is, when

Numerianus proclaimed emperor.

He is murdered.

Diocleſian raiſed to the empire.

[k] Cypr. an. p. 45. Cod. Juſt. l. v. tit. 71. leg. 7. p. 509. l. viii. tit. 56. leg. 3. p. 804. Noris de Diocleſ. c. 1. p. 9.
[l] Num. vit. p. 251. [m] Calph. eclog. i. ver. 45.

when he was very young. Both he and his father Carus were ranked among the gods, had temples and divine honours decreed them, &c. It appears from ſome medals, that the latter had impiouſly aſſumed the title of god before his death [n]. Some writers flouriſhed in his time, of whom in note (B).

His extraction, preferments, &c.

DIOCLESIAN was deſcended of a mean and obſcure family in Dalmatia, being, according to ſome, the ſon of a notary, and of a ſlave, according to others; nay, Victor the younger tells us, that he was himſelf in his youth ſlave to a ſenator, named Anulinus, who afterwards gave him his liberty [o]. The name both of his mother and the place of his birth was Dioclea; whence he was called Diocles till his acceſſion to the empire,

[n] Spanh. l. v. p. 419. [o] Vict. epit. p. 542.

(B) Vopiſcus tells us, that the life of Carus and his children was written before the year 300, by Fabius Cerilianus, whoſe diligence and exactneſs he commends (36); and that of Carinus in particular by Fulvius Aſprianus, whoſe ſcrupulous exactneſs, and too great care to omit nothing, rendered his work extremely tedious (37). Aurelius Apollinaris likewiſe wrote the life of Carus, probably in Iambics; for he was a poet, and is ſaid to have taken delight in that kind of verſe (38). Voſſius ranks theſe three among the Latin writers (39). A few eclogues, and part of a poem on the chace, by M. Olympius Nemeſianus, has reached our times. He likewiſe wrote ſome pieces on fiſhing and navigation, and was highly eſteemed in thoſe days (40). He is ſuppoſed to have been a native of Carthage, where his works, in the time of Hincmar, were publicly read in the ſchools (41). He inſcribed his poem on the chace to Carinus and Numerianus, after the death of their father; that is, after the year 284. He had not yet, at that time, been at court, nor ſeen Rome (42). Four other eclogues have reached our times, ſuppoſed to have been written by T. Calphurnius, or Calpurnius, a native of Sicily, and to have been inſcribed to Nemeſianus. In the firſt mention is made of declamations made by a prince, ſuppoſed to be Numerianus, almoſt in his infancy (43). Scaliger takes the ſports that were exhibited by Carinus and Numerian to be the ſubject of the laſt eclogue (44). Perhaps Junius Calphurnius, ſecretary to Carus, and the abovementioned poet were one and the ſame perſon.

(36) Car. vit. p. 249, 250. (37) Idem, p. 254. (38) Idem, p. 251. (39) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 4. p. 184. (40) Nemeſ. p. 508, 511. Car. vit. p. 251. (41) Voſſ. poet. Lat. p. 53. (42) Nemeſ. cyn. ver. 64. p. 509, & ver. 77, 81. (43) Calphur. p. 501. (44) Scalig. in Euſeb. chron. p. 253.

empire, when he gave his name a Latin ſound and termination, calling himſelf Dioclesianus [p]. He entered early into the army, and by degrees raiſed himſelf to the firſt military employments. We are told, that while he yet ſerved in an inferior poſt, a woman, by profeſſion a Druid, in whoſe houſe he lodged, upbraiding him with covetouſneſs, he anſwered her in jeſt, I ſhall be more generous when I am emperor. You are joking, Diocles, replied the Druid; but I tell you in good earneſt, that you will attain the empire after you have killed a boar. This is ſuppoſed to have happened in the city of Tongres, in the preſent biſhopric of Liege [q]. Dioclesian ſerved with great credit under Probus, who gave him the command of the troops quartered in Mœſia [r]. He attended Carus in his expedition againſt the Perſians, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that war. Syncellus tells us, that he was raiſed by that prince to the conſulſhip [s]. He had, at the time of Numerianus's death, the command of the guards that attended the emperor's perſon, and were ſuperior in rank to the prætorian guards, as we have obſerved above [t]. He was a great maſter of civil affairs, prompt at foreſeeing events, dextrous at concerting ſchemes, naturally inclined to violent meaſures, but at the ſame time maſter of his temper; an enemy to all uſeleſs expences, and a great encourager of learning, though from his youth he had been brought up in the camp, and had never applied himſelf to any ſtudy but that of the military art, in the knowledge of which he was equal to the famous commanders of antient times [u]. Lactantius charges him with cowardice, and ſays, that he avoided, as much as he well could, expoſing his perſon to dangers [w]. He was, according to Eutropius, naturally covetous, and bent upon amaſſing riches by any means whatever [x]. By his wife Priſca he had a daughter, named Galeria Valeria, who was married to Maximinus Galerius; but proved barren [y]. Both the mother and daughter favoured, and, according to Lactantius, once profeſſed, the chriſtian religion; for that writer reckons them among the firſt, who, terrified with the menaces of Dioclesian, defiled themſelves with impure ſacrifices [z]. Dioclesian being, by the unanimous conſent of the army, proclaimed emperor, in the manner we

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Car. vit. p. 252. [r] Zonar. tom. 2. p. 243. [s] Syncel. p. 387. [t] Vide p. 96. [u] Prob. vit. p. 241. Macrin. vit. p. 96. Carin. vit. p. 251. [w] Lactant. perſecut. c. 7. & 9. [x] Eutrop. p. 586. [y] Lact. ibid. p. 447. Birag. p 444. [z] Lact. ibid. c. 15. p. 12, 13.

have related above, aſcended the tribunal; and after having harangued the ſoldiers, and ſolemnly declared upon his oath, that he had been no-ways acceſſory or privy to the death of Numerianus, he cauſed Aper to be brought before him, reproached him in bitter terms with the murder of his prince and ſon-in-law, and then deſcending from the tribunal, drew his ſword, and buried it in his breaſt, ſaying, You ſhall have the honour, O Aper, to fall by an illuſtrious hand. The new emperor would not have begun his reign with an action that ſavoured of cruelty, had it not been to fulfil the above-mentioned prophecy of the Druid, the word aper ſignifying in the Latin tongue a boar; whence, in ſeeing Aper fall, he cried out, I have at length killed the fatal boar. Vopiſcus tells us, that, mindful of the prediction, he ſtrove always in hunting to kill the boars with his own hand; and adds, that when he ſaw Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, Carus and his two ſons, raiſed to the empire before him, he uſed pleaſantly to ſay before Maximian and our hiſtorian's grandfather, (for to theſe two alone he imparted the prophecy) That he killed, but others enjoyed, the boar [a]. Diocleſian was proclaimed emperor at Chalcedon, on the ſeventeenth of September of the year 284, which epoch is the more remarkable, as it is the beginning of a new æra, called, The æra of Diocleſian, and ſometimes, The æra of martyrs, which for many ages obtained in the church, and is ſtill in uſe among the Cophts in Egypt, the Abiſſines, and ſome other African nations. The firſt year of this æra begins with the Egyptian year on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt of 284 [b]. Diocleſian made his public entry into Nicomedia on the twenty-ſeventh of September of this year, and ſpent the remaining months in making the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe Carinus, who, hearing of his brother's death and the aſſumption of Diocleſian had left Gaul, and was haſtening at the head of a powerful army, into Illyricum. The following year, Carinus took upon him his third conſulſhip, having Ariſtobulus his captain of the guards, for his collegue; and arriving in Venetia, overcame there and ſlew one Julianus, governor of that province who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [c]. Elated with this victory, he advanced into Illyricum, where he fought ſeveral battles with Diocleſian, whom he entirely defeated in a general engagement near Margum, a city on the Danube in Upper Mœſia; but while he was purſuing the enemy, he was kill

He puts Aper to death.

The æra of Diocleſian.

[a] Car. vit. p. 252. [b] Eutych. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 52
[c] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524.

killed by ſome of his own men, ſtirred up againſt him by a tribune, whoſe wife he had debauched. Thus Aurelian Victor [d]. But Eutropius writes, that he was betrayed by his own army, and killed by Diocleſian [e]. Be that as it will, Diocleſian, ſeeing himſelf, by the death of his rival, become ſole maſter of the empire, marched to Rome; and having eſtabliſhed his authority there, ſet out ſoon after for Germany, where he gained ſeveral advantages over the Alemanni, who had made an irruption into Gaul. The ſame year, his generals fought with ſucceſs againſt the inhabitants of Britain, who, it ſeems, had attempted to ſhake off the yoke. For theſe victories he aſſumed the ſurnames of Germanicus and Britannicus, as appears from an inſcription dated the ſecond year of his reign [f]. From Germany he returned through Illyricum into the eaſt; for he was at Sirmium on the firſt day of the following year [g], and at Nicomedia on the twenty-firſt of January [h]. The next conſuls were Junius Maximus, the ſecond time, and Vettius Aquilinus. This year, Diocleſian took Maximian, ſtyled on the antient coins M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, for his collegue and partner in the empire. Maximian was born of obſcure parents, in a village near Sirmium in Pannonia; but entering early into the army, had ſignalized himſelf by many noble exploits, and was reckoned one of the beſt commanders of his time. All the antients paint him as a man of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper, and addicted to all manner of wickedneſs; but at the ſame time extol his courage, his experience in military affairs, and his inviolable attachment to Diocleſian, with whom he had lived many years in great friendſhip. The emperor therefore, who had no iſſue male, and repoſed an entire confidence in Maximian, choſe him for his partner in the empire, inveſted him with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and honoured him with the title of Auguſtus. Some authors write, that Diocleſian not only took him for his collegue in the ſovereignty, but divided the empire with him, reſerving to himſelf the eaſtern provinces, and leaving to Maximian Italy, Africa, Spain, and the reſt of the weſtern countries [i]. Maximian had by his wife, Galeria Valeria Eutropia, by birth a Syrian, Maxentius, who uſurped the empire at Rome, and Fauſta, the wife of Conſtantine the Great. Maxentius was by ſome thought

d. The death of Carinus.

Diocleſian takes Maximian for his partner in the empire.

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Eutrop. p. 585. [f] Noris de Diocleſ. num. c. 4. p. 19, 20. [g] Cod. Juſtin. l. vi. tit. 21. leg. 6. p. 331. [h] Idem, tit. 9. leg. 3. p. 530. [i] Noris de Diocleſ. num. Lactan. perſec. c. 8. p. 8. Pagi, p. 157.

thought to have been a ſuppoſititious child [k]. Eutropia had by a former huſband a daughter, ſtyled on the antient coins Flavia Maximiana Theodora, whom Maximian married to Conſtantine Chlorus, of whom hereafter. Aurelius Victor tells us, that Dioclefian was induced to take Maximian for his partner in the empire, chiefly by the diſturbances which happened this year in Gaul, where two commanders, Aulus Pomponius Ælianus and Cn. Salvius Amandus, having aſſembled a great number of vagabonds, robbers, and peaſants, cauſed themſelves to be proclaimed emperors. Maximian, leaving Dioclefian in Nicomedia, haſtened into Gaul, and there, with the troops quartered in that province, defeated the rebels, and reſtored the province to its former tranquillity [m]. The revolted peaſants were called Bacaudæ, or Bagaudæ, the etymology of which appellation has puzzled the beſt antiquaries. S. Maure de Foſſes, about three ſhort miles from Paris, was formerly called the caſtle of the Bagaudæ, being built, according to a tradition which obtained in the ſeventh century, by Julius Cæſar, in the peninſula formed by the Marne, and fortified with a rampart and ditches, which defended the entry left open by the river. The Bagaudæ are ſaid to have held out there a long time againſt Maximian, who at length made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, levelled it with the ground, and filled up the ditches; which, however, gave to the place its preſent name [n]. While Maximian was employed againſt the rebels in Gaul, Dioclefian was making great preparations in the eaſt, in order to recover Meſopotamia from the Perſians, who, after the death of Carinus, had ſeized that province. But Varranes II. at that time king of Perſia, choſe rather to reſtore what he had taken from the Romans, than to engage in a war, which, he apprehended, would prove long and dangerous [o]. Mention is made of ſome advantages gained this year by Dioclefian over the Saracens [p]. He was the laſt day of this year at Tiberias in Paleſtine, as appears from the date of ſome laws in the code [q]. The following year, 287, Dioclefian entered upon his third conſulſhip, and Maximian upon his firſt. The former from Paleſtine paſſed into Pannonia, as appears from the date of ſeveral laws enacted this year [r]; but what called him

A rebellion in Gaul ſuppreſſed by Maximian.

[k] Vict. epit. p. 542. Julian. orat. i. p. 9. [l] Eutrop p 585. [m] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [n] Vide du Cange gloſſar. med. & infim. Latinitat. p. 661, 662. [o] Panegyr. orat. x. p. 125—132. [p] Panegyr. p. 132. [q] Cod. Juſt. l. iv. tit. 40. leg. 3. p. 311. [r] Cod. juſt. l. v. tit. 42. leg. 3. p. 487.

him into that province, or what he performed there, we are no-where told. As for Maximian, he was attacked in Gaul by the Alemanni, the Burgundians, the Heruli, whom Bucherius places on the coaſts of the Baltic ſea, and by ſeveral other barbarous nations, who were all overcome by Maximian, and deſtroyed either by the ſword, or by famine. Mamertinus, in his panegyric upon this prince, tells us, perhaps not without ſome exaggeration, that, of ſuch an immenſe multitude, not one was left alive to carry back the news of their overthrow [s]. The ſame year, Carauſius, a native of Gaul, having by Maximian's orders built a fleet at Boulogne, gained great advantages over the Franks and Saxons, who began to infeſt the ſeas with piracies, and, in ſeveral engagements by land, made a dreadful havock of the German nations that had broke into Celtic Gaul. However, as he kept and applied to his own uſe the booty which he had taken from the barbarians, inſtead of returning it to the proprietors, Maximian reſolved to put him to death; but Carauſius, having timely notice of his deſign, paſſed over into Britain with the fleet under his command, and there taking upon him the title of emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered in that iſland [t]. He afterwards cauſed a great number of veſſels to be built, levied new forces, called the barbarians from the continent to his aſſiſtance, and, by inſtructing them how to work their ſhips and fight by ſea, maintained himſelf a long time in poſſeſſion of the iſland, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of Maximian.

He utterly defeats ſeveral German nations.

Carauſius revolts, and ſeizes Britain.

THE following year, Maximian was conſul, the ſecond time, with Januarius. Mamertinus, his panegyriſt, tells us, that on the firſt day of his conſulſhip, news being brought to Treves, where he then was, that the barbarians had made an irruption into Gaul, and were but at a ſmall diſtance from that city, he immediately quitted his conſular robes, put on his armour, and, mounting his horſe, marched againſt the enemy, cut moſt of them to pieces, and the ſame day re-entered Treves in triumph [u]. Soon after, he croſſed the Rhine; and entering Germany, laid waſte the enemy's country, took a great number of captives, and returned to Gaul loaded with booty [w]. The fame of his name ſtruck ſuch terror into the Franks, that two of their kings, Atec and Genobaud, ſubmitted to him, deſiring him to confirm them in

Maximian defeats the barbarians a ſecond time.

Gains great advantages over the Franks.

[s] Panegyr. 10. p. 125. [t] Eutrop. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524. Panegyr. 8. p. 108. [u] Panegyr. p. 125. [w] Idem ibid. p. 126.

their reſpective kingdoms [x]. From an antient inſcription it appears, that both Diocleſian and Maximian took the ſurnames of Francicus, Alemannicus, and Germanicus [y]. Mamertinus ſpeaks of ſome victories gained by Maximian's generals over a fickle and deceitful nation, meaning, no doubt, the Franks; for ſuch was, at leaſt in thoſe times, the character of that people [z]. Diocleſian likewiſe entered Germany this year on the ſide of Rhœtia, and is ſaid to have extended the bounds of the empire to the ſprings of the Danube [a]. The next year, Baſſus being conſul, the ſecond time, with Quintianus, Claudius Mamertinus pronounced his famous panegyric on the emperor Maximinian in the city of Treves, as is commonly believed, the emperor himſelf being preſent. As he was then aſſembling on the coaſt of Gaul the ſhips, which he had cauſed to be built in ſeveral parts, with a deſign to attack Carauſius in Britain, his panegyriſt promiſes him certain victory over that rebel [b]. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for Carauſius's men, who had been trained to ſea-ſervice, eaſily put to flight thoſe who were ſent againſt them, diſperſed the emperor's fleet, and drove them on the coaſt of Gaul, where moſt of them were daſhed to pieces. Maximian, to cover the diſgrace of this defeat, gave out that the ſea had not proved favourable to him, and that he only put off the war to a more convenient ſeaſon. But, in the mean time, he began a treaty with Carauſius, wherein it was concluded, that he ſhould enjoy the government of Britain, as the more proper perſon, on account of his ſkill in ſea-affairs, to defend the iſland againſt the invaſions of the barbarians [c]. This agreement is marked on all Carauſius's coins, which repreſent two emperors ſhaking hands, with this legend, Concordia Aug [d]. Thus was Britain, by treaty, given up to Carauſius, who governed it, with the title of emperor, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven years, reckoning from the treaty, or, what to us ſeems moſt probable, from the time he firſt ſeized it. Our authors tell us, that he repaired and fortified the wall of Severus, and gained ſome advantages over the barbarians [e].

Britain given up to Carauſius.

Diocleſian defeats the Sarmatians.

The ſame year, Diocleſian gained a complete victory over the Sarmatians, the Vithungæ, or rather Jugunthæ, and the Quadi [f]. Eumenes writes, that the whole nation of the Sarmatians was cut

[x] Valeſ. rer. Francic. l. i. p. 11, 12. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Paneg. 10. p. 127. [a] Idem, p. 126. [b] Idem, p. 128. [c] Eutrop. p. 586. Aur. Vict. p. 525. [d] Noris de Diocleſ. num. c. 4. p. 22, 23. [e] Uſſer. rer. Brit. p. 586. Alford. annal. Brit. p. 285. [f] Paneg 11. p, 132, 133.

cut off; and the province of Dacia, which they had ſeized, re-united to the empire [g]. For theſe victories, Dioclefian aſſumed the ſurname of Sarmaticus, as appears from ſeveral antient coins and inſcriptions [h]. The next conſuls were Dioclefian, the fourth time, and Maximian, the third. The former gained this year ſome conſiderable advantages over the Saracens [i]; and then, leaving the eaſtern provinces, returned to Illyricum, and from Illyricum entered Italy by the Alpes Juliæ in the depth of winter. Maximian at the ſame time left Gaul; and, paſſing the Alpes Cottiæ, met Dioclefian at Milan, where the two emperors held ſeveral private conferences, the ſubject whereof is not mentioned by hiſtorians, and then returned to their reſpective armies; for they came attended only by a ſmall guard, but were received in all the cities through which they paſſed, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. The following year, Tiberianus and Dion, the ſon, or rather grandſon, as is conjectured, of the celebrated hiſtorian, being conſuls, a bloody war broke out among the barbarians, both in the north and in Africa. The Goths, having overcome the Burgundians dwelling on the banks of the Danube, were intent upon utterly extirpating that rival nation; but the Burgundians were powerfully ſupported by the Alani and the Tervingæ. Another Gothic nation, entering into a confederacy with the Taifalæ, made war upon the Vandals and the Gepidæ. In Africa, the Blemyes were at war with the Ethiopians, and the Moors were engaged in a civil war. Neither was Perſia exempt from civil diſturbances, raiſed by Hormiſda, who, revolting from his brother Varranes II, endeavoured to drive him from the throne, and ſeize it for himſelf, being ſupported in his unjuſt pretenſions by ſeveral Perſian lords, and ſome foreign nations [k]. The barbarians being thus diverted from making inroads into the empire, all the provinces ſubject to Rome enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity, which, however, was but ſhort-lived; for the following year, 292, when Annibalianus and Aſclepiodotus were conſuls, the empire was in great danger of being torn in pieces by foreign, as well as domeſtic, enemies. Not to mention Carauſius, who ſtill held Britain, the Perſians, delivered from their inteſtine broils, broke into Meſopotamia, and threatened Syria. The Quinquegentiani, perhaps ſo called becauſe they were quinque gentes,

The two emperors meet at Milan.

The empire threatened on all ſides.

[g] Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107. [h] Noris ibid. c 4. p. 23. Birag. p. 426. [i] Paneg. 11. p. 132. [k] Paneg. 11. p. 131—137.

tes, that is, five nations, joined in confederacy againſt the Romans, over-ran Africa; M. Aurelius Julianus revolted in Italy, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor; the ſame title was aſſumed at Alexandria in Egypt by Achilleus, ſtyled on his coins L. Epidius Achilleus [l]. The two emperors, alarmed at the danger which threatened the empire, and not thinking themſelves alone able to oppoſe ſo many enemies at once, reſolved to ſtrengthen their intereſt with the aſſiſtance of others, and to name each of them a Cæſar, who ſhould ſucceed them in the empire, and jointly with them defend the Roman dominions, both againſt foreign invaders, and domeſtic uſurpers. Purſuant to this reſolution and agreement, Diocleſian choſe Maximinus Galerius, and Maximian Conſtantius, ſurnamed Chlorus, who were each of them inveſted with the tribunitial and proconſular power, and honoured with the titles of emperor, father of their country, high pontiff, &c. which had hitherto been peculiar to the ſovereign [m]. The two emperors, the better to cement the union between them and their Cæſars, obliged them to put away their wives, and marry others; upon which Conſtantius married Theodora, daughter-in-law to Maximian, and Galerius Valeria the daughter of Diocleſian [n]. Some authors write, that both the Cæſars were named by Diocleſian, and by him inveſted in that dignity with great ſolemnity the firſt day of March of this year 292, on a riſing ground, about three miles from Nicomedia, where a pillar was afterwards erected, with a ſtatue conſecrated to Jupiter [o]. But moſt writers ſuppoſe Galerius to have been choſen by Diocleſian, and Conſtantius by Maximian; and all agree, that Galerius was adopted by the former, and Conſtantius by the latter. After the nomination of the two Cæſars, the empire was divided into four parts: Diocleſian choſe for himſelf the countries beyond the Ægean ſea; Thrace and Illyricum were allotted to Galerius; Italy and Africa, with the adjacent iſlands, to Maximian; and Gaul, Britain, and Spain, with Mauritania Tingitana, to Conſtantius. Each of theſe princes governed the provinces that fell to their ſhare, with an abſolute ſway; but the other three paid great deference to Diocleſian, acknowledging themſelves indebted to him for the power they enjoyed, and looking

The two emperors chuſe two Cæſars.

The empire divided into four parts.

[l] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. Eutrop p. 585. Birag. p. 430. Goltz. p. 122. [m] Eutrop. p. 585. Aur. Vict. p. 524. Cruc. p. 166. Euſeb. l. viii. c 17. p. 315. [n] Vict. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 586. [o] Lact. perſ. c. 19. p. 18. Chron. Alex. p. 640.

ing upon him as their common father. An entire union and concord reigned among them, each of them carefully avoiding to aſſume any ſuperiority over the reſt, or to give the leaſt motive of jealouſy or umbrage to his collegues *. From this time forward, the empire continued almoſt conſtantly divided; but at the ſame time each emperor was looked upon as maſter of the whole. Hence to the laws, which any of them enacted, were always prefixed the names of his collegues; and likewiſe to all the requeſts and petitions that were preſented to them. This multiplicity of princes was attended with great inconveniencies, and is therefore much exclaimed againſt by Lactantius, who aſcribes it to the cowardice of Dioclefian, unwilling to expoſe his own perſon to danger [p]. As each of the four ſovereigns would have as many officers, both civil and military, and the ſame number of forces as had been maintained by the ſtate when governed only by one emperor, there were more ſoldiers to pay, than people to ſupply the neceſſary ſums. Hence the taxes and impoſts were encreaſed beyond meaſure, the inhabitants of the ſeveral provinces reduced to beggary, the lands left untilled for want of hands, &c. In proportion as the people grew leſs able to pay the heavy taxes laid upon them, the number of the officers was encreaſed to exact them by force. Thus was the empire greatly weakened, and almoſt quite ruined [q]. Italy itſelf, which had hitherto only ſupplied with proviſions the court, and the troops attending it, was obliged to pay the ſame tribute as the provinces; which reduced it in proceſs of time to a deplorable condition [r].

The evils attending this diviſion.

Galerius, whom Dioclefian named to the dignity of Cæſar, is ſtyled on moſt of his coins, Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus. He was born in a village near Sardica, the metropolis of New Dacia; his mother, by name Romula, having retired thither from Old Dacia, or Dacia beyond the Danube, while that country was over-run by the Carpi. Galerius, in honour of his mother, gave afterwards the name of Romulianum to the place of his nativity [s]. As Romula was a profeſſed enemy to the chriſtians, ſhe inſpired her ſon with the ſame hatred to them; which chiefly gave riſe to the bloody proſecution which broke out in the latter end of Dioclefian's reign. Galerius was deſcended of an obſcure family; for both he and his ſiſter's ſon Maximinus, whom he afterwards created Cæſar, are

Birth, education, preferments, &c. of Galerius Cæſar.

* Euſeb. Vict. ibid. [p] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 6. [q] Idem, p. 6, 8. [r] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [s] Idem ibid. Eutrop. p. 581.

are ſaid to have been in their youth cowherds; whence Galerius was nick-named Armentarius, from the Latin word armentum, ſignifying a drove of cattle. He was a perſon altogether illiterate; but nevertheleſs raiſed himſelf from the mean condition of a common ſoldier to the chief poſts in the army, having given ſignal proofs of his valour and conduct under the emperors Aurelian and Probus [t]. Lactantius reckons him amongſt the worſt emperors, and ſpeaks of him as one abandoned to all manner of wickedneſs, naturally inclined to cruelty, and a declared enemy to learning and men of letters [u]. The ſame writer adds, that in his words, in his actions, and even in his countenance, there was ſomething ſhocking and offenſive, apt to inſpire thoſe who approached him, rather with terror and averſion, than with eſteem or affection. Aurelius Victor, who ſeems to have been no-ways prejudiced againſt him, owns, that he was naturally of a fierce and ſavage temper, and that his ruſtic, haughty, and diſobliging behaviour drowned all his good qualities; for, according to that writer, he had excellent natural parts, and would have made a good figure on the throne, had the gifts of nature been improved by a polite and liberal education [w]. He had no children by Valeria, the daughter of Diocleſian; but a ſon, named Candidianus, by a concubine, and a daughter by his former wife, who was married to Maxentius, the ſon of Maximian [x]. Of Conſtantius, the other Cæſar, we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. Galerius was no ſooner created Cæſar, than he marched, with all the troops he could aſſemble, againſt the barbarians in the neighbourhood of the Danube and Illyricum; but performed nothing, either in this or the three following years, againſt the enemies of Rome, which hiſtorians have judged worth tranſmitting to poſterity. He cauſed ſeveral large foreſts to be grubbed up in Lower Pannonia, and a lake to be diſcharged into the Danube; by which means he gained a new province, which, from his wife's name, he ſtyled Valeria, lying between the Danube and the Draw, and known in future ages by the name of Pannonia Secunda. The chief cities of this new province were, Murſa, Aquincum, and Valeria [y]. Maximian paſſed this year over into Africa, where he gained a complete victory over the Quinquegentiani, and reduced Julianus (who had taken upon him the title of emperor in Italy, as we have hinted above, and afterwards croſſed

Pannonia Secunda, a new province.

[t] Vict. epit. p. 543. [u] Lact. perſ. c. 9. p. 8. [w] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [x] Lact. perſ. p 401. 44. 19. 16, [y] Aur. Vict. p. 525, 526. Baudran. p, 303.

croſſed over into Africa) to ſuch ſtreights, that he ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword [z]. Conſtantius was no ſooner inveſted with his new dignity, than he haſtened into Gaul; and arriving at Geſſoriacum, now Boulogne, which was held by the troops of Carauſius, inveſted the place, and blocked up the haven with huge beams driven into the ground at the entrance, and heaps of large ſtones like a rampart. The garriſon being by this means prevented from returning into Britain, and deprived of all hopes of relief, ſubmitted to Conſtantius, and were incorporated among his troops. The mole, which had continued firm for ſeveral days, was quite disjointed by the firſt tide after the ſurrender of the city, and broken to pieces. Conſtantius, notwithſtanding the reduction of that important place, did not yet attempt the recovery of Britain, not thinking himſelf furniſhed with a ſufficient number of ſhips for ſo great an undertaking. Where Diocleſian was this year, or what he performed, we are nowhere told. The following year, Diocleſian being conſul the fifth time, and Maximian the fourth, Carauſius was treacherouſly murdered by Allectus, his boſom friend and prime miniſter, who thereupon uſurped the government, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor [b]. Conſtantius, while his fleet was preparing in the ports on the ocean for the Britiſh expedition, cleared Batavia of the Franks, who had ſeized on that country, and tranſplanted them, with their wives and children, into other parts of the empire, deſtitute of inhabitants, obliging them to till the ground, to pay tribute, and to ſupply, when required, a certain number of troops [c]. The emperor Julian tells us, that Maximian and Conſtantius, not only drove the barbarians out of the Roman territories, but built many forts on the frontiers, to prevent their making new irruptions; by which means the inhabitants long enjoyed a profound tranquillity [d]. It was probably on account of his victories over the Franks, that Conſtantius aſſumed the title of Germanicus, which is given him in an inſcription of the following year, 194, quoted by Lactantius [e]. Eumenius, the panegyriſt, tells us, that Conſtantius performed many remarkable exploits before he attempted the reduction of Britain; that he utterly exterminated ſeveral barbarous nations, extended the limits of the empire, reſtored many provinces, pillaged

Conſtantius takes Geſſoriacum.

Carauſius murdered by Allectus, who aſſumes the government of Britain.

Conſtantius drives the Franks out of Batavia.

[z] Aur. Vict. ibid. [a] Panygyr. 7, 8. p. 93, 105. [b] Aur. Vict. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. Panegyr. 8. p. 108. [c] Panegyr. 1, 3. 7, 8. p. 3, 47, 93, 104, 106, 107. [d] Julian. p. 12. [e] Lact. perſ. p. 366.

pillaged and laid waſte Germany from the Rhine to the Danube, and took the king of a very fierce and warlike nation priſoner [f]. He reſtored to its antient ſplendor the city of Auguſtodunum, now Autun, which had been almoſt utterly ruined in the year 269, by Tetricus, for having revolted from him, and invited the emperor Claudius into Gaul. The temples, baths, and other public edifices, nay, and moſt of the houſes belonging to private perſons, were, at an immenſe charge, rebuilt by Conſtantius, who moreover embelliſhed the city, in regard of its attachment to Claudius, his great uncle, with magnificent aqueducts, ſupplied it with plenty of water, tranſplanted thither the moſt conſpicuous families in the other provinces, prevailed upon the famous orator Eumenius, who was himſelf a native of the place, to take upon him the charge of educating and inſtructing their youth, and, in ſhort, did all that lay in his power to raiſe Autun above all the other cities of Gaul [g].

He reſtores the city of Autun.

THE following year, when Conſtantius and Galerius were conſuls, two ſtrong caſtles were built by the latter on the Danube, in the country of the Sarmatians; the one over-againſt Acincum, or Aquincum, now Strigonium, or Gran, in Lower Hungary; the other oppoſite to Bononia, which ſtood between the Draw and Save, and is at preſent known by the name of Bonmöſter. From the date of ſeveral laws, publiſhed this and the preceding year, it appears that Diocleſian ſpent them both in Illyricum and Thrace; which provinces belonged to Galerius, whom perhaps he was come to aſſiſt againſt the barbarians on the other ſide of the Danube: in the ſame manner we ſhall ſee Maximian enter Gaul to defend that province againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, while Conſtantius was employed in Britain. The next conſuls were Tyſcus and Annulinus. This year, the Carpi, after having long maintained themſelves in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the Roman emperors, were at length entirely reduced by Galerius, and by Diocleſian tranſplanted into the territories of the empire, chiefly into Pannonia [h]. From an inſcription of this year, we learn, that the emperors cauſed the walls of Vitodurum, now Wintherthur, in the canton of Zurich, between Zurich and Conſtance, to be rebuilt. Aurelius Proculus, who commanded in the country of the Sequani,

The Carpi entirely ſubdued.

[f] Paneg. 8. p. 103, 107. [g] Paneg. 6, 8, 9. p. 85, 112, 114. [h] Paneg. 8. p. 105, 107. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 16. p. 634. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. Ammian. l. xxviii, p. 357.

quani, had the ſuperintendency of the work. In that inſcription, Dioclefian is ſtyled imperator the tenth time, and Maximian the eighth [i]. The following year, 296, Dioclefian being conſul the ſixth time, and Conſtantius the ſecond, the latter, after three years preparations, undertook at length the reduction of Britain. Eumenius the panegyriſt pretends, that the Romans were every-where victorious; that they had recovered whatever they had formerly poſſeſſed (he ought at leaſt to have excepted antient Dacia); and that, having overcome the reſt of their enemies, they deemed it a great diſgrace, that ſuch a wealthy province as Britain, which ſupplied them with many valuable commodities, ſhould ſtill be held by an aſſaſſin and uſurper [k]. Conſtantius therefore, without further delay, reſolved to paſs over into Britain; and Maximian to whom he imparted his reſolution, haſtened into Gaul, to prevent the barbarians beyond the Rhine from breaking into the empire, while he was employed againſt the rebels in Britain. Conſtantius had equipped ſeveral fleets, and in different ports, that the enemy, not knowing where to expect him, might be obliged to divide their powerful navy. One of his fleets commanded by Aſclepiodotus, his captain of the guards, to whom hiſtorians aſcribe the whole glory of the victory, ſet ſail from Boulogne; and eſcaping by the help of a fog, the Britiſh navy, which lay off the iſle of Wight, and was ready to engage them, landed their men without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. Aſclepiodotus had no ſooner put his army aſhore, than he ſet fire to his fleet, that there might be no hopes of ſafety, but in victory. Conſtantius, who had ſailed with another ſquadron from the mouth of the Seine, landed at another place, not mentioned by hiſtorians, and was received by the inhabitants with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. Allectus was encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the place where Conſtantius landed; but either not daring to engage him in perſon, or hoping to overcome Aſclepiodotus before the two armies joined, he quitted his poſt, and marched with great ſpeed againſt the latter. Conſtantius followed him, but did not arrive, notwithſtanding all the expedition he could uſe, till after the battle, in which Allectus, who had engaged, hurried on by fear and deſpair, before the arrival of the Roman troops who obeyed him, was killed; and his army, conſiſting only of foreign auxiliaries, either diſperſed or cut in pieces. Before the battle, he quitted the imperial

Conſtantius invades Britain.

His army lands in the iſland.

Allectus overcome and ſlain.

[i] Gruter. p. 166. Valeſ. not Gall. p. 615. Ferrar. de ant. Italic. p. 332. [k] Paneg. 3. p. 107.

perial robes, that they might not diſcover him; ſo that the conquerors, with much ado, diſcovered his body among the heaps of the barbarians who lay ſlain in the field [l]. Part of Conſtantius's fleet, ſeparating from the reſt during the fog, entered the Thames; and ſailing up that river, arrived at London. This accident, which might have been attended with bad conſequences, occaſioned a new victory. For ſuch of the auxiliaries of Allectus as had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, fled to London, with a deſign to plunder that wealthy city, and return to their reſpective countries with the booty. But Conſtantius's men landing luckily in the port of London at the ſame time, fell upon the barbarians, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them in all parts of the city; which was by that means, to the great joy of the inhabitants, happily preſerved. Conſtantius granted a general pardon to the partizans of Carauſius and Allectus, and cauſed his own men to reſtore whatever they had taken from the natives upon their firſt landing, ſaying, that he was not come to oppreſs, but to deliver the people from oppreſſion [m]. Thus was Britain re-united to the empire, after it had been held ſeven years by Carauſius, and three by Allectus. Of this victory, Eumenius the panegyriſt ſpeaks thus: "O important victory! worthy of many "triumphs! By this Britain is reſtored; by this the Franks "areutterlydefeated; and other nations in that rebellious con- "federacy reduced to obedience. To conclude, the ſea it- "ſelf is ſcoured, to eſtabliſh a laſting tranquillity in thoſe "provinces. You, great Cæſar, for your part, may with "juſtice triumph in this conqueſt of a new world; and, by "reſtoring the naval glory of Rome, may boaſt, that you "have added to the empire a larger element than all its for- "mer dominions.—— Britain is now ſo perfectly reduced, "that all the neighbouring nations are under abſolute ſubjec- "tion [n]." Thus Eumenius, a greater friend to Conſtantius, as will appear in the ſequel of the hiſtory, than to truth; for the brave Caledonians were not by him brought under the yoke, but ſtill maintained their antient liberties. The ſame writer obſerves, that from Britain Conſtantius ſent ſeveral workmen to be employed in rebuilding and embelliſhing the city of Autun [o]. Conſtantius, having thus ſettled affairs in Britain, returned to Gaul; and tranſplanting great numbers of Franks

London ſaved by Conſtantius's men from being plundered.

Britain re-united to the empire.

[l] Idem paneg. 7. p. 99. & 8. p. 109—111. Aur. Vic. p. 525 Eutrop. p. 586. Euſeb. chron. [m] Paneg. 8. p. 110, 111. Eutrop. p. 586. [n] Paneg. 8. p. 111, 112. [o] Idem ibid.

Franks into that province, peopled with them the countries of Amiens, Beauvois, Troies, and Langres, almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, obliging the new comers to cultivate the lands, to pay the uſual tributes, and ſupply the Roman armies with a certain number of troops [p]. The ſame year, Diocleſian recovered Egypt from Achilleus, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, and held that province, according to his coins, for the ſpace of near ſix years [q]. Diocleſian marched againſt him this year in perſon, overcame him without much trouble, and puniſhed him according to his deſerts. Thus Aurelius Victor [r]. But Eutropius writes, that he ſuſtained an eight months ſiege in Alexandria [s]; and Euſebius, that great numbers were killed on both ſides, during the ſiege [t]. Diocleſian not only puniſhed with death the ring-leaders of the revolt, but filled Egypt with murders and proſcriptions [u]; and even gave up, according to Oroſius [w], the city of Alexandria to be plundered by his greedy and enraged ſoldiery. If what theſe authors write be true, we leave our readers to judge of the ſincerity of Eumenius, who tells us, that Diocleſian, by his extraordinary clemency, reſtored tranquillity to Egypt [x]. Some writers obſerve, that he made a ſtrict ſearch after all the books of chymiſtry, written formerly by the Egyptians, and cauſed them all to be publicly burnt, leſt the Egyptians, enriched by that art, ſhould be tempted to ſhake off the yoke anew [y]. Conſtantine, the ſon of Conſtantius, attended Diocleſian in this war; for Euſebius tells us, that he ſaw him as he paſſed with the emperor through Paleſtine [z]. The city of Coptis and Buſiris in Thebais, having ſided in this war with Achilleus, were by Diocleſian utterly ruined [a]. Zonaras ſuppoſes theſe cities to have been deſtroyed by Diocleſian, ſome time before the revolt of Achilleus, for having attempted to ſhake off the Roman yoke [b]. Eumenius tells us, that the victories gained by Diocleſian in Egypt, ſtruck terror into the Indians and Ethiopians [c]. However, the emperor was ſo far from taking any advantage of that conſternation, and extending the limits

Part of Gaul peopled by the Franks.

Achilleus overcome, and Egypt reduced by Diocleſian.

[p] Valeſ. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 15. Buch. Belg. p. 227. Panegyr, 7. p. 93. [q] Goltz. p. 121. Birag. p. 430. [r] Aur. Vict. p. 525. [s] Eutrop. p. 586, [t] Euſeb. chron. [u] Eutrop. p. 586. Johann. Antioch. p. 834. [w] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 25. p. 215. [x] Panegyr. 9. p. 121. [y] Suid. p. 741. Johan. Antioch. ibid. [z] Euſeb. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 19. p. 417. [a] Theoph. chronograph. p. 4, 6. [b] Zonar. p. 243. [c] Panegyr. 8. p. 105.

limits of the empire on that ſide, that, on the contrary, he entered into a treaty with the Nubians, who uſed to make frequent inroads into the adjoining territory of Oaſis, yielding to them a large country, as much, ſays Procopius, as a traveller could go through in ſeven days, on condition, that they prevented the Blemyes, and other barbarians, from breaking into Egypt on the ſide of Ethiopia. The ſame writer adds, that Diocleſian cauſed a caſtle to be built in an iſland formed by the Nile in the neighbourhood of Elephantis, and a temple, in which ſacrifices were offered, both by the Roman and Nubian prieſts, for the proſperity of both nations. By this means, the emperor hoped to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between the Romans and thoſe barbarians; and therefore called the caſtle Philas, that is, friendſhip. But neither the country he yielded to them, nor the penſion which he engaged to pay yearly both to them and the Blemyes, and which was ſtill paid in the time of Juſtinian, was ſufficient to reſtrain them from making inroads into the empire, when not awed by the Roman troops [d].

Diocleſian yields part of Egypt to the Nubians.

THE next conſuls were Maximianus, the fifth time, and Galerius, the ſecond. The former, quitting Gaul upon the return of Conſtantius from Britain, croſſed over into Africa, cut in pieces the armies of the rebellious Moors, beſieged their caſtles and ſtrong holds, drove them from their mountains and rocks, which they had hitherto deemed impregnable; and having obliged them to deliver up their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion, tranſplanted them into other countries [e]. The ſame year, Narſes, king of Perſia, emulating the glory of Sapor, who had defeated the Roman armies and taken the emperor himſelf priſoner, entered Armenia at the head of a mighty army; and, having, without much trouble, reduced that kingdom, advanced into Meſopotamia. Diocleſian, mindful of the misfortune that had befallen the unhappy Valerian, inſtead of marching againſt him, in perſon, withdrew into Egypt, committing the whole management of that dangerous war to Galerius, whom he enjoined to leave Illyricum forthwith, and haſten into Meſopotamia, to oppoſe there the attempts of the Perſian monarch. Galerius obeyed, flew to Meſopotamia, and meeting the Perſians between Callinicum and Carrhæ, engaged their numerous army with the few troops he had then with him. The battle laſted ſome hours; but in the end the Romans, overpowered with

The Moors ſubdued by Maximian.

Galerius defeated by Narſes, king of Perſia.

[d] Procop. bell Perſ. c. 19. p. 59. Olympiodor. p. 13. [e] Panegyr. 8. p. 105—108.

with numbers, were forced to give ground, and ſave themſelves by flight. Galerius haſtened to Diocleſian, to give him, by word of mouth, an account of the diſaſter, and adviſe with him about the moſt proper meaſures to prevent the evil conſequences that might attend it. The emperor, who, at his arrival, was taking the air in the fields, received him with the greateſt contempt imaginable, and ſuffered him, attired as he was with the purple, to walk one, or, as others write, ſeveral, miles by his chariot [f]. This affront, inſtead of diſheartening him, inſpired him with an eager deſire of wiping off the diſgrace of his late overthrow. Having therefore, with much ado, obtained leave of Diocleſian to raiſe a new army, he aſſembled all the troops in Illyricum and Mœſia, made new levies, and in a ſhort time returned with a conſiderable army, and entered Armenia. All authors agree, that Galerius in this war performed whatever could be expected from a brave ſoldier and experienced commander: he even went in perſon, attended only by two horſemen, to reconnoitre the enemy, paſſing himſelf upon thoſe who ſtopped him for a deputy ſent by the Roman emperor to the Perſian monarch. Having thus viewed the enemy's camp and works, he attacked them ſo ſeaſonably, and conducted the whole action with ſuch prudence and addreſs, that only with twenty-five thouſand men he forced their entrenchments, tho' defended by an innumerable multitude, cut above twenty thouſand of them in pieces, took an immenſe booty and an incredible number of priſoners, among whom were the king's wives, ſiſters, and children, both ſons and daughters, and a great many perſons of the firſt rank [g]. Galerius treated the princeſſes with great reſpect, and would not ſuffer the leaſt affront to be offered to them; which ſeemed ſo ſurpriſing to the Perſians, that they owned themſelves as much inferior to the Romans in chaſtity as in valour [h]. Eutropius tells us, that Licinius, afterwards emperor, ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion [i]. Narſes, who was preſent at this battle, and, according to Zonaras, wounded in the beginning of the engagement, fled with the reſt, and took ſhelter in the moſt remote deſerts of his kingdom; whence he ſent Apharban, one of his chief favourites, to conclude a peace with the Romans upon any terms. Apharban, in the moſt humble

Narſes utterly defeated in a ſecond battle by Galerius.

[f] Aur. Vict. p. 525. Juli. orat. 1. p. 31. Ammian. l. xiv. p. 27. [g] Eutrop. p. 586. Feſtus, p. 553. Lact. perſec. c. 9. p. 8. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245. Zonar. p. 244. [h] Petr. Patric. in excerpt. de legat. p. 26. & 30. [i] Eutrop. ibid.

The Perſians ſue for peace.

humble and ſubmiſſive manner, entreated the conqueror not to deſtroy the Perſian empire, but to uſe his victory with moderation; which, he ſaid, would gain him greater reputation and fame, than the victory itſelf. As for the conditions of the peace, he left them entirely to him; and only begged in his maſter's name, that, mindful of the generoſity which in all ages had been peculiar to the Romans, he would add to the obligations which he already owed him for treating his wives and children with ſuch humanity, that of reſtoring them to their former condition. Galerius anſwered him, that it ill became the Perſians to expect moderation in others, after they had in ſuch an enormous manner, as was known to the whole world, abuſed their victory in treating their illuſtrious captive Valerian like the meaneſt of ſlaves, nay, worſe than their beaſts of burden. However, as it is beneath a Roman, added he, to retaliate ſuch indignities, and we are taught to ſpare thoſe who ſubmit, and humble ſuch as oppoſe us, let your maſter know, that he may perhaps ſoon have the pleaſure of ſeeing the perſons who are ſo dear to him [k]. Galerius, having diſmiſſed the Perſian embaſſador, haſtened to Diocleſian, who received him at Niſibis in Meſopotamia with all poſſible marks of honour and eſteem. They held ſeveral conferences, the ſubject of which was, whether or no they ſhould conclude a peace with the Perſians, and upon what terms. We are told, that they might have eaſily reduced Perſia to a Roman province; but that Diocleſian did not approve of it, for reaſons, ſays Aurelius Victor, unknown to us [l]. Sicorius Probus, one of Galerius's ſecretaries, was therefore diſpatched to Narſes, who received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, and ſoon after admitted him to an audience on the banks of the Aſprudis in Media, in the preſence only of Apharban and two others. The terms propoſed by Probus were, that Narſes ſhould yield to the Romans the five following provinces, Intelene, Sophene, Arzacene, Cardene, and Zabdicene; that the Tigris ſhould be the boundary between the two empires; that Niſibis ſhould be a common empory to both nations; that the limits of Armenia ſhould be extended to the caſtle of Zintha on the confines of Media; and laſtly, that the king of Iberia ſhould receive the crown at the hands of the Roman emperor. Narſes excepted againſt the article relating to Niſibis, but complied with the reſt. Whereupon a peace was concluded, and the Perſian

Which is granted them upon their yielding five provinces to the Romans.

[k] Eutrop. ibid. Petr. Patric. legat 26. [l] Aur. Vict p. 525.

ſian king's wives and children ſent back to him [m]. This peace proved very advantageous to the Romans, and laſted forty years, till the Perſians, deſirous to recover the provinces they had yielded, broke it in the latter end of Conſtantine's reign. The above-mentioned provinces lay towards the ſprings of the Tigris, and on the Roman ſide of that river; but were by the Romans commonly called the provinces beyond the Tigris, becauſe they had been ſo called by the Perſians. Inſtead of Intelene and Sophene, we read in Ammianus Marcellinus, Moxoene and Rehimene: as to the names of the other three, there is no diſagreement among authors. For theſe conqueſts, Galerius aſſumed the pompous titles of Perſicus, Armeniacus, Medicus, and Adiabenicus, as if he had ſubdued all theſe nations; and became ſo elated with his victory, that Diocleſian began to take umbrage at his haughty behaviour, imagining that he would not be much longer ſatisfied with the bare title of Cæſar [n]. The following year, Anicius Fauſtus being conſul, the ſecond time, with Severus Gallus, Diocleſian built ſeveral forts and caſtles on the frontiers of the empire towards Perſia, and ſurrounded with high walls and ſtrong towers the caſtle of Cercuſium in Meſopotamia, at the confluence of the Aboras and the Euphrates [o]. The next conſuls were Diocleſian, the ſeventh time, and Maximian, the ſixth. This year, the Marcomanni and Baſtarnæ received a great overthrow, and great numbers of their captives were tranſplanted into the Roman territories. From ſeveral laws it appears, that Diocleſian was this year in the months of January, February, April, and November, at Sirmium, and on the fifth of June at Philippopolis in Thrace [q]. The following year, when Conſtantius and Galerius were conſuls the third time, is quite barren of events. The next conſuls were Titianus, the ſecond time, and Nepotianus, whom Onuphrius takes to be the father of Flavius Popilius Nepotianus, who uſurped the empire fifty years after [r]. This year Conſtantius gained a remarkable victory over the Alemanni, who coming upon him unexpectedly, while he had but a ſmall body of troops with him, obliged him to retire, and ſhelter himſelf within the walls of Langres. But his army arriving a few hours after he had entered the city, he

Galerius is puffed up with his victory.

Conſtantius gains a ſignal victory over the Alemanni.

[m] Petr. Patric. legat. p. 29. [n] Euſeb. l. viii. c. 17. Lact. perſ. c. 9. p. 9. Aur. Vict. p. 525. [o] Panegyr. 9. p. 121. Grut. p. 166, 167. Ammian. l. xxix. p. 359. [p] Aur. Vict. p. 525. Eutrop. p. 586. [q] Cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 13. leg. 17. p. 201, &c. [r] Onuph. p. 261.

he marched out at the head of the detachment he had with him, joined his other forces, and falling upon the enemy, cut ſixty thouſand of them in pieces [s]. Eumenius mentions another victory gained this year by Conſtantius in the plains of Vindoniſſa, now Vindiſch, in the canton of Bern, near the confluence of the Aar and the Ruſs [t]. The ſame writer tells us, that a numerous army, conſiſting of different German nations, having rendezvouſed in an iſland in the Rhine, while that river was frozen over, were by a ſudden thaw ſhut up there, and obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion to the Romans, who kept them blocked up with their fleet [u]. Diocleſian was, as appears from the code [w], on the fourth of July at Antioch in Syria. The following year when Conſtantius and Galerius were conſuls the fourth time, a great dearth prevailed in moſt provinces of the empire, occaſioned, ſays Lactantius [x], by the avariciouſneſs of Diocleſian, who, to obviate that evil, fixed the prices of all ſorts of neceſſary proviſions; but the rates being too low, the traders inſtead of expoſing to ſale, concealed their commodities, by which means the dearth was changed into a famine, which raged till the merchants were allowed to ſell their commodities at their own prices. The ſame thing happened in the reign of Julian, ſurnamed the apoſtate. We read in the chronicle of Alexandria, that Diocleſian gave this year to that city the military bread [o]; what is meant thereby, we are not told. Procopius writes, that Diocleſian ordered two millions of buſhels of corn to be yearly diſtributed among the inhabitants of that populous metropolis [p]. Before the reign of Diocleſian, corn was given monthly to old and diſabled perſons; and in the reign of Conſtantine to the eccleſiaſtics [q]. Diocleſian ſeems to have paſſed this year partly in Syria, and partly at Nicomedia in Bithynia, with Galerius [r]. The next year, Diocleſian entered upon his eighth, and Maximian upon his ſeventh, conſulſhip. Diocleſian and Galerian paſſed the winter at Nicomedia in Bithynia, in conſultations, not about the means of extending the empire, and ſecuring it againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, but concerning the moſt effectual methods of utterly extir-

A great dearth in moſt provinces of the empire.

[s] Zonar. p. 244. Theophan. chronog. p. 5. Panegyr. 7. p. 93. [t] Panegyr. 7. p. 92. Baudr. p. 31. [u] Panegyr. 7. p. 92. [w] Cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 28. leg. 25. p. 268. [x] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 362. [o] Chron. Alex. p. 644. [p] Procop. arcan. hiſt. c. 26. p. 77. [q] Euſeb. l. vii. c. 21. p. 267. Evagr. p. 68. Atharapol. p. 737. [r] Cod p. 240, 243.

extirpating the chriſtian religion, to which Galerian had imbibed from his infancy an irreconcileable hatred. He found means to inſpire Diocleſian with the ſame fury, and, as we may call it madneſs; the effect of which was the moſt bloody and dreadful perſecution the church had yet ſuffered. This perſecution, which was the tenth and laſt general one, broke out on the twenty-third of February of this year, 303, the nineteenth of Diocleſian's reign, and raged ten whole years with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, the chriſtians being every-where, without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, dragged to execution, and tortured with the moſt exquiſite torments, rage, cruelty, and hatred could invent. Such numbers of chriſtians ſuffered death in all the provinces of the empire, that the tyrants imagining they had compaſſed their wicked intent, and entirely aboliſhed chriſtianity, told the world in a pompous, but lying, inſcription, that they had extinguiſhed the chriſtian name and ſuperſtition, and every-where reſtored the worſhip of the gods to its former purity and luſtre. But the church triumphed over all the powers and artifices of men, and, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of tyranny, prevailed a few years after in the very metropolis of idolatry and ſuperſtition. During this perſecution, Albanus Verolamienſis, Julius, Aaron, a citizen of Iſca legionum, now Exeter, and other champions of the faith, almoſt without number, ſuffered martyrdom in Britain. But to give an account of their ſufferings, of their truly heroic firmneſs, and unſhaken conſtancy, would be intrenching on the province of the eccleſiaſtic writers. Happy and glorious had hitherto been the reign of Diocleſian; but he no ſooner began to imbrue his hands in the blood of the righteous, ſays Euſebius, than he felt the effects of divine vengeance in the many calamities which ſoon overtook him [s]. A few days after the iſſuing of the firſt edicts againſt the chriſtians, a fire broke out in the palace at Nicomedia, where Diocleſian and Galerius were lodged, and reduced part of it to aſhes [t]. Euſebius writes, that he could never know how that accident happened [u]. Conſtantine, who was on the ſpot, aſcribes it to lightning [w]; and Lactantius aſſures us, that Galerius cauſed fire to be privately ſet to the palace, that he might lay the blame of it upon the chriſtians, and by that means incenſe

The tenth general perſecution.

A fire breaks out in the palace at Nicomedia.

[s] Euſeb. l. viii. c. 13. p. 308. Euſeb. l. viii. c 6. p. 297. orat. ad ſanct. cœtum.

[t] Lact. perſ. c. 14. p. 12.

[u] Idem ibid.

[w] Conſt.

Diocleſian ſtill more againſt them, which he did accordingly [x], Conſtantine tells us [y], that Diocleſian was ſo diſturbed with this accident, that thenceforth he conſtantly imagined to ſee lightning falling from heaven, which was in effect the beginning of that phrenzy, which by Lactantius and Euſebius is aſcribed to the malady, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon. Diocleſian's terror and diſmay were greatly encreaſed by a ſecond fire, which broke out in the palace fifteen days after the firſt, but was ſtopt before it had done any great miſchief. However, it had the effect which was intended by the author of it, Galerius; for Diocleſian, aſcribing it to the chriſtians, reſolved to keep no meaſures with them; and Galerius, the more to exaſperate him againſt them, withdrew from Nicomedia the ſame day, ſaying, that he was afraid of being burnt alive by the chriſtians [z]. About this time, one Eugenius aſſumed the title of emperor in Syria. He commanded five hundred men in Seleucia, who being employed in the day-time in cleanſing the harbour of that city, and in the night in baking their own bread, to deliver themſelves from that inſupportable drudgery, agreed to revolt, and proclaim their leader emperor. Eugenius, who expected nothing leſs, refuſed at firſt the dignity offered him; but was at length prevailed upon, through fear, to accept it; for they threatened him with preſent death; if he refuſed to ſecond their deſigns. Being therefore arrayed with a purple robe taken from the ſtatue of one of the gods, he led his men ſtrait to Antioch, which city he reached the ſame day in the cloſe of the evening, and entered it without oppoſition, as there was no garriſon in the place, and the inhabitants were quite unappriſed of his revolt; but when he began to act as emperor, the whole city roſe, and falling upon the rebels, for the moſt part intoxicated with wine, with ſuch arms as chance preſented, killed them all to a man before midnight. Thus the empire of Eugenius began and ended the ſame day [a]. Diocleſian ought rather to have rewarded than puniſhed the Antiochians; but on this occaſion he betrayed that cruelty which was natural to him; for, without any trial, without paying any regard to the uſual forms of law, he commanded the chief magiſtrates of Antioch and Seleucia to be publicly executed, as if they had been all privy to the conſpiracy; which rendered him ſo odious to the Syrians, that they could not, without horror, hear his name mentioned

Eugenius proclaimed emperor by a few ſoldiers.

Who are all cut in pieces.

The cruelty of Diocleſian to the Antiochians.

[x] Lact. perſ. c. 14. p. 12. [y] Conſtant. ibid. [z] Lact. ibid. Euſeb de martyr. Palæſ. c. 2. p. 320. [a] Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399. & orat. xv. p. 410, 411.

mentioned ninety years after [b]. Among the many perſons who loſt their lives on this occaſion, Libanius names his paternal grandfather and his grandfather's brother, whoſe eſtates were likewiſe confiſcated [c]. Towards the cloſe of the year, Diocleſian and Maximian, with their two Cæſars, Conſtantius and Galerius, repaired to Rome, and there enjoyed the honour of a triumph, which the ſenate had long ſince decreed them, and their many victories and conqueſts well deſerved. As Diocleſian, both in his triumph and the ſports that followed it, ſhewed greater œconomy than was pleaſing to the populace, they took thence occaſion to rally him with great liberty; which he not being able to bear, left the city ſoon after his triumph, and ſet out for Ravenna on the nineteenth of December. As the ſeaſon was then both rainy and cold, he contracted a lingering diſtemper, which in a ſhort time weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he could neither walk nor ſtand [d]. He entered upon his ninth conſulſhip at Ravenna, having Maximian, the eighth time conſul, for his collegue. In the beginning of the ſpring, he ſet out from Ravenna, and paſſing through Venetia and Illyricum, carried always, contrary to his cuſtom, in a litter, arrived at Nicomedia in the beginning of the autumn. As his diſtemper encreaſed daily, on the thirteenth of December ſo deep a ſwoon ſeized him, that he was believed to have paid the laſt debt of mortality, and a report of his death was ſpread all over the city. However, he recovered his ſight and voice; but his head remained ſo affected, that thenceforth he frequently fell into fits, which quite deprived him of the uſe of his reaſon. As he was not in a condition to appear abroad till the firſt of March of the following year, many perſons believed he was dead; but that his death was kept concealed till the arrival of Galerius, leaſt the ſoldiers ſhould, in the mean time, according to their cuſtom, proclaim a new emperor [e]. To diſſipate this report, he ſhewed himſelf to the people of Nicomedia on the firſt of March; but there appeared ſuch a change in his countenance, that many doubted whether it was the ſame perſon. Soon after, Galerius arrived, who had already threatened Maximian with a civil war, if he did not reſign the empire; and was come into Nicomedia with a deſign to oblige Diocleſian likewiſe to reſign the ſovereignty, ſince he was no longer able to diſcharge the functions of the imperial dignity. As Diocleſian

Diocleſian triumphs, and leaves Rome.

His illneſs.

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Lact. perſec. c. 17. p. 15. Ammian. l. xvi. p. 131. [e] Lact. perſec. c. 17. p. 15. Euſeb. l. viii. c. 13.

cleſian did not yield to the reaſons he alledged, but only offered to take both him and Conſtantius for his partners in the empire, Galerius told him plainly, that if he did not reſign of his own accord, he would force him to it. Diocleſian, frightened with theſe menaces, and well appriſed, that Galerius, who had, for ſome time, been encreaſing his army with new levies, was in a condition to make good his word, yielded at length, and it was agreed, that Diocleſian and Maximian ſhould reſign the ſovereignty; that Conſtantius and Galerius ſhould, at the ſame time, be inveſted with it; and that, to preſerve the form of government introduced by Diocleſian, two new Cæſars ſhould be named. Diocleſian immediately diſpatched an expreſs to Maximian, who was then at Milan, acquainting him with what had paſſed at Nicomedia. He was no leſs unwilling, than his collegue, to part with the ſovereignty; but nevertheleſs, to avoid a civil war, in which he was well appriſed, Galerius would prevail, he came into the ſame meaſures [f]. Such is the account which Lactantius gives us of the reſignation of Maximian and Diocleſian, in a piece not long ſince recovered from darkneſs. Conſtantine, who was then at Nicomedia, and lodged in the ſame palace with Diocleſian, aſſures us, in a ſpeech which he pronounced in public, that the emperor, thinking himſelf no longer able to govern, on account of the fits to which he was ſubject, reſigned of his own accord [g]; and the panegyriſts, who wrote at that time, mention his reſignation as a ſhining inſtance of greatneſs, generoſity, and an utter contempt of all human grandeur; nay, they tell us, that both he and Maximian had agreed long before, and even bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath in the capitol, to reſign the ſovereignty. Aurelius Victor writes, that Diocleſian quitted the government, and betook himſelf to a private life, that he might not be overwhelmed with the misfortunes that threatened the empire [h]. As two new Cæſars were to be choſen, Diocleſian propoſed Maxentius, the ſon of Maximian and ſon-in-law of Galerius, and Conſtantine, the ſon of Conſtantius; but Galerius, rejecting them, prevailed upon Diocleſian to name two others in their room, viz. Severus, whom he had already ſent to receive the purple at the hands of Maximian, and Daia or Daza, his ſiſter's ſon, to whom he had a little before given the name of Maximin. They were both greatly attached to Galerius, but neither of them any-ways qualified for ſuch an high ſtation. However,

Galerius obliges him to renounce the empire.

Maximin and Severus declared Cæſars.

[f] Lact. perſec. c. 17. p. 15. & c. 18. p. 16. [g] Conſtant. orat. c. 25. [h] Aur. Vict. p. 525.

However, Dioclesian consented to their election; and a few days after, on the first of May of the present year 305, the twenty-first of his reign, he resigned the empire in the presence of his court and the army, devesting himself of the purple, and delivering it to Maximin, whom at the same time he declared Cæsar, together with Severus. This ceremony was performed in the same place where Galerius had been declared Cæsar, about three miles from Nicomedia. Dioclesian, before he devested himself of the purple, made an harangue to the soldiers, telling them, That, his infirmities obliging him to retire, he yielded the empire to Constantius and Galerius, who were more able and better qualified than he to discharge so great a trust. When the ceremony was over, Dioclesian passed through Nicomedia with a small retinue, and retiring to Dalmatia, his native country, chose the city of Salona for the place of his residence [i]. The same day, Maximian, quitting the purple at Milan, consigned it to Severus, as had been agreed on before-hand, declared Constantius and Galerius emperors, and then retired to Lucania, where we shall soon see him raising disturbances, with a design to resume the dignity which he had quitted. As for Dioclesian, he passed the remainder of his life, that is, near nine years, at a country-seat, in the neighbourhood of Salona, on the spot where the city of Spalatro was afterwards built. The ruins of the palace of Dioclesian are still to be seen there, and take up two thirds of the town. It was, according to the description which Constantius Porphyrogenitus gives us of it, a most stately and magnificent building, and contained four temples, one of which is still entire and the cathedral of Spalatro. Dioclesian diverted himself, during his retirement, with cultivating a garden, saying often, Now I live; now I see the beauty of the sun. Some time after, when Maximian and others wrote to him to join them and resume the empire, he returned them this answer; I wish you would but come to Salona, that I might shew you the colworts which I have planted with my own hands: I am sure you would never thenceforth mention the empire to me [k]. He was long honoured in his retreat by the princes who reigned after him, and looked upon him as their common father, since to him they were indebted for their dignity. In an inscription of the year 306, both he and Maximian are styled the antient emperors, and the fathers of the emperors [l]. In his time they consecrated

Dioclesian and Maximian resign the empire.

Dioclesian leads a retired life.

[i] Lact. pers. c. 18. p. 16, 17. Vict. epit. p. 543. [k] Idem, 542. Eutrop. p. 587. [l] P. Pagi, p. 148.

conſecrated the thermæ, or hot baths, which he had begun at Rome, and conſulted him in all affairs of great importance, paying great deference to his counſels. Thus Galerius invited him in the year 307, to Carnus, or Carnuntum, in Pannonia, to adviſe with him about the promotion of Licinius [m]. However, ſeveral things happened afterwards, which gave him great concern and uneaſineſs: His daughter Valeria refuſing to marry Maximin, after the death of her huſband Galerius in the year 311, was by that prince treated in a barbarous manner, and baniſhed. Conſtantine and Licinius, in the beginning of the year 313, eſpouſed with great zeal the cauſe of the perſecuted chriſtians, whom he and his collegue Maximian had attempted utterly to extirpate [n]. Victor adds, that the two above-mentioned princes having been invited to the nuptials of Licinius with the ſiſter of Conſtantine, and he excuſing himſelf on account of his age, they wrote a threatening letter to him, as if he had been concerned in the diſturbances raiſed by Maxentius [o]. The ſame author adds, that the dread he was in of an ignominious death, prompted him

His death. to end his life with poiſon [p]. Theophanes writes, that the ſenate had already iſſued a decree for his execution [q]; and Lactantius, that ſeeing himſelf, after a glorious reign of twenty years, ill uſed and deſpiſed, he reſolved to put an end to his life, abſtained from all food, and died of hunger, grief, and deſpair [r]. In the chronicle of Alexandria we read, that he died of a dropſy [s]; and in Euſebius, that he was conſumed and worn out by a lingering diſtemper [t]. He died, according to Aurelius Victor [u], ſoon after the marriage of Licinius, which was celebrated in the March of the year 313, after having lived about eighty years, and reigned twenty and ſome months. He was deified with the uſual ſolemnities after his death [w], probably by Licinius or Maximin II. for Conſtantine, at the time of his death, profeſſed the chriſtian religion. Libanius writes, that Diocleſian ſhewed himſelf in

He ſhewed himſelf in many things an excellent prince. many, but not in all, things an excellent prince [x]; and the emperor Julian commends him for having done many things that proved very uſeful to the public [y]. He enacted a great many wholeſome laws, and was ſo far from countenancing informers

[m] Lact. perſ. c. 29. p. 26. [n] Idem ibid. c. 41. p. 36
[o] Vict. epit. p. 542. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Theoph. chronogr
p. 8. [r] Lact. perſ. c. 42. p. 36. [s] Chron. Alexand. p. 656
[t] Euſeb. l. viii. c. 7. p. 317. [u] Aur. Vict. p. 542. [w] Eu
trop. p. 586. Euſeb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. [x] Liban. orat. xiv
p. 399. [y] Jul. orat. i. p. 12.

formers, that he commanded them to be executed, when they could not make good their charge. He would not receive the accuſation of one Thaumaſius againſt his benefactor Symmachus, in whoſe houſe he had been brought up, and condemned another to baniſhment, for informing againſt his brother [z]. He ſuppreſſed the officers called frumentarii, of whom Caſaubon ſpeaks much at length, without giving us any ſatisfactory reaſon why they were ſo called [a]. They were firſt eſtabliſhed to give the emperor immediate notice of the diſturbances that happened in the provinces; but abuſing their office, eſpecially in the diſtant countries, they often extorted large ſums from the inhabitants, by threatening to accuſe them, if they did not comply with their unjuſt demands. However, no great benefit was reaped from their ſuppreſſion; for thoſe who were ſtyled agentes in rebus and curioſi proved no leſs miſchievous than the frumentarii [b]. Diocleſian encouraged and preferred perſons of merit and virtue, diſcountenanced vice, managed the public money with great frugality, had much at heart the worſhip of the gods, and was, till ſeduced by Galerius, rather a friend than an enemy to the chriſtians, of whom he had, till the year 303, great numbers both in his court and army [c]. He was greatly addicted to building, and embelliſhed ſeveral cities of the empire, eſpecially Rome, Carthage, Milan, and Nicomedia, with many ſtately edifices. From the ruins of his thermæ, or public hot baths, which are ſtill viſited and admired by all travellers to Rome, we may judge of the grandeur and magnificence of that ſurpriſing fabric. Beſides the bathing places, in which three thouſand perſons could conveniently bathe at a time, there were many other rooms and apartments; for the books which were lodged in Trajan's library were conveyed thither [d]. The emperor Conſtantius II. when he came to Rome in 358, admired nothing ſo much as Diocleſian's baths, which ſeemed rather a province, ſays Ammianus Marcellinus, with no ſmall exaggeration, than a building [e]. Part of theſe baths were by pope Pius IV. changed into a church, conſecrated to the Virgin Mary, under the title of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Diocleſian embelliſhed with a great number of ſtately buildings many other cities, but above all Nicomedia, with a deſign of equalling it to Rome, for which purpoſe he ſpared no coſt or labour,

His public buildings.

[z] Cod. Juſt. l. ix. tit. i. leg. 17. p. 111. & leg. 12. p. 810.
[a] Caſaub. not. in Spart. p. 22. [b] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [c] Idem, p. 525. Lact. perſec. c. 10. p. 9. [d] Euſeb. chron. p. 214. Prob. vit. 233. Vict. epit. p. 525. [e] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 91.

labour, that might render the place either beautiful or convenient. He built there a circus, ſeveral baſilics, a mint, an arſenal, a palace for his wife, and another for his daughter. Thus Nicomedia became the ordinary reſidence of the emperors, when the affairs of the empire called them into the eaſt, till the removal of the imperial ſeat to Conſtantinople [f]. We have ſpoken above of his magnificent palace or villa at Spalatro in Dalmatia, in which province he likewiſe built the caſtle of Dioclea, in the village where he was born, the inhabitants whereof were called Diocleſians [g]. But theſe buildings proved very burdenſome to the people, who were not only obliged to abandon their antient habitations to make room for them, but moreover to furniſh workmen, beaſts of burden, and the neceſſary materials; by which means he ruined provinces, while he embelliſhed the cities. If he happened not to like a building when it was quite finiſhed, he cauſed it to be pulled down, though reared at an immenſe expence, and to be rebuilt upon a different plan, perhaps to pull it down a ſecond and third time [h]. Lactantius charges him with avarice, and with putting, under various falſe pretences, many perſons to death, in order to ſeize their eſtates [i]. Eutropius [k], Zonaras [l], and Aurelius Victor [m] tell us, that, to cover the meanneſs of his extraction, he affected extraordinary magnificence in his attire, cauſed thoſe who approached him to fall proſtrate at his feet, aſſumed the titles of Lord and God, as Caligula and Domitian had done, and claimed divine worſhip. Hence Spartian, in addreſſing his works to him, uſes this expreſſion; I lay them at the feet of your deity [n]. Other writers expreſs themſelves in the ſame ſtyle, whether they direct their ſpeech to him or his collegues, who, it ſeems, followed his example [o]. Diocleſian took the name of Jovius, and Maximian that of Herculeus, as if they had been deſcended from theſe pretended deities, and even obliged their ſucceſſors to aſſume the ſame titles. Thus Galerius and Maximian added to their other titles that of Jupiter and Jovius, and Conſtantius the ſurname of Herculeus, which he tranſmitted to Licinius, and his ſon Conſtantine; but they ſoon quitted them; for Lactantius tells us, that in the year 320, the impious names of Jupiter and Hercules were aboliſhed from off the

They prove burdenſome to the people.

Aſſumes the title of God.

[f] Lact. perſ. c. 7, 17. p. 7, 15. [g] Conſtan. Porphyr. de adminiſtr. imper. ad Rom. fil. p. 72. [h] Lact. perſ. c. 7. p. 7. [i] Idem ibid. c. 9. p. 9. [k] Eutrop. p. 586. [l] Zonar. p. 244. [m] Aur. Vict. p. 523. [n] Spart. vit. Ver. p. 13. [o] Paneg. 10. p. 123.

the face of the earth [p]. We cannot help obſerving before we cloſe this chapter, that though no reign was more remarkable, either for length, or variety of great events, than Diocleſian's, yet no prince's reign is leſs known; which ſeems the more ſurpriſing to us, when we reflect on the great number of hiſtorians who flouriſhed in his time. Many of them muſt, without all doubt, have written the hiſtory of his life, as we know they did thoſe of his predeceſſors, which moſt of them inſcribed to him: but no particular and diſtinct account of his reign has reached us; nay, a chaſm even in the hiſtory of Zoſimus, from the death of Carus to the reſignation of Diocleſian, has deprived us of what we might have learnt concerning him of that, as we may call him, ſecond-hand hiſtorian. May we not aſcribe this general loſs of memoirs concerning him to divine vengeance, for his attempting utterly to aboliſh the holy ſcriptures? This, at leaſt, ſeems more probable to us, than what we read in a modern critic, viz. that the chriſtians, out of hatred to ſo cruel an enemy, ſuppreſſed all hiſtories and memoirs relating to him [p]. Of the writers who flouriſhed under Diocleſian we ſhall ſpeak in our note (C.)

[p] Lact. ibid. c. 52. p. 46. [q] Caſaur. not. in Spart. p. 201.

(C) Claudius Euſthenius, ſecretary to Diocleſian, wrote in four books the hiſtory of the four princes Diocleſian, Maximian, Conſtantius, and Galerius *(45)*; and this is all we know of him. Voſſius is of opinion, that Aſclepiodotus wrote the hiſtory of Diocleſian's reign, becauſe Vopiſcus quotes him in relating ſome things concerning that prince *(46)*; but Aſclepiodotus was captain of the guards to Conſtantius, and well acquainted with the court, Vopiſcus might have quoted him, as he often quotes his father and grandfather, who never committed any thing to writing. The Auguſtine writers, viz. Spartian, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiſcus, all lived in the reign of Diocleſian, though ſome of them wrote under his ſucceſſors. *Ælius* Spartianus, wrote firſt the lives of all the emperors, from Julius Cæſar to Adrian, and afterwards reſolved to add to them the lives of all the other emperors and Cæſars, and to inſcribe the whole to Diocleſian, of whoſe family he ſeems to have been *(47)*. The lives of the following princes paſs under his name, viz. of Adrian, of *Æ*lius Verus, his adopted ſon, of Julian, Niger, Severus, Caracalla, and Geta. Thoſe of *Æ*lius Cæſar, Adrian, Julian, Severus, and

(45) Car. vit. p. 254. *(46)* Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 185. *(47)* Ver. vit. p. 13, 16.

and Niger, are inſcribed to Dioclefian ; that of Caracalla has no dedication prefixed to it ; but the life of Geta is addreſſed to Conſtantine, already Auguſtus. What the author ſays in his addreſs, gives us room to believe, that he had dedicated other lives to the ſame prince ; nay, Salmaſius takes him to be the author of the lives of all the emperors to Maximin I. (48). This opinion we ſhall examine anon. Vopiſcus, in the life of Probus, names Julius Capitolinus and Ælius Lampridius among the hiſtorians who had written before him (49). To the latter are generally aſcribed the lives of Commodus, of Diadumenus the ſon of Macrinus, of Heliogabalus, and Alexander. The life of Commodus is inſcribed to Dioclefian ; thoſe of Heliogabalus and Alexander to Conſtantine, who deſired the author, as he tells us, to write the life of Heliogabalus, and to addreſs it to him, as he had done ſeveral other lives before (50). He adds, that he deſigned to write the hiſtory of Alexander Severus, and his ſucceſſors, to Conſtantine ; namely of the Gordiani, of Aurelian, Claudius, Dioclefian, Maximian, Licinius, Severus, Alexander, who revolted in Africa in 308, and of Maxentius. Theſe princes were, it ſeems, at that time all dead, and conſequently he could not write this before the year 324. He tells us elſewhere, that he had written the lives of M. Aurelius and Macrinus (51). In ſome antient manuſcripts, all the lives that paſs under the name of Lampridius, are aſcribed to Spartian ; and truly the lives ſaid to have been written by theſe two hiſtorians are in every reſpect ſo like, that ſome learned critics have taken them to have been done by one writer, named Ælius Lampridius Spartianus. Caſaubon and Voſſius are greatly inclined to this opinion (51) ; the more becauſe Vopiſcus often quotes Lampridius, and never Spartian. On the other hand, Salmaſius takes them to be two diſtinct writers (52). Julius Capitolinus likewiſe undertook to write the lives of all the emperors in ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate books, as others had done before him ; but, upon ſecond thoughts, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, he joined ſeveral lives together ; of ſuch emperors eſpecially as reigned at the ſame time (53). Under his name paſs the lives of T. Antoninus, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Pertinax, Albinus, Macrinus, the two Maximins, the three Gordians, Maximus, and Balbinus. The hiſtory of Titus Antoninus, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, and Macrinus, are dedicated to Dioclefian ; and that of the Maximins, of the Gordians, and of Albinus, to Conſtantine, for whoſe ſake he undertook the whole work (54). Perhaps Cornelius Capitoli-

nus,

(48) Salmaſ. not. in Sprat. p. 242, 243. (49) Prob. vit. p. 234. (50) Lampr. p. 45, 101, 136, 113. (51) Commod. vit. p. 45. Diadum. vit. p. 99. (51) Caſaub. in Spart. p. 1. Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 7. p. 192, 193. (52) Salmaſ. in Spart. p. 66. (53) Gord. vit. p. 151. Maxim. vit. p. 138. (54) Capit. p. 30, 39, 96, &c.

nus, quoted by Trebellius Pollio in his account of Zenobia (55), and Julius Capitolinus are one and the ſame perſon. Some manuſcripts aſcribe to Spartian all the lives that paſs under the name of Capitolinus, except thoſe of the Maximins, of the Gordians, and of Maximus and Balbinus (56). Salmaſius yields to the authority of the manuſcripts (57); but Voſſius aſſerts, that the lives commonly aſcribed to Capitolinus were done by him, and not by Spartian (58). Vulcatius Gallicanus, a Roman ſenator, undertook, in the reign of Dioclefian, to write the lives of all thoſe who had enjoyed the ſovereignty, whether by right or uſurpation (59), but of all he wrote, or deſigned to write, nothing has reached our times, except his hiſtory of Avidius Caſſius, who revolted in the eaſt during the reign of M. Aurelius, which is dedicated to Dioclefian. This life too Salmaſius aſcribes to Spartian (60). But the name of Vulcatius, which is no common name, has not, in the opinion of Voſſius (61), been prefixed to it by chance, or mere caprice of the tranſcriber. Valeſius takes the hiſtorian to be one and the ſame perſon with Gallicanus, who was conſul with Baſſus in the year 317.

Trebellius Pollio wrote the life of Philip, and of all the other princes, whether lawful emperors or uſurpers, from his time to the reign of Claudius and his brother Quintillus (62). He had begun, it ſeems, this work before the year 291, when Tiberianus was governor of Rome (63). Great part of this work has been long ſince loſt. He likewiſe deſigned to write the life of Aurelian; which deſign if he ever put in execution, it was after Vopiſcus had written on the ſame ſubject; for that writer glories in his being the firſt among the Latins who publiſhed the life of Aurelian (64). Trebellius Pollio ſeems to have been greatly attached to Conſtantius the father of Conſtantine (65). Vopiſcus thinks he overlooked ſome things, and was too minute and diffuſe in others (66). His hiſtory of the thirty tyrants was publiſhed after the year 291, when Conſtantius was already Cæſar. He inſcribed his work to ſome particular friend, or friends, whom he does not name; but the life of Claudius he addreſſes to Conſtantine, and not to Conſtantius, as ſome have maintained (67). Voſſius thinks his language and ſtyle not unworthy of praiſe, if compared with that of his cotemporary writers (68). Some aſcribe to Capitolinus the lives that

(55) Trig. tyran. c. 29. p. 198. (56) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 186. (57) Salmaſ. in Capit. p. 58. (58) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c. 65. p. 18. (59) Caſſii vit. p. 40, 41. (60) Salmaſ. in Spart. p. 108. (61) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 187. (62) Aur. vit. p. 209, 242. (63) Idem ibid. (64) Idem ibid. (65) Caſaub. in not. p. 203. (66) Aur. vit. ibid. (67) Vide Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c. 6. p. 190. (68) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c. 6. p. 190.

that paſs under the name of Pollio; but their opinion is rejected by the beſt critics (69). Flavius Vopiſcus was a native of Syracuſe, and ſeems to have been deſcended of a noble family; for his father and grandfather, whom he often quotes, lived in great intimacy with Dioclefian. He was induced to write the life of Aurelian, as he himſelf informs us, by Junius Tiberianus governor of Rome, (70), in 291, or 292, but he did not publiſh it before Conſtantius was created Cæſar (71). He ſeems to have made ſome additions to it long after; for he takes notice of a ſaying of Dioclefian after his reſignation, which, he ſays, he had learnt of his father (72). He wrote likewiſe the hiſtories of Tacitus and his brother Florianus, of Probus, of Firmus, and of ſome other uſurpers. He was employed in writing the lives of Carus and his children, while Galerius was waging war with the Perſians (73); that is, about the year 297, but he muſt have afterwards added ſeveral things to it; for he mentions the ſhews exhibited by Dioclefian in 309, and ſays, That Euſthenius, who had been ſecretary to that prince, had written his life, and the lives of his three collegues (74). From which expreſſion we may conclude, not only that Euſthenius was no longer his ſecretary, and conſequently that Dioclefian was no longer emperor, but likewiſe that he and his collegues were dead, ſince their lives were already written. The laſt of them died in 311. Vopiſcus inſcribed his works, not to the emperors, but to his friends. The life of Firmus is addreſſed to Baſſus, and that of Probus to one Celſus, his intimate friend, perhaps Herennius Celſus, who aſpired at the conſulſhip (75), and was, according to Caſaubon (76), governor of Egypt. Vopiſcus was a great admirer of Apollonius Tyanæus, and promiſes in one place of his work to write his life; but of ſuch a performance no mention is made by any of the antients (77). Theſe ſix writers, viz. Spartian, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiſcus, are commonly known to the learned by the name of hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ ſcriptores, though they are in effect rather biographers, than hiſtorians, and take more care to inform us of the good and bad qualities of the emperors, of their birth, education, ſtature, mein, and even their diet, and the cloaths they wore, than to deſcribe their wars, the laws they enacted, and the great revolutions that happened during their reſpective reigns. Vopiſcus, in the opinion of the learned, far excels the reſt, both as to his method and ſtyle; but nevertheleſs has many great faults, and is not to be compared with any of the antient Latin hiſtorians. As for the other five, they betray great want of judgment in their choice, and of method

(69) Vide Caſaub. in Poll. p. 203. (70) Aur. vit. p. 209. (71) Idem, p. 224. (72) Idem, p. 223. (73) Car. vit. p. 250. (74) Idem, p. 254. (75) Trig. tyran. vit. p. 195. (76) Caſaub. in Vopiſc. p. 216. (77) Aur. vit. p. 217.

thod in digeſting what they had choſen. Of theſe ſix writers, Capitolinus is the moſt confuſed and injudicious; whence ſome have ſuſpected, that the author of this collection might have mixed and blended together the relations of Capitolinus, Spartian, and ſome others (78). Their ſtyle is quite coarſe and unpoliſhed, their expreſſions uncouth, and ſometimes hardly intelligible. Vopiſcus writes, that Lampridius and Capitolinus minded rather truth than elegance in their narrations (79). Pollio owns his ſtyle to have nothing of the elegance of the antients (80). But of the many hiſtorians, ſome ſay fifty and upwards, who have handled the ſame ſubject, only the above-mentioned ſix have reached us. Tatius, or Statius Cyrillus, was contemporary with theſe ſix writers, and tranſlated the lives of ſeveral emperors out of Greek into Latin. Conſtantine deſired him to abridge them, and to join ſeveral lives together in one volume (81). His work has been long ſince loſt. Sotericus, a poet and hiſtorian, flouriſhed in the reign of Dioclefian, on whom he wrote a panegyric. He was a native of Oaſis in Libya, and much eſteemed by the learned men of his age. He left behind him ſeveral works, and among the reſt the life of Apollonius Tyanæus (82); but only a ſmall fragment of what he wrote has been conveyed to us by the ſcholiaſt of Lycophron (83).

But of all the writers who flouriſhed under Dioclefian, the moſt famous was the philoſopher Porphyrius, born, as he himſelf writes, in the city of Tyre, or that neighbourhood; for he ſtyles himſelf a Tyrian (84). St. Jerom gives him the ſurname of Bataneotes (85); whence ſome have believed him to have been a native of Batanea, a village in Syria, according to Stephanus, or rather in Phœnicia; for it ſtood within fifteen miles of Cæſarea in Paleſtine. Perhaps the family of Porphyrius came originally from Tyre, and thence he ſtyled himſelf a Tyrian, though born in the village of Batanea (86). It is certain, that he paſſed part of his life in the neighbourhood of Tyre (87). Baronius maintains him to have been by religion a Jew (88), probably for no other reaſon, but becauſe he ſuppoſed him to have been a native of Batanea; but in thoſe days Batanea was inhabited not only by Jews, but likewiſe by Greeks and Syrians. It is true, he always ſpoke with great reverence of the God of the Jews (89); but at the ſame time he declared himſelf an open enemy to that

(78) Vide Caſaub. in Spart. p. 13. (79) Prob. vit. p. 234. (80) Trig. tyran. p. 184. (81) Max. vit. p. 138. Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. c. 7. p. 193. (82) Suid. p. 784. (83) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 16. p. 246. (84) Plot. vit. p. 6. (85) Hier. in Gal. par. prim. 156. (86) Vide Jonſ. l. iii. c. 15. p. 286. (87) Plot. vit. p. 12. (88) Baron. ad ann. 302. (89) Auguſt. civit. Dei, l. xix. c. 23. p. 253.

people, as well as to the Chriſtians (90). St. Auſtin ſtyles him Porphyrius the Sicilian (91), probably on account of his having reſided a long time in Sicily, and publiſhing there ſeveral books againſt the chriſtians. He was deſcended of a good family. His anceſtors were not Greeks, but Syrians, ſo far as we can judge from the name of his father, who was called Malchus; which name he himſelf bore in his youth: but as the name of Malchus in the Syriac language ſignified king, Longinus adviſed him to exchange it for that of Porphyrius, which has ſome relation to royalty, the word πορφύρα ſignifying in Greek, purple, which was peculiar to the emperors and Cæſars. However, he was by ſome ſtill called Malchus, and Longinus himſelf gave him that name in addreſſing a work to him (92). He was born in the year 233, for he was thirty in the tenth year of the reign of Gallienus (93). Socrates writes, that at firſt he profeſſed the chriſtian religion; but afterwards, upon his being beaten and abuſed by ſome chriſtians at Cæſarea in Paleſtine, out of revenge he not only renounced, but undertook to impugn, the religion, which he had till that time profeſſed (94). Holſtenius likewiſe ſuppoſes him to have been once a chriſtian, and for that ſuppoſition quotes St. Auſtin (95); but that father only ſays, that Porphyrius had read the ſcripture with great attention, but could not be reconciled with the humility of Jeſus (96); from which words no one can conclude, that he ever profeſſed the doctrine and humility of Jeſus. While he was yet very young, he ſaw Origen, at that time in great credit among the chriſtians (97), not at Alexandria, as Vincentius Lirinenſis writes (98), (for he had left that city in 231.) but either at Cæſarea in Paleſtine, or at Tyre. Porphyrius came to Rome about the year 252. He was diſciple to Longinus, under whom he ſtudied at Athens the philoſophy of Plato, and made ſuch progreſs in his ſtudies, that he ſoon became the honour and ornament of that ſchool (99). Though he was one of the moſt dangerous and inveterate enemies the chriſtian religion ever had, yet this has not hindred the chriſtian writers from doing him juſtice, and beſtowing upon him the praiſes he deſerved. Euſebius ranks him among the moſt illuſtrious men and eminent philoſophers, that flouriſhed at any time (100). Cyrillus of Alexandria extolls his knowledge; and St. Auſtin ſtyles him an extraordinary

(90) Euſeb. præp. evang. l. x. c. 9. p. 485. (91) Aug. retract. l ii. c. 11. p. 24. (92) Eunap. c. i. p. 16. Plot. vit. p. 10. (93) Idem, p. 3. (94) Socr. l. iii. c. 3. p. 100. (95) Porphyr. vit. c. 5. p. 19. (96) Aug. civ. Dei. l. x. p. 118. (97) Euſeb. l. vi. c. 19. p. 220. (98) Vinc. Lir. c. 23. p. 352. (99) Euſeb. præpar. evan. l. x. c. 3. p. 464. Eunap. c. 2. p. 16. (100) Euſeb. ibid. Porphyr. vit. c. 1. p. 10, 11.

traordinary genius, and the moſt learned among philoſophers (1). In the year 263, being then thirty, he paſſed from Greece to Rome, where he heard Plotinus, who taught there; and no ſooner heard him, than forgetting Longinus and all the other philoſophers, he addicted himſelf entirely to him (2). Suidas ſuppoſes him to have been likewiſe diſciple to Amelius (3); but the latter ſtudied at the ſame time under Plotinus, ſo that he and Porphyrius were rather condiſciples (4). Porphyrius indeed might have learned many things of Amelius, who was eighteen years older than he, and been in that ſenſe his diſciple. He lived ſix years with Plotinus, and the fruit he reaped from his inſtructions was a profound melancholy, which in the end reduced him to ſuch miſery, that he reſolved to deſtroy himſelf. Plotinus, ſuſpecting his deſign from ſome words he dropped, prevailed upon him to divert his mind from ſuch gloomy thoughts by travelling. He therefore took his leave of Plotinus, and, in the beginning of the year 268, the fifteenth of the reign of Gallienus, ſet out from Rome, and croſſed over into Sicily. He landed near Meſſana, now Meſſina; but, without viſiting that city, went ſtrait to cape Lilybæum, to ſee one Probus, who was generally eſteemed a man of great learning. He continued ſome days with Probus, without taking any food, or converſing with any one (5): but in the end got the better of his melancholy, and ſtaid near two years at Lilybæum. While he was there, Plotinus died at Rome, about the beginning of the year 270. From Sicily Porphyrius ſeems to have paſſed into the eaſt, to have ſtaid ſome time at Tyre, and returning from thence to Sicily, to have croſſed over from Lilybæum to Africa, and there viſited the city of Carthage (6). From Africa he ſailed back to Sicily, and from Sicily returned to Rome, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and even made ſome public ſpeeches or declamations (7). He lived to a great age, ſays Eunapius; and Porphyrius himſelf, in his life of Plotinus, ſpeaks of a thing that happened to him when he was ſixty-eight; that is, in the year 299, or 300 (8); ſo that he not only lived to the reign of Probus, as Eunapius writes, but to that of Dioclefian, and perhaps longer; which confirms what we read in St. Auſtin, viz. that he lived in the time that the princes of the earth, and the adorers of the infernal ſpirits, conſpired to extirpate the chriſtian religion; and therefore could not perſuade himſelf, that it had been given by God for a means of ſalvation; whereas he ought, continues St. Auſtin, to have

(1) Aug. civ. Dei, c. 32. p. 120. (2) Plot. vit. p. 3. Eunap. c. ii. p. 17. (3) Suid. p. 573, 193. (4) Plot. vit. p. 3. (5) Idem, p. 4. Eunap. c. 2. p. 17, 18. (6) Porphyr. vit. p. 2—12. Plot. vit. p. 17. (7) Eunap. c. 2. p. 21. Plot. vit. p. 16. (8) Idem ibid.

looked upon that bloody perſecution as an evident proof of the glory and invincible ſtrength of the church (8). He died, according to Eunapius (9), at Rome. St. Jerom ſeems have believed, that he was buried in Sicily (10). He had married a widow, by name Marcella, who had five children by a former huſband. Eunapius tells us, that he married her with no other view but to bring up her children with greater care, out of regard to their father, who was his particular friend (11). As the chriſtian writers upbraid him with no vices, we conclude him to have been, as to his life and manners, altogether blameleſs. Eunapius cries up his eloquence and the beauty of his ſtile and expreſſions (12). He was thoroughly verſed in every branch of literature, excelled all men of his age in the knowledge of polite learning, arithmetic, geometry, and muſic (13); but ſhone chiefly in philoſophy, his favourite ſcience and ſtudy. Authors obſerve of him, that, whereas other philoſophers ſtudied to conceal their ſentiments with an affected obſcurity, Porphyrius expreſſed himſelf in a manner adapted to the meaneſt capacities (14). He taught philoſophy at Rome both by word of mouth and in writing. Iamblichus, a celebrated philoſopher in thoſe times, and Theodorus of Aſine in Peloponneſus, a man in great repute among the pagans, were both his diſciples (15); as likewiſe were, according to ſome writers, Chryſaores, Nemercus, and Gedalus, who inſcribed ſome works to him (16). He was very communicative to thoſe who deſired to be informed and inſtructed, and kind to his diſciples, whom on all occaſions he was ready to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power. He applied himſelf, as moſt of the Platonic philoſophers did of thoſe days, to the execrable ſtudy of magic, which he diſguiſed with the plauſible name of theourgia, or divine operation (17). He compoſed an infinite number of books upon different ſubjects, in which the reader will find a catalogue in the latter end of the diſſertation which Holſtenius publiſhed on the life and writings of that philoſopher (18). We ſhall only take notice of ſuch of his works as are ſtill extant. A manuſcript has reached our times on the quantity and meaſure of words, under the name of Porphyrius, whom Holſtenius believes to have been the true author of it. To Homer is added in ſeveral editions a ſmall work, containing thirty-two queſtions concerning that poet, done by Porphyrius, and looked upon by Holſtenius as the

(8) Aug. civ. Dei, l. x. c. 32. p. 120, 121. (9) Eunap. c. 2. p. 21. (10) Hier. in Ezech. p. 377. (11) Eunap. c. 2. p. 11. (12) Idem, c. 2, 3, p. 19, 20. (13) Idem, p. 18, 19. (14) Idem ibid. (15) Phot. c. 242. p. 1057. Steph. p. 121. (16) Porphyr. vit. c. 5. p. 44. & 51, 53. (17) Aug. ibid. l. x. c. 9. p. 111. Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. iv. c. 6. p. 143. (18) Holſten. vit. Porph. c. 6.

the beginning of an entire comment, well known to the antients. The ſame writer publiſhed in 1630, a piece, which he aſcribes to Porphyrius, on the cave of the nymphs, deſcribed in the thirteenth book of the Odyſſey: the reader will find there many difficulties cleared up touching the theology of the pagans: at the ſame time Holſtenius publiſhed a fragment of Porphyrius on the river Styx; and ſeveral other fragments of that piece are to be found in Stobæus. Porphyrius often quotes there the heretic Bardeſanes, and his diſciples, who, he ſays, lived in the time of Heliogabalus. He wrote in five books the curious hiſtory, or, as it is ſtyled by others, curious entertainments *(19)*. Out of the firſt book of this work, Euſebius quotes a long paſſage upon plagiaries, who copy from one another (20). Among his philoſophical works, Holſtenius takes, in the firſt place, notice of the introduction upon the univerſals, which he wrote when in Sicily, to explain to Chryſaores, his diſciple, the categories of Ariſtotle. One Ammonius wrote a comment upon this work, which is ſtill extant. Another work of Porphyrius, on Ariſtotle's categories, was firſt printed at Paris in 1543. Beſides theſe two, he wrote a third on the ſame ſubject, in ſeven books which he aſcribed to Gedalus. This was in great part copied by Iamblichus, who likewiſe publiſhed a treatiſe on the categories longer than that of Porphyrius (21). In the latter end of the laſt century was publiſhed at Baſle an introduction written by Porphyrius, on Ptolemy's work touching the influence and force of the ſtars; and ſeveral manuſcripts of a comment by Porphyrius on another work of Ptolemy, treating of harmony and muſic, are ſtill extant (22). His books, containing the lives and tenets of the philoſophers, were well known to the antients; but he brings them no lower than to Plato's time *(23)*. The ſubject of the firſt book of this work was the life of Pythagoras, which Holſtenius has publiſhed, but imperfect. The third contained the life of Socrates, of whom he ſpeaks very contemptuouſly, having, as is ſuppoſed, compiled theſe lives with paſſages borrowed from the antients, and among the reſt from Ariſtoxenes, a declared enemy to Socrates (24). The reader will find, in the ſecond book of Stobæus, great part of a work done by Porphyrius on what it is in our power to do, and inſcribed by him to Chryſaores (25). The four books, which he wrote againſt eating of fleſh, and the Latin tranſlation of them by Bernardus Felicianus, are highly eſteemed by Holſtenius. Theſe books are addreſſed to Caſtricius Firmus, who had an eſtate at Minturnæ, in the neighbourhood of Rome, and greatly admired,

(19) Vit. Porphr. p. 46—49. (20) Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. x. c. 3. p. 464. (21) Porphyr. vit. p. 51, 52. (22) Idem, p. 54, 55. (23) Idem, p. 56. Eunap. p. 10. (24) Porphyr. vit. c. 7. p. 60. (25) Idem, p. 64.

or rather adored, both Plotinus and his favourite diſciple Porphyrius (26). Euſebius and Theodoret have made uſe of ſeveral paſſages in this work, in writing againſt the ſacrifices of the gentiles (27). As in this work Porphyrius condemned the ſacrifices, which the Jews were by their law commanded to offer to the true God, Diodorus, biſhop of Tarſus, undertook to confute him as to that particular. St. Auſtin often quotes a treatiſe of Porphyrius on the return of the ſoul to God (28), divided into ſeveral books. This is, without all doubt, the treatiſe on the ſoul, which is often cited by Euſebius, and was divided into five books, written by Porphyrius to confute Bœthius, a celebrated peripatetic in the time of Auguſtus (29). Porphyrius publiſhed another work on the faculties of the ſoul, out of which a long paſſage has been conveyed to us by Stobæus. Holſtenius has publiſhed ſeveral ſentences or ſayings of Porphyrius, which make up part of a treatiſe intituled, introduction to things intelligible. Euſebius and St. Auſtin make frequent mention of a letter from Porphyrius to one Anebon, an Egyptian prieſt or prophet, containing ſeveral queſtions touching the nature of demons, the oracles, and magic. This letter was anſwered by Iamblichus, under the famed name of Abammon (30). Euſebius and Stobæus quote ſeveral paſſages out of a book upon ſtatues, wherein Porphyrius is ſuppoſed to have excuſed, in the beſt manner he could, the worſhip paid by the pagans to their idols (31). Cyrillus of Alexandria has tranſcribed ſome paſſages out of another book of his, inſcribed to Nemercus, upon Divine Providence. Euſebius and St. Auſtin ſpeak frequently of a treatiſe intituled, philoſophy founded upon oracles, in all likelihood the ſame work with that which Euſebius elſewhere ſtyles a collection of oracles. This work conſiſted at leaſt of three books (32). St. Auſtin is of opinion, that moſt of the oracles related by Porphyrius in that treatiſe were feigned by himſelf (33). He publiſhed, by the advice of Plotinus, a book againſt the heretics called gnoſtics, to ſhew, that a treatiſe on magic, which they peruſed and aſcribed to Zoroaſter, was a ſuppoſititious piece, and written by ſome of them (34). He publiſhed an incredible number of other books, which are mentioned by the antients, and have been long ſince entirely loſt. But none of his works have rendered him ſo famous as that which he wrote againſt the chriſtians, to whom he bore an irreconcileable hatred, and whoſe religion he endeavoured

(26) Idem ibid. (27) Idem ibid. (28) Aug. civ. Dei, l. x. p. 5, &c. (29) Porph. vit. p. 71, 72. Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. iii. c. 34. (30) Aug. civ. Dei, l. x. c. 11. p. 112. &c. Euſeb. ibid. l. xiv. c. 10. p 741. (31) Eutrop. p. 75. Euſeb. ibid. l. iii.c. 9. p. 100. (32) Porphyr. vit. p. 78. Jonſ. l. iii. c. 15. p. 289. (33) Aug. civ. Dei, l. xix. c. 23. p. 253. (34) Plot. vit. p. 10.

endeavoured to diſcredit with the blackeſt calumnies. He read with great attention the ſcriptures, not to ſeek the truth, but to find arms wherewithal to impugn it, ſays Theodoret (35). He pretended to have diſcovered in the ſacred books a great many contradictions, which were, it ſeems, the ſubject of his firſt book; for the whole work was divided into fifteen (36). He found the prophecies of Daniel ſo clearly and evidently fulfilled, that he employed great part of his twelfth book in endeavouring to ſhew, that the prophecies aſcribed to Daniel had been publiſhed under his name by one who lived in the time of Antiochus, and wrote when the things ſuppoſed to have been foretold, had already happened (37). As Porphyrius was a man of great learning and highly eſteemed by the pagans, many were by his writings diverted from embracing the chriſtian religion, which, however, triumphed in the end over this, as it had done over all its other enemies. The emperor Conſtantine, after he had embraced the chriſtian religion, publiſhed ſome ſevere edicts, either againſt the perſon of Porphyrius, if he was ſtill alive, which is not at all likely, or againſt his memory and writings, which he cauſed to be publicly burnt (38). Some authors think, that this puniſhment extended to all his writings; but Conſtantine's words need not be taken in ſo general a ſenſe (39). That prince, to ſhow his averſion to the Arians, ordered them to be called Porphyrians (40). The chriſtians did not fail to anſwer the ill-grounded calumnies and ſophiſtical reaſonings of their crafty and malicious enemy. The holy biſhop Methodius confuted him in a very learned piece, which he publiſhed before the perſecution of Diocleſian, in which he was crowned with martyrdom. Some are of opinion, that he wrote it during the perſecution (41); but we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that he was then at leiſure to compoſe ſuch a long and elaborate work, the biſhops being, in times of perſecution, wholly taken up in relieving, comforting, and encouraging the diſtreſſed chriſtians under their care. Euſebius of Cæſarea, a man of great learning and erudition, publiſhed, ſoon after Methodius, an anſwer to the calumnies of Porphyrius in thirty books; and Apollinaris wrote the ſame number of books againſt him about ſixty years after Euſebius. But all theſe works, as well as that of Porphyrius, which they confuted, have been long ſince loſt. Julian the apoſtate borrowed from Porphyrius. what he wrote againſt the chriſtian religion; but he was fully anſwered by the pious and learned Cyrillus of Alexandria. St. Jerom, St. Auſtin, Euſebius, and Theodoret, make uſe of ſeveral paſſages out of Porphyrius, in confuting the calumnies of the pagans; for that implacable enemy

(35) Theodoret. de Græc. affect. l. vii. p. 588. (36) Euſeb. l. vi. c. 19. p. 219. Porphyr. vit. c. 10. p. 81. (37) Hier. in Dan. p. 567. (38) Socrat. l. i. c. 9. p. 32. (39) Idem ibid. (40) Idem ibid. (41) P. Pagi, p. 302.

enemy to the chriſtian religion, notwithſtanding all his hatred and malice, could not help uttering many things which redounded greatly to the honour of thoſe whom he intended to traduce and expoſe: hence the judicious obſervation of Theodoret, with which we ſhall cloſe this note; viz. "That as God obliged Ba-" laam to bleſs his people, whom he was come with a deſign to " curſe, ſo he turned the tongue of Porphyrius againſt himſelf, " and employed him as a means to deſtroy the falſhood which he " laboured to eſtabliſh (42)".

(42) Theodor. de curand Græcor. affect. l. iii. p. 117.

CHAP. XXV.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the reſignation of* Dioclesian, *to the removal of the imperial ſeat to* Conſtantinople, *by* Conſtantine the Great.

Conſtantius and Galerius acknowledged emperors.

UPON the reſignation of Dioclesian and Maximian, the two Cæſars, Conſtantius and Galerius, were univerſally acknowledged emperors. Of the latter we have ſpoken above, and ſhall here give a ſuccinct account of the birth, education, preferments, and qualities of Conſtantius, the father of the great Conſtantine, to whom the chriſtian religion is ſo highly indebted. Conſtantius, ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions, Flavius Valerius Conſtantius (D), was the ſon of Eutropius, one of the chief lords of Dardania in Upper Mœſia, by Claudia, the daughter

Extraction and preferments of Conſtantius.

(D) Conſtantius is ſometimes called Julius by Aurelius Victor, to diſtinguiſh him from the other emperors of the ſame name (43). He probably aſſumed the name of Valerius, when he was adopted by Maximian, who had borrowed it of Dioclesian. As for that of Flavius, it was, according to ſome authors (44), peculiar to the family of the emperor Claudius II. whoſe great nephew he was. In ſome inſcriptions, Conſtantius is falſly ſtyled the grandſon of Claudius; and in one, Conſtantine is called the grandſon of Claudius, and the ſon of Conſtantius (45).

(43) Aur. Vict. p. 524. (44) Vide Salmaſ. in Claud. p. 331. (45) Gruter p. 283.

ter of Criſpus, brother to the emperor Claudius [r]; ſo that he was not, as ſome have ſtyled him, grandſon [s], but great nephew, to that prince. He is commonly diſtinguiſhed from other emperors of the ſame name by the ſurname of Chlorus, borrowed perhaps from the paleneſs of his countenance, for ſuch is the import of that word in the Greek tongue. He was born, according to ſome writers [t], on the thirty-firſt of March, of what year we know not, being only told, that at the time of his death, which happened in 306, he was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, very old [u]. In his perſon he was well ſhaped; and in his aſpect there was ſomething extremely gracious and pleaſing [w]. He was not ſo well verſed in letters as in the military art, which he learnt under two great warriors, Aurelian and Probus [x]. An antient anonymous writer tells us, that he ſerved ſome time in the guards, was afterwards made tribune, and at length appointed governor of Dalmatia. He ſignalized himſelf in war, and gained a great victory over the Alemans in Campis Vindonis, that is, in the neighbourhood of Windiſch, at preſent a ſmall village in the canton of Bern, the ſame year that Conſtantine was born, that is, in 274 [z]. He was made governor of Dalmatia in the year 282, or 283, by Carus, who had even ſome thoughts of creating him Cæſar, in the room of his debauched and wicked ſon Carinus, whom he deſigned to depoſe [a]. Diocleſian, judging him well qualified for the ſovereignty, agreed with Maximian to create him Cæſar, together with Galerius, on the firſt of March of the year 292, as we have related above. He received the purple at the hands of Maximian, who by that ceremony adopted him; and hence he is ſometimes called by the name of Hercules [b], which Maximian had aſſumed. He took place of Galerius, though created Cæſar at the ſame time, on account of his more noble extraction [c]. Upon his being made Cæſar, Gaul, Spain, and Britain fell to his ſhare. We have related, in the foregoing reign, the exploits he performed in Gaul and Britain, while he was only Cæſar. When he attained to the empire, he governed the ſame provinces with ſuch juſtice, equity,

[r] Zonar. vit. Dio. p. 243. Ammian. anonym. p. 471. Spon. p. 193. Claud. vit. not. Salmaſ. p. 331. [s] Byzantinor. familiæ, p. 43. [t] Bucher. de cycl. p. 276. [u] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 18. [w] Paneg. 5. p. 126. & 9. p. 192. [x] Aur. Vict. p. 524. Prob. vit. p. 241. [y] Anonym. Ammiano ſubjunctus, p. 471. [z] Paneg. 9. p. 192. [a] Car. vit. p. 235. [b] Paneg. 4. p. 115. [c] Lact perſ. c. 20, p. 18.

equity, and moderation, as gained him the hearts of his people, and made them look upon him rather as their common father, than their ſovereign. He is extolled, not only by Euſebius and Lactantius, whoſe teſtimony might be ſuſpected, but by all the pagan writers, as the moſt equitable, pious, prudent, humane, and generous prince, that ever ſwayed a ſceptre [d]. He was not ſolicitous, ſays Eutropius [e], about enriching the exchequer, but pleaſed that his people ſhould enjoy the fruit of their labour and induſtry. He was often heard to ſay, it was better the wealth of a country ſhould circulate among the people, than be locked up in the coffers of the prince. For fear of loading his people, he was extremely ſparing in his diet, furniture, equipage, and retinue. When he entertained his friends, and the officers of his court, he was obliged to borrow plate for the uſe of his table. What Eutropius writes is confirmed by Euſebius, who relates the following remarkable ſtory, paſſing over in ſilence, ſays he, many others no leſs remarkable, but generally known: As the moderation and mildneſs with which Conſtantius governed were every-where mightily applauded, and it was generally ſaid, that he had no money by him, being unwilling to raiſe any upon his people, Diocleſian ſent perſons on purpoſe to reproach him with his neglect of the public, and the poverty to which he was reduced by his own fault. Conſtantius heard theſe reproaches with patience; and having perſuaded thoſe, who made them in Diocleſian's name, to ſtay a few days with him, he ſent word to the moſt wealthy perſons in the provinces, that he wanted money, and that they had now an opportunity of ſhewing whether or no they truly loved their prince. Upon this notice, every one ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt in carrying to the exchequer all their gold, ſilver, and valuable effects; ſo that in a ſhort time Conſtantius, from the pooreſt, became by far the moſt wealthy, of all the four princes. He then invited the deputies of Diocleſian to viſit his treaſury, deſiring them to make a faithful report to their maſter of the ſtate in which they ſhould find it. They obeyed; and while they ſtood gazing on the mighty heaps of gold and ſilver, Conſtantius told them, that the wealth, which they beheld with aſtoniſhment, had long ſince belonged to him; but that he had left it, by way of depoſitum, in the hands of his people; adding, That the richeſt and ſureſt treaſure of the prince was the love of his ſubjects. The deputies

His excellent qualities.

An inſtance of the affections of the people to him.

[d] Panegyr. 5. p. 126. 6. p. 136, 137. 9. p. 192, 219. [e] Eutrop. p. 587.

puties were no ſooner gone, than the generous prince ſent for thoſe who had aſſiſted him in this exigency, commended their zeal, and returned to every one what they had ſo readily brought into his treaſure [f]. Suidas writes, that, for his contempt of riches and grandeur, he was ſurnamed the poor [g]. Libanius too extols his tender and paternal regard for the people, who were bleſſed with ſo good a prince; and adds, No prince ever loved money leſs; no prince was ever more loved by his ſubjects [h]. Euſebius frequently commends the piety of Conſtantius; and not only tells us, that he was inclined to the true religion, but that he acknowledged only one God, the Supreme Being; that he had honoured him all his life, and conſecrated to him his whole houſe, and condemned the many gods adored by the impious [i]. This is in a manner telling us, that he was a chriſtian; and nevertheleſs, neither Euſebius, nor any other writer, affirms that, at leaſt in expreſs terms; nay, it appears from Euſebius, that he eſteemed and countenanced, but never profeſſed, the chriſtian religion. When Diocleſian, in the year 303, at the inſtigation of Galerius, began to perſecute the church, he ſent his bloody edicts to Maximian and Conſtantius, enjoining both to ſee them put in execution in their reſpective provinces. Maximian obeyed with great readineſs and joy; and Conſtantius, that he might not ſeem to oppoſe his collegues, ſuffered ſome churches to be pulled down; but was ſo far from encouraging that, or any other violence, that, on the contrary, he preſerved the chriſtians in his provinces exempt from all the evils which they ſuffered in thoſe of the others; inſomuch, that the church enjoyed under him a profound tranquillity and entire liberty of worſhip [k]. Euſebius relates of him the following memorable action: While his collegues, ſays he, were perſecuting the chriſtians with fire and ſword, he politically pretended to perſecute them too; and declared to ſuch officers of his houſhold and governors of provinces, as were chriſtians, that he left it to their choice either to ſacrifice to the gods, and by that means maintain themſelves in their employments, or to forfeit their places and his favour, by continuing ſteady in their religion. When they had all declared, the emperor diſcovered his real ſentiments, reproached

His piety.

He favours the chriſtians.

in

[f] Euſeb. l. viii. c. 13, 17. p 309, 317. & vit. Conſtan. l. i. c. 13. p. 414. [g] Suid. π. p. 466. [h] Liban. orat. 3. p. 104. [i] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 13. & hiſt. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. [k] Euſeb. l. viii. c. 13, 18. p. 309, 317. & Conſt. vit. l. i. c. 13. p. 413. Optat. mil. l. i. p. 44. Lact. c. 15. p. 13.

in moſt bitter terms thoſe who had renounced their religion, highly extolled the virtue and conſtancy of ſuch as had deſpiſed the wealth and vanities of the world, diſmiſſed with ignominy the former, ſaying, That thoſe who had betrayed their God, would not ſcruple to betray their prince; and retaining the latter, truſted them with the guard of his perſon, and the whole management of public affairs, as perſons on whoſe fidelity he could depend, and in whom he might repoſe an entire confidence [l]. Thus he filled his palace, continues Euſebius, with the pious adorers of the true God, while the other princes exerted all their power to extirpate the chriſtian name; nay, many miniſters of God daily offered up prayers and vows for the happineſs and preſervation of ſo good a prince in his very palace, which ſeemed rather a church, or oratory, than the habitation of an emperor [m]. Tho' Conſtantius thus countenanced and honoured the chriſtians, yet he never embraced himſelf, which is altogether ſurpriſing, the true religion; at leaſt we are no-where told, that he did.

His iſſue.

By his firſt wife, Helena, he had but one child, viz. Conſtantine, ſurnamed the Great, of whom, as well as of his mother, we ſhall ſpeak anon. He was obliged, in the year 292, to divorce her, and marry Flavia Maximiana Theodora, daughter to the wife of Maximian, by a former huſband. He had by her three ſons, Dalmatius or Dematius, Julius Conſtantius, and a third, named by ſome Annibalianus, and by others Conſtantine; and as many daughters, viz. Conſtantia, Anaſtatia, and Eutropia [n]. Dalmatius, who was honoured with the cenſorſhip, died before Conſtantine, and left two ſons, viz. Dalmatius the younger, who, after having been conſul in 333, with Zenophilus, was created Cæſar on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of September in 335, and Annibalianus, king of Pontus and Armenia. Julius Conſtantius was conſul with Albinus in 335, and killed with one of his brothers ſoon after the death of Conſtantine the Great. He had by his firſt wife Galla, Gallus Cæſar, and another ſon, whoſe name is unknown; and by his ſecond wife, Baſilina, Julian, ſurnamed the apoſtate. Valeſius, who calls the third ſon Conſtantine, takes him to have been conſul in 327, with Maximus, whoſe collegue is ſtyled in the faſti Conſtantine. As to Conſtantius's three daughters; Conſtantia, ſtyled on the antient coins Fl. Valeria Conſtantia, was married

[l] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 15. p. 415. [m] Idem ibid. c. 17. p. 416. [n] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 524. Eutrop. p. 586. Ammian. p. 2. Byzan. famil. p. 44. Goltz. p. 125.

married to Licinius in 313. Anaſtatia married Baſſianus, who, at the inſtigation of Licinius, betrayed Conſtantine in 314, though he had then ſome thoughts of creating him Cæſar. Eutropia was mother to Nepotianus, who uſurped the empire in 350, and is ſuppoſed to have been married to Nepotianus, who was conſul in 301.

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of the reign of Conſtantius, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a ſuccinct account of the birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his ſon Conſtantine, whoſe actions are inſeparably interwoven with thoſe of his father. Conſtantine, ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions, C. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Conſtantinus [o], was born on the twenty-ſeventh of February, about the year 274, for at his death, which happened on the twenty-ſecond of May in 337, he was about ſixty-four [p]. As for the place of his nativity, the anonymous writer of his life, publiſhed in 1636, by Henricus Valeſius, and ſubjoined to the fifteen books of Ammianus Marcellinus, Stephanus the geographer [q], Julius Firmicus [r], who according to the beſt-grounded opinion, wrote in the reign of Conſtantine, and Cedrenus [s], tell us in expreſs terms, that Conſtantine was born in the city of Naiſſus in Dardania, called alſo Naiſus and Naſſus, and now known by the name of Niſſa. It is certain, that the father and anceſtors of Conſtantine were natives of Dardania; that Conſtantine himſelf frequently reſided at Naiſſus, as appears from the many laws which he enacted there; and that he ever ſhewed himſelf partial to that city, enriching it with many privileges, and embelliſhing it with a great number of ſtately edifices; whence it is ſtyled by Stephanus, the birth-place and work of the emperor Conſtantine [t]. However, moſt modern writers of all nations, not excepting ſuch as are moſt jealous of the glory of ours, do us the honour to acknowledge this great emperor, this deliverer of the church, as Euſebius ſtyles him, a native of Britain, ſome of them ſuppoſing him to have been born in the city of Colcheſter, where Coellus the father of Helena, reigned; others in York, where the Roman governors uſually reſided. We heartily wiſh an opinion, which reflects ſo much glory on our iſland, were better grounded. But to ſpeak our ſentiments, unbiaſſed by any national prejudice or partiality, though we have had from abroad,

The birth, education, and extraordinary qualities of his ſon Conſtantine.

The birth-place of Conſtantine.

Whether born in Britain.

[o] Goltz. p. 126, 127. [p] Buch. cycl. p. 276. Byzant. fam. p. 214. Lact. p. 411, 412. Anonym. p. 471. [q] Steph. in Naiſo. [r] Jul. Fir. matheſ. l. i. c. ult. [s] Cedren. hiſt. p. 221. [t] Steph. ibid.

abroad, and peruſed with great attention, the elaborate work, publiſhed at Antwerp in 1641, by the learned jeſuit father Alford on this ſubject, under the title of Britannia Illuſtrata, yet we cannot ſay, that his arguments weigh down with us the above-mentioned authorities. The moderns have been led into this opinion by a paſſage in the panegyric pronounced before Conſtantine, wherein the orator, addreſſing the emperor, told him, that he had enobled Britain, illic oriendo, which words equally import by being born there, and by being there made emperor. In the latter ſenſe they are underſtood by Lipſius [u], and Livineius in his comments on thoſe antient panegyriſts; but by father Alford and above ſeventy other authors of different nations, whom he quotes, in the former [w]; nay, both he and Baronius [x] think the above-mentioned words can admit of no other ſenſe; for Conſtantine, ſay they, was made Cæſar at Rome, and emperor at Treves. But that he was created Cæſar in Britain; that he was there firſt ſaluted Auguſtus; and conſequently, that the words of the panegyriſt may, and perhaps ought to, be underſtood in the ſenſe of Lipſius and Livineius, will evidently appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory from Libanius, Euſebius, the emperor Julian, Lactantius, and Eumenius, whom we ſhall quote hereafter. Aldhelmus, who flouriſhed in the ſeventh century, was the firſt who wrote in expreſs terms, that Conſtantine was born in Britain [y]: thoſe who came after copied from him, and, as it generally happens, from one another; by which means that opinion univerſally prevailed. Aldhelmus probably held it upon the authority of ſome tradition, or was perſuaded by the ambiguous paſſage of the above-mentioned panegyriſt. Euſebius, who relates the moſt minute particulars of the life of Conſtantine, never once mentions, which is very ſurpriſing, the place of his nativity.

CONSTANTIUS had Conſtantine by the celebrated Helena, ſo much extolled, and not undeſervedly, by all the chriſtian, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtic, writers. Moſt modern authors, whether natives of this iſland, or foreigners, ſuppoſe her to have been the daughter of Coellus, a Britiſh king, and to have married Conſtantius, who was charmed with her beauty, when he firſt came into Britain, in the reign of Aurelian. But this opinion is no better grounded, than the former relating to

Whether his mother Helena was born in Britain.

[u] Lipſ de mag. Rom. l. iv. c. ult. [w] Vide Alford. Britan. illuſtrat. p. 140—155. [x] Baron. ad. ann. 306. [y] Bucher. de Belg. l. 6. c. 15. Aldhelm. de laude virg. c. 23.

to the birth-place of Conſtantine, there being a profound ſilence among the antients, if we except Nicephorus, with reſpect to the country of this pious, as Euſebius ſtyles her, and venerable princeſs. As for Nicephorus, he gravely tells us, that Helena was the daughter of an inn-keeper at Drepanum near Nicomedia in Bithynia; that Conſtantius, being ſeized with a luſtful deſire, while he lodged in her father's houſe, as he paſſed through that place upon an embaſſy to the king of Perſia, acquainted therewith his landlord, who, to oblige the Roman embaſſador, offered him his daughter, a virgin in the flower of her age and of extraordinary beauty; that Conſtantius, terrified that night with a dream, in which he ſaw the ſun riſing out of the weſtern ocean, exhorted his landlord next morning to preſerve his daughter from any further pollution, and earneſtly recommended to him the child ſhe ſhould bring forth; that ſome time after, other Roman embaſſadors, who happened to lodge in the ſame houſe, chiding young Conſtantine, the fruit of that amour, and the child highly reſenting that freedom, the mother informed them whoſe ſon he was, and at the ſame time ſhewed them a purple robe, the gift of Conſtantius. The embaſſadors, upon their return to Italy, acquainted Conſtantius with what had paſſed, who thereupon ordered Conſtantine and his mother to repair to Rome; but afterwards, not thinking them ſafe there, on account of the jealous temper of his lawful wife Theodora, he ſent Conſtantine to Nicomedia, to be brought up in the court of Diocleſian, where he was inſtructed in the ſciences, and the truths of the chriſtian religion, which he embraced [z]. Nicephorus's account.

Such is the account Nicephorus gives us of the condition of Helena, of the birth and education of Conſtantine; an account which contains, we may ſay without exaggeration, as many notorious blunders as periods. But we ſhall for the preſent only take notice of two; the one in point of chronology, the other of hiſtory; which, with every judicious reader, will be a ſufficient apology for our rejecting, as altogether fabulous, the narration of that hiſtorian, though highly applauded by Lipſius [a], and adopted by ſome modern writers of no mean character. To begin with the enormous anachroniſm contained in that account, it is evident from all the antients, that Conſtantine, at the time of his father's pretended embaſſy to the king of Perſia, was twenty-nine, or at

False and inconſiſtent with hiſtory and chronology.

[z] Niceph. l. vii. c. 17, 18.

[a] Lipſ. de magnit. Rom. l. iv. c. 11.

at leaſt twenty-ſeven, years old. For Conſtantius was ſent into Perſia, according to Nicephorus [b], after Diocleſian had begun to perſecute the chriſtians; but his firſt edicts againſt them were publiſhed, as we read in Euſebius [c], who lived at that time, on the twenty-third of February, in the nineteenth year of his reign, that is, according to all chronologers both antient and modern, in the 303d of the chriſtian æra. On the other hand, Euſebius [d], Epiphanius [e], St. Jerom [f], Victor [g], Nicephorus Conſtantinopolitanus [h], &c. agree, that Conſtantine died in 337, being then ſixty-four, or, as ſome will have it, ſixty-two; ſo that he muſt have been born in 274, or 272, and conſequently was, at the time of his father's ſuppoſed embaſſy, twenty-nine or twenty-ſeven years old. Beſides, Conſtantine himſelf, in his oration annexed to the works of Euſebius, tells us, that he was with Diocleſian in the palace at Nicomedia, when the memorable fire broke out there, of which we have ſpoken above; and that accident happened, according to Euſebius [i], a few days after the publiſhing of the firſt edicts againſt the chriſtians. 'Tis amaſing, that Lipſius ſhould, with other chronologers, ſuppoſe Conſtantine to have been born about the year 272, and yet admit, as an unqueſtionable truth, the fable of Nicephorus, which utterly deſtroys that ſuppoſition. As to the Greek hiſtorian's miſtake in point of hiſtory, he tells us, that the Perſians having made an irruption into the Roman dominions, and threatening the empire with a deſtructive war, Conſtantius was ſent with the character of embaſſador, to try whether he could, by any means, even by the offer of a penſion to be paid yearly to the Perſian king, prevail upon him to deſiſt from hoſtilities, and conclude a peace with the Roman emperors [k]. Now it is evident from Eutropius [l], Euſebius [m], Ammianus Marcellinus, [n], Zonaras [o], Aurelius Victor [p], Feſtus [q], Lactantius [r], &c. that the Perſians had, at leaſt ſix years before the time of this pretended embaſſy, been utterly overthrown by Galerius, and had purchaſed a peace of Diocleſian, by yielding up to him five provinces, as we have related above.

[b] Niceph. ibid. [c] Euſeb. vit. l. viii. c. 7. [d] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 53. [e] Epiphan. lib. de menſ. [f] Hier. in chron. [g] Vict. in Conſt. [h] Niceph Conſt. in chronol. c. 12. [i] Euſeb. l. viii. c 7 p. 292. [k] Niceph. ibid. [l] Eutrop. p. 586. [m] Euſeb. p. 170. [n] Ammian. p 109. [o] Zonar. p. 144. [p] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [q] Feſtus, p. 954. [r] Lactan. perſ. c. 9. p. 9.

above. This peace laſted, as the ſame writers aſſure us, for the ſpace of forty years, that is, till the year 337, the laſt of Conſtantine's long reign. But after all, we muſt not imagine Nicephorus to have been the only writer who queſtioned the legitimacy of Conſtantine, and chaſtity of his mother Helena. For Zoſimus writes, that ſhe was not Conſtantius's lawful wife [s]. The chronicle of Alexandria calls her ſon Conſtantine, in plain terms, a baſtard child [t]. St. Ambroſe gives us room to think, that this was a current report or tradition in his time; and that he himſelf did not diſbelieve it [u]. The ſame thing is aſſerted in the Greek text of Euſebius's chronicle, publiſhed by Scaliger; and in that of St. Jerom, who has been followed by ſeveral eminent writers of a later date, namely, by Proſper, Caſſiodorus, Aldhelmus, biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons, and the venerable Bede, who, ſpeaking of Helena, ſtyle her the concubine of Conſtantius. On the other hand, Eutropius [w] and both the Victors [x] tell us, that Conſtantius and Galerius were obliged, when created Cæſars, to divorce their former wives. Conſtantius therefore had a lawful wife before he married Theodora; and we are nowhere told, that he had any beſides her and Helena. Scaliger indeed pretends, that he was married to Minervina, the mother of Criſpus, not appriſed, that Criſpus was Conſtantine's ſon, and not his brother; a pretty conſiderable miſtake in a critic. The anonymous author of Conſtantine's life, publiſhed by Valeſius, writes in expreſs terms, that Conſtantius divorced Helena to marry Theodora [y]; and Eutropius, that Conſtantine was the fruit of an obſcure, but lawful, matrimony [z]. At Naples is ſtill extant an inſcription, in which Helena is ſtyled the wife of Conſtantius [a]. In two others, to be ſeen in Gruter, ſhe is diſtinguiſhed with the title of Auguſta, which was never given, as is well known, to a concubine. The antient panegyriſts ſupply us with preſumptions, of equal ſtrength with theſe authorities, in favour of Helena's marriage with Conſtantius. One of them [b], in an oration which he pronounced before Conſtantine on occaſion of his marriage, addreſſes him thus: "You, O Conſtantine, make it your "ſtudy to imitate the continence of your father; treading "in his footſteps, you prefer in your early youth the ties of "matrimony to an unreſtrained liberty, that you may not be

Whether Helena was Conſtantius's lawful wife.

[s] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 672. [t] Chron. Al. p. 650. [u] Amb. div. 3. p. 123. [w] Eutrop. p. 586. [x] Aur. Vict. p. 524. Vict. epit. p. 542. [y] Anonym. p. 471. [z] Eutrop. p. 587. [a] Gruter. p. 1086. [b] Panegyr. 5. p. 126.

" tempted to abandon yourſelf to looſe and unlawful amours." How prepoſterous and unſeaſonable would this addreſs have ſeemed, had Conſtantine been the fruit of an unlawful amour? By ſuppoſing Helena to have been the concubine, and not the wife, of Conſtantius, we at once turn the panegyric into a ſatire. For what can it be called but a ſatire, to cry up the continence of the father before a ſon, whoſe very birth is a proof of his incontinence; and to commend the ſon thus unlawfully begotten for imitating the continence of his father? Helena is ſtyled, not only by the panegyriſts, but hiſtorians, a moſt pious, venerable, religious, and virtuous woman; which epithets they would have hardly beſtowed upon her, had ſhe been Conſtantius's concubine, and not his wife: neither would Conſtantine, we conceive, have dignified her with the title of Auguſta, had ſhe not been his lawful mother. The emperor Diocleſian ever diſtinguiſhed Conſtantine with particular marks of honour and eſteem, whereof Euſebius tells us, he himſelf was an eye-witneſs; for he ſaw young Conſtantine on the emperor's right-hand, as they paſſed together through Paleſtine, either going to, or returning from, Egypt. He cauſed him to be brought up in the court with great care, took him with him whitherſoever he went, and in the year 305, when two new Cæſars were to be created, named him in the firſt place, no one, ſays Eumenius, calling in queſtion the right which he had to that dignity, as the ſon of Conſtantius[c]. Euſebius, ſpeaking of his father Conſtantius, ſays, that at his death he left the empire to his ſon Conſtantine, whoſe birth-right it was[d]. Illegitimate children were not, as is well known, thus treated and reſpected among the Romans. Galerius is ſaid to have alledged ſeveral reaſons to divert Diocleſian from naming Conſtantine to the dignity of Cæſar[e]; but among theſe we do not find the leaſt mention made of his birth, which, had it been unlawful, would have furniſhed him with a ſtronger and far more plauſible reaſon, than any he produced. Nay, we can by no means imagine, that Diocleſian would have ever thought of preferring Conſtantine, had he only been Conſtantius's natural ſon, to that prince's lawful children by Theodora, for whom both he and his colegue Maximian had cogent motives to intereſt themſelves. Theſe arguments are of ſuch weight with us, that, notwithſtanding the above-mentioned authorities, we cannot entertain

[c] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. c. 15. p. 601. [d] Panegyr. 9. p. 191, 192. [e] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. 1. c. 19. p. 417. [f] Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 16.

tain the leaſt doubt of Conſtantine's legitimacy, unbiaſſed as we are by any prejudice or partiality with reſpect either to him or his mother Helena. As for Helena's country and parentage, no writer before the ſeventh century mentions either: thoſe who flouriſhed after that time commonly ſuppoſe her to have been a native of this iſland, and the daughter of a king, whom they call Coelus or Coellus. This opinion, grounded, as we conjecture, upon tradition, or perhaps the authority of ſome hiſtorian, whoſe works have not reached our times, obtained pretty early here, and produced the many churches and monuments which were erected throughout Britain to her honour.

Helena's country and parentage.

BUT to return to Conſtantine. When his father was created Cæſar in 292, and ſent into Gaul, Diocleſian kept him as an hoſtage, cauſed him to be brought up in the court with great care, and raiſed him, long before the year 303, to the rank of a tribune [g]. He already appeared capable of any degree of fortune, however elevated. The lovelineſs of his countenance, blended with a certain air of majeſty; the tallneſs of his perſon, extremely well ſhaped and regular; his life without blame or reproach; his generoſity, good-nature, affability, and obliging behaviour, towards perſons of all ranks, gained him the affections both of the people and ſoldiery to ſuch a degree, that no one knew him, who did not wiſh to ſee him one day emperor, and was not ready to contribute, ſo far as lay in his power, to his preferment [h]. The anonymous writer of his life ſays, that he had no great learning: and truly learning could not then be much in requeſt, ſince none of the four princes who governed were men of letters. However, both Euſebius [k] and Aurelius Victor [l] aſſure us, that Conſtantine was well verſed in moſt branches of literature; that he was a generous encourager of learning; that after he was raiſed to the empire, he ſpent much of his time in reading; that he compoſed, and pronounced in public, ſeveral orations; and that the many laws which he publiſhed, were all drawn up by himſelf. One of his orations has reached us, and is ſubjoined to the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Euſebius [m]. But he chiefly ſignalized himſelf in war, and ſerved with great reputation under Diocleſian and Galerius, in their wars with the Germans, Goths, Sarmatians, and

Conſtantine's excellent qualities

His courage and valour.

[g] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 12. p. 415. Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 17. [h] Euſeb. ibid. l. i. c. 19. p. 417. Panegyr. 5. p. 125. [i] Anonym. p. 471. [k] Euſeb. ibid. p. 418. [l] Aur. Vict. p. 524. [m] Orat. Conſt. ad ſanctor. cœtum. p. 567.

and Perſians [n]. He often grappled with the enemy hand to hand [o], and gave ſuch proofs of his valour as raiſed ſome jealouſy in the other princes [p]. All authors, pagans as well as chriſtians, agree in extolling, with the higheſt encomiums, his ſobriety, continence, and the abhorrence he ſhewed from his early youth to unlawful pleaſures [q]. He never violated the laws of chaſtity, ſays an antient panegyriſt; but ſubjected himſelf, when yet a youth, to the ties of matrimony, that he might not be tempted to ſully himſelf with any kind of lewdneſs or impurity. He married to his firſt wife Minervina, of whoſe parentage and condition no mention is made by the antients; and had by her Criſpus, who muſt have been born about the year 300, for, twenty years after, he ſignalized himſelf in the wars againſt the Franks and Licinius. Dioclefian, before he reſigned the empire, was for appointing Conſtantine and Maxentius, the ſon of Maximian, Cæſars. But their election was oppoſed by Galerius, who at length prevailed upon the emperor to name in their room Severus and Maximinus, who he knew would be entirely ruled by him, and blindly obey his orders. The former was a native of Illyricum, deſcended of an obſcure family, abandoned to all manner of vices, and in every reſpect unequal to ſo great a charge. The latter was born in the ſame country, and no leſs meanly than the other; for tho' he was nephew to Galerius, being his ſiſter's ſon, yet in his youth he had followed the mean calling of a ſhepherd; and he proved, after his preferment, no leſs vicious than his collegue. He was yet a youth, and half barbarian, unknown to the emperors, and quite unacquainted with ſtate affairs, when Galerius, who had taken him a little before from his flocks, named him to Dioclefian for the dignity of Cæſar [r]. The emperor, terrified with the menaces of Galerius, conſented, much againſt his will, to the promotion both of Severus and Maximinus; and on the day appointed for his reſignation, after having declared in a great aſſembly, that he yielded the empire to Conſtantius and Galerius, who were more capable than he of bearing ſo great a weight, added, not without betraying ſome concern and reluctance, I am likewiſe to name two new Cæſars, and theſe are Severus and Maximinus. The whole aſſembly was greatly ſurpriſed to hear theſe two names,

His ſingular continence.

Severus and Maximinus declared Cæſars.

[n] Euſeb. ibid. p. 589. [o] Theoph. p. 6. [p] Euſeb. ibid. p. 413. [q] Euſeb ibid. Panegyr. 7. p. 175. & 5. p. 126 [r] Panegyr 6. p. 137. [s] Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 17. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Euſeb. l. ix. c. 9.

names, and began to aſk one another whether Conſtantine had changed his? Their ſurprize was doubled, when they heard Galerius command Conſtantine to deſcend from the throne on which he ſat with Diocleſian; and ſaw unexpectedly a young barbarian, who ſtood behind it, ſtep forth and receive the purple at the hands of the emperor. The numerous multitude was ſtruck with amazement; every one aſked, who Maximin was? whence he came? for what demerit Conſtantine had been excluded from a poſt, to which he had ſo juſt a claim? but no one dared to oppoſe his promotion [t]. This happened at Nicomedia; and on the ſame day, that is, on the firſt of May of the year 305, Maximian reſigned the empire at Milan to Conſtantius, and declared Severus Cæſar. Galerius excluded Conſtantine, with a view of becoming ſoon ſole maſter of the empire; for he was well appriſed, that Conſtantius, who was ſubject to many infirmities, and quite worn out, could not live long; and beſides, he hoped eaſily to get the aſcendant over him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper. But he dreaded Conſtantine, on account of his courage, his experience in war, his addreſs, and other extraordinary qualities; and therefore reſolved to keep him in a private condition, and allow him no ſhare in the government, that it might not be in the young prince's power to defeat his vaſt deſigns [u]. As for the two new Cæſars, he looked upon them as his own creatures, and perſons to be governed in every thing by him. Matters being thus ſettled, the empire was divided between Conſtantius and Galerius. To the ſhare of the former fell Gaul, Italy, Africa, Spain, and Britain; the latter had Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, Aſia Minor, Egypt, Judæa, Syria, and all the eaſtern provinces. Conſtantius yielded to Severus, Italy and Africa, as did Galerius, Syria and Egypt, to his nephew Maximin [w]. Severus, who was created Cæſar, to govern under Conſtantius, is always named before Maximin, who governed under Galerius [x]. As Severus was indebted to Galerius alone for his promotion, that prince expected he ſhould obey him even againſt Conſtantius himſelf [y]. However, it is certain, that notwithſtanding the implacable hatred which Galerius had to the chriſtians, the perſecution ceaſed both in Italy and the other weſtern provinces, ſoon after

The empire divided between Conſtantius and Galerius.

[t] Lact. perſ. c. 19. p. 17, 18. [u] Lact. c. 18. p. 17.
[w] Eutrop. p. 587. Aur. Vict. p. 525. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 672.
[x] Vide Spon. p. 192. [y] Lact. perſ. c. 18, 20. p. 17—19.

after Conſtantius was declared emperor [z]. In the mean time, Conſtantine continued at Nicomedia, in the heart of the provinces belonging to Galerius, who would not, though earneſtly entreated by his father Conſtantius, during a dangerous malady, with which he was ſeized, ſuffer him to depart; but pretending a great affection to him, kept him by way of hoſtage [a]. Victor the younger tells us, that he kept him with him at Rome [b]; but it is certain, that Galerius never came to that city [c]. As the extraordinary qualities of that prince gave the emperor great umbrage, he only waited ſome opportunity of deſtroying him; but not daring, through fear of the ſoldiery by whom Conſtantine was greatly beloved, to make any open attempt, he had recourſe to treachery, and expoſed him, under various ſpecious pretences, to many dangers; from which he was happily delivered by the watchful providence of God, whoſe church he was to deliver from the perſecution, with which it had been cruelly oppreſſed for the ſpace of near three hundred years. Praxogoras, a pagan author, who compiled in two books the hiſtory of the firſt emperors, and wrote, according to Voſſius, in the time of Conſtantine, or his children, tells us, that Galerius often encouraged him to enter the liſts with wild beaſts, on which occaſion he once killed a lion of extraordinary fierceneſs and ſize [d]. The ſame thing is related by Zonaras, who adds, that Galerius, in the Sarmatian war, obſerving one of the chiefs of the barbarians, who ſurpaſſed all the others in ſtature and the fierceneſs of his looks, ordered Conſtantine to engage him, which he did accordingly with great reſolution and intrepidity, overcame him, and throwing him to the ground, dragged him by the hair to the emperor's preſence, and laid him at his feet [e]. On another occaſion, Galerius, who ſought his deſtruction, having ordered him to croſs a marſh at the head of ſome troops, he entered it the firſt on horſe-back; and being followed by his men, put great numbers of the enemy to the ſword, and gained a complete victory [f]. This too happened in Galerius's war with the Sarmatians, which we muſt place in this, or in the beginning of the next, year.

Galerius ſeeks the deſtruction of Conſtantine.

THE following year, Conſtantius and Galerius being both conſuls the ſixth time, the latter, finding he could no longer detain Conſtantine without openly breaking with his collegue, gave

[z] Euſeb. de martyr. Palæſtin. [a] Lact. perſ. p. 406. [b] Vict. p. 525. [c] Lact. perſ. c. 27. p. 25. [d] Phot. c. 67. p. 64. Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 17. [e] Zonar. vit. Dioclef. p. 246. [f] Ammian. Anonym. p. 471.

gave him at length leave to depart, and ſigned a warrant for the officers of the poſt to ſupply him with the neceſſary horſes and chariots. This warrant he delivered to him in the evening; but at the ſame time ordered him not to make uſe of it till the next morning, when he deſigned to give him his final inſtructions [g]. In the mean time, he diſpatched an expreſs to Severus, enjoining him, by all means, to ſtop Conſtantine, and prevent his arrival in the provinces governed by his father. That the expreſs might reach Italy before Conſtantine, he did not riſe that day, contrary to his cuſtom, till noon, when he ſent for Conſtantine. But he had ſet out the night before, as ſoon as Galerius had withdrawn; and travelling with all poſſible ſpeed, for ſeveral ſtages, hamſtringed or killed the horſes which he did not make uſe of, that no one might purſue or ſtop him while he croſſed the provinces of Galerius and Italy, where Severus ruled. This precaution ſaved him; for next morning, Galerius, being informed, that he had ſet out the night before, flew into a violent paſſion, and ordered ſeveral meſſengers to make what haſte they could after him; but he was told, that Conſtantine had diſabled all the poſt-horſes; which tranſported him to ſuch a degree, that, through grief and rage, he could ſcarce forbear burſting into tears [h]. Euſebius, Lactantius, and ſeveral hiſtorians, tell us, that Conſtantine, arriving in Britain, found his father at the point of death; but therein they muſt certainly be miſtaken, ſince Eumenius, in the panegyric which he pronounced before Conſtantine a few years after, writes, that he arrived while his father was weighing anchor with a deſign to paſs over into Britain [i]. With him agrees the anonymous writer, publiſhed by Valeſius, who ſays, that Conſtantine found his father at Geſſoriacum, or Boulogne [k]. He attended him into Britain, where he was going to make war, ſays Eumenius [l], upon the Caledonians and Picts. The latter people, now firſt mentioned in hiſtory, inhabited Scotland; but were thought, ſays Bede, to have come from Scythia, that is, according to the learned Uſher, from Scandinavia, or ſome other northern country [m]. Conſtantius, in the laſt days of his life, overcame the Picts, as the anonymous author quoted above informs us [n], being aſſiſted

Conſtantine eſcapes from Galerius to his father.

Paſſes over with him into Britain where Conſtantius overcomes the Picts.

[g] Lact. c. 24. p. 22. Euſeb. Conſt. vit l. i. c. 20. [h] Euſeb. p. 418. Ammian. Anonym. p. 471. Lact. p. 21. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 672. Aur. Vict. p. 525. [i] Panegyr. 9. 194. [k] Ammian. Anonym. p. 472. [l] Panegyr. 9. p. 194. [m] Vide Uſſer Brit. eccleſ. antiquit. p. 581, 578, 579. [n] Anonym. p. 471.

aſſiſted in this war, as we read in Aurelius Victor [o], by Eroc, or, as others ſtyle him, Crocus, king of the Alemans.

The death of Conſtantius.

Not long after this victory over the Picts, he died at York on the twenty-fifth of July in 306, the fourth year of the perſecution of Dioclesian, according to St. Jerom [p]; and the ſixteenth, or rather fifteenth, of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæſar, that is, from the year 292, for he had enjoyed that dignity thirteen years and two months, and the empire one year, and near three months [q]. He died in his palace, ſurrounded by his children, and his body was with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence interred by his ſon Conſtantine. Some pretend, that he was buried at a place called Cäir Segeint, and by ſome Cäir Cuſteint, that is, the city of Conſtantius or Conſtantine [r]. In 1283, a body was found at a ſmall diſtance from that place, which Edward I. who reigned then, cauſed to be removed to a church, believing it to be the body of Conſtantius. This was not agreeable to the canons. Not long before, as ſome perſons were digging in a place at York, where Conſtantius was ſuppoſed to have been buried, they diſcovered a lamp that was ſtill burning [s]. After his death, he was ranked among the gods, as appears from ſeveral antient coins, and among the reſt from one of his brother-in-law Maxentius [t].

He bequeaths the empire to Conſtantine.

Conſtantius bequeathed the empire to his ſon Conſtantine [u], who declared he would not accept it without the conſent of the other princes, to whom he immediately wrote, acquainting them with the death and laſt will of his father. But the ſoldiers, by whom he was greatly beloved, impatient of delays, proclaimed him emperor the ſame day in which his father died, and, the firſt time he appeared in public, ſaluted him with the title of Auguſtus, and forced him to accept the purple, knowing him, ſays Zoſimus, a writer no-ways biaſſed in his favour, to be truly worthy of the empire, and promiſing themſelves great things from his generoſity *. Thus was Conſtantine firſt declared emperor in Britain, the ſame day in which his father died; that is, on the twenty-fifth of July of the year 306, which, in an antient calendar, is

Who is ſaluted Auguſtus by the ſoldiers.

marked

[o] Vict. epit. p. 943. [p] Hier. chron. [q] Aur. Vict. p. 526. Euſeb. chron. Goltz. p. 124. Eutrop. p. 587. Panegyr. 9. p. 194. [r] Uſſer. eccleſ. Brit. antiq. p. 60. [s] Alford. ann. ad ann. 306. [t] Birag. p. 440. [u] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 21. p. 418. Julian. orat. 1. p. 13. Lact. perſ. c. 24. p. 21. Panegyr. 5. p. 127. & 9. p. 194. * Zoſ. l. ii. p. 671.

marked as the firſt day of his reign [w]. Lactantius tells us in expreſs terms, that, upon his father's death, he took the title of Auguſtus [x]; and Euſebius [y], that he performed his father's obſequies clad in purple; which is a plain proof, that he took in Britain, at leaſt the title of Cæſar, which, however, thoſe muſt deny, who maintain him to have been born in Britain, as we have obſerved above. He afterwards ſent his image to the other emperors, adorned, according to cuſtom, with the marks of the imperial dignity. Galerius was long in ſuſpenſe whether or no he ſhould receive it; nay, tranſported with rage, he was upon the point of condemning both the image, and the meſſenger who brought it, to the flames; but his friends remonſtrating, that ſuch an affront would give riſe to a civil war, in which the ſoldiery would in all likelihood abandon him, and ſide with Conſtantine, he was prevailed upon to receive his image, and to ſend him the purple, that he might at leaſt ſeem to hold his authority of him [z]. However, he gave him only the title of Cæſar, and created Severus emperor, whoſe provinces, viz. Italy and Africa, he governed with as abſolute a ſway as his own, oppreſſing them with endleſs taxes, and practiſing unheard-of cruelties upon ſuch as were not in a condition to comply with his unjuſt demands. This occaſioned great diſturbances in all the cities of Italy, but eſpecially in Rome; which Maxentius laying hold of, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the diſſatisfied ſoldiery and people. Maxentius was, or at leaſt paſſed for, the ſon of Maximian; for ſome writers tell us, that he was a ſuppoſititious child, and that his mother, before her death, owned ſhe had impoſed him upon her huſband to gain his affection. However that be, he was quite deſtitute of every commendable quality, proud, arrogant, cruel, ill-ſhaped, or rather deformed, in his perſon, abandoned to all manner of vices, and univerſally abhorred, not only by his father's friends, but by his father himſelf, and much more by Galerius, whoſe daughter he had married. He had highly complained of Galerius, for excluding him in the year 305, from the dignity of Cæſar; but when he heard that Conſtantine had been raiſed to that high ſtation, and ſaw his image publicly expoſed in Rome, tranſported with rage, he reſolved at all events to do himſelf juſtice; and accordingly, having with large promiſes

Galerius grants him only the title of Cæſar.

Maxentius cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.

[w] Buch. cycl. p. 286. [x] Lact. perſ. c. 24, 25. p. 23. [y] Euſeb. Conſt. vit. l. i. c. 22. p. 409. [z] Lact. perſ. c. 25. p. 22. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 672.

miſes gained over the few prætorian guards that were then in Rome, and ſome of their officers, namely, Lucianus, Marcellus, and Marcellinus, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor on the twenty-eighth of October of this year 306, and was acknowledged as ſuch by the Roman people, who hoped, by his means, to deliver themſelves from the inſupportable tyranny of Galerius. The news of his revolt no ſooner reached the eaſt, where Galerius then was, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to Severus, enjoining him to haſten with all his forces to Rome, to ſurpriſe and ſuppreſs at once this new uſurper. On the other hand, Maxentius had recourſe to his father Maximian, who, either with a view to reſume the empire, which he had quitted much againſt his will, or to ſupport his ſon, haſtened to Rome, and thence wrote to Dioclefian, exhorting him to abandon his ſolitude, and remount the throne. Dioclefian, taken with the ſweets and tranquillity of a private and retired life, returned him the anſwer which we have related above. But Maximian, inſtead of following his example, ſuffered himſelf to be declared emperor a ſecond time by the ſenate and people of Rome; and receiving the purple at the hands of his ſon, was univerſally acknowledged for his collegue in the empire. Aurelius Victor writes, that his luſt of reigning, and deſire of ſupporting his ſon in his claim to the empire, prompted him to quit his ſolitude, and reſume the authority which he had unwillingly abdicated [b].

Maximian reſumes the empire.

While theſe things paſſed at Rome, Conſtantine was buſied in viſiting the provinces under his care, viz. Britain, Spain, and Gaul, and defending them againſt the barbarians. His father Conſtantius had no ſooner left Gaul, to make war upon the Picts in Britain, than the Franks, forgetful of their oaths, had invaded Gaul, and committed there dreadful ravages. Againſt them therefore Conſtantine marched at the head of a powerful army, overcame them in a pitched battle; and having taken two of their kings priſoners, Aſcaric and Gaiſus, or Regaiſus, he expoſed them to be devoured by the wild beaſts in the magnificent ſhews which he afterwards exhibited [c]. He thought himſelf obliged, ſays the panegyriſt [d], to renew the ſeverity of the antient Romans towards their captive kings, in order to reſtrain, with the fear of puniſhment, a perfidious people, who made no account

The Franks break into Gaul, but are overcome by Conſtantine.

His ſeverity towards the captives.

[a] Vict. epit. p. 543. Lact. perſ. c. 18. p. 16, 17. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 672. Eutrop. p. 587. Euſeb. vit. Conſt. p. 498. Panegyr. 5. p. 131. [b] Aur. Vict. p 526. [c] Paneg. 9. p. 190, 197. 5. 127. 7. 163. [d] Idem, 5. p. 126.

count of the moſt ſacred ties that awed other nations. Eutropius writes, that he treated in like manner the kings of the Alemans, who, it ſeems, were in confederacy with the Franks, and fell into his hands in this war [e]. After this victory, he paſſed the Rhine, and entering the country of the Bructerians, when leaſt expected, made a dreadful havock of that people, and took a great many priſoners, whom he likewiſe condemned to be devoured by the wild beaſts [f]. He repaired all the forts on the Rhine, placed numerous garriſons in them, kept there a powerful fleet, and by that means ſtruck ſuch terror into the Franks and other German nations, that none of them dared to approach that river [g]. He even undertook to build a bridge over the Rhine [h], and accompliſhed, according to Baudrand [i], that great work; for he tells us, that it ſtood till the year 955, when it was broken down by biſhop Berno's orders. But Valeſius writes, that it was never finiſhed, ſuppoſing, we imagine, (for he alledges no proof in favour of his opinion) that ſuch a memorable work would have been more famous in hiſtory, had it ever been executed. Bucherius writes, that Conſtantine, to defend this bridge, built, or repaired, the caſtle of Druitz on the Rhine, over-againſt Cologn [l]. Be that as it will, Conſtantine, in memory of his victory over the Franks, appointed ſolemn ſports, called from them ludi Francici, to be annually celebrated from the fourteenth of July to the twentieth [m]. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity he exerted towards the enemy, Lactantius [n], and Euſebius [o] aſſure us, that he governed his ſubjects with extraordinary mildneſs and moderation; that to all he ſhewed himſelf kind, benevolent, and good-natured; that he made it his chief ſtudy to render thoſe happy who lived under his adminiſtration, &c.

The mildneſs of his government.

THE following year, Severus and Maximinus were created conſuls by Galerius, and acknowledged as ſuch in all the provinces of the empire, except thoſe that obeyed Maxentius, where Maximian cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul the ninth time. This is what we look upon as moſt probable; for the confuſion which appears this year 307, in the conſular tables, was the natural conſequence of that which prevailed in the empire. Conſtantine was likewiſe conſul this year, having,

[e] Eutrop. p. 587. [f] Paneg. 3. p. 197. [g] Idem, p. 198. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Baudr. p. 192. [k] Valeſ. rer. Franc. p. 18. [l] Buch. hiſt. Belg. l. viii. c. 2. [m] Eutrop. p. 587. [n] Lact. perſ. c. 24. p. 23. [o] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 25. p. 420.

having, as we conjecture, been ſubſtituted in the room of Severus, who was killed before the year expired. Many writers, to avoid the confuſion occaſioned by ſuch a number of conſuls, have choſen to date this with the conſuls of the preceding year, whereof we have not yet had any inſtance, but ſhall have frequently in ſucceeding times. This year, Severus, in compliance with the orders he had received from Galerius, left Milan, and marched towards Rome, to drive from thence the uſurper Maxentius. He had with him a powerful army; but conſiſting of troops which two years before had belonged to Maximian, the father of Maxentius, they were eaſily gained over by the latter, and Anullinus, who commanded them in quality of captain of the guards. Hence Severus no ſooner approached Rome, with a deſign to beſiege it, than they abandoned him, and joined his rival. Hereupon Severus, with a ſmall body of troops that remained faithful to him, betook himſelf to flight, bending his rout towards Milan; but being cloſely purſued by Maximian, who met him at the head of ſome troops which he had raiſed in Campania, and was leading to Rome, he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Ravenna; which Maximian immediately inveſted. The place was well fortified, and ſupplied with great ſtore of proviſions; ſo that it might have eaſily held out till relieved by Galerius; but Severus, diſtruſting his own men, and relying upon the mighty promiſes and ſolemn oaths of Maximian, yielded up the place to him, and the purple with which he had been inveſted about a year and nine months before [p]. Maximian, unmindful of his oaths, carried him captive to Rome; and, after having kept him ſome time confined to a place on the Appian way, about thirty miles from the city, called Tres Tabernæ, or the Three Inns, he cauſed him to be there put to death. The only favour he could obtain was that of dying by having his veins opened. His body was interred in the tomb of Gallienus, about eight or nine miles from Rome [q]. He left a ſon behind him, named Severianus, who was put to death by Licinius in 313 [r]. Maximian, well appriſed, that Galerius would not ſuffer the death of Severus to paſs unrevenged, reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf with the alliance of Conſtantine, who, having conquered the Franks, enjoyed at that time a profound

Severus marches againſt Maxentius.

He is abandoned by his men, beſieged in Ravenna, and taken.

His death.

[p] Aur. Vict. p. 525. Zoſ l. ii. p. 673. Eutrop. p. 587. Anonym. p. 471. Hier. chron. Lact. perſ. c. 26. p. 24. [q] Vict. epit. p. 542. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 673, &c. [r] Lact. perſ. c. 50. P. 45.

profound peace and tranquillity, and was wholly bent on promoting the happineſs and welfare of his people. Having therefore fortified Rome with many new works, and put it in a condition of ſuſtaining a long ſiege, he left Italy, and went to confer with Conſtantine in Gaul, where he perſuaded him to marry his daughter Fauſta, and at the ſame time changed the title of Cæſar, with which he had contented himſelf hitherto, as appears from ſeveral medals [s], and from a panegyric pronounced on occaſion of his nuptials, into that of Auguſtus. Conſtantine is generally thought to have been declared emperor on the thirty-firſt of March of this year 307. Fauſta, whom he married, is ſtyled in the antient inſcriptions Flavia Maximiana Fauſta [t]. Lactantius calls her Maximian's ſecond daughter [w]. Perhaps he looked upon Theodora, his wife's daughter, as his own; for we find no mention made of any other daughter of Maximian. She was born and brought up in Rome [x]. The emperor Julian commends her modeſty and blameleſs conduct [y]. Minervina, Conſtantine's firſt wife, by whom he had Criſpus, muſt have been dead at this time; for he is not ſaid to have divorced her. By Fauſta he had, beſides Conſtantius, who is the beſt known of all his children, Conſtantine his eldeſt ſon, Conſtans his youngeſt, and two daughters, Conſtantia, or rather Conſtantina, who was married, firſt to Annibalianus, and afterwards to Gallus Cæſar, her couſin-germans, and Helena, the wife of the emperor Julian [z]. The wife of Gallus is ſtyled on an antient coin Flavia Julia Conſtantina Auguſta [a]. Galerius did not grant the title of Auguſtus to Conſtantine till about a year after, when he was obliged to beſtow it on Maximin [b]. While Maximian was in Gaul with Conſtantine, Galerius entered Italy with a powerful army; but not ſufficient, as he found by experience, to beſiege Rome: for, as he had never ſeen the great capital of the empire, he imagined it to be only ſomewhat larger than Antioch, and ſome other cities of the eaſt. He threatened to lay it in ruins, to put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and utterly to extirpate the ſenate; but when he approached that immenſe metropolis, and viewed its fortifications, deſpairing to be able to carry it by aſſault, and not having with him a ſufficient

Conſtantine marries Fauſta the daughter of Maximian, and is by him declared emperor.

His iſſue by Fauſta.

Galerius approaches Rome with a deſign to beſiege it.

[s] Goltz. p. 126. Birag. p. 459. Byzant. fam. p. 15. [t] Panegyr. 5. p. 127. [u] Goltz. p. 128. [w] Lact. c. 27. p. 25. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Julian. orat. i. p 9. [z] Vide Anonym. p. 3. & Byz. fam. p. 46, 47. [a] Spanh. p. 640. [b] Lact. perſ. c. 32. p. 29.

sufficient number of troops to invest it, he retired to Interamna, now Terni, and thence sent Licinius and Probus to exhort Maxentius, in his name, to demand the empire of his father-in-law, and not usurp it by force of arms [c]. But Maxentius, having found means to gain under-hand some of Galerius's legions, was so far from hearkening to the deputies, that he would have marched out against Galerius, if he, distrusting his troops, and dreading the fate of Severus, had not hastened back into his own dominions. In his retreat he laid waste the country far and wide, to prevent the enemy from pursuing him, and allowed his soldiers to commit unheard-of disorders and cruelties [d]. Maximian, who was still in Gaul, being informed of the precipitous retreat of Galerius, did all that lay in his power to persuade Constantine to pursue him; but finding that prince no-ways inclined to engage in so dangerous a war, he repassed the Alps, and returned to Rome, where he reigned some time jointly with his son, but was less respected, and not so readily obeyed, as he. This piqued him to such a degree, that, divesting himself of all paternal affection, he resolved to deprive Maxentius of the empire, not doubting, but the troops that had abandoned Severus, as they had formerly belonged to him, would favour this attempt. Having therefore endeavoured under-hand to estrange them from his son, he assembled both the people and soldiery; and after a long descant upon the evils and misfortunes of the times, he turned unexpectedly to his son, who sat on the throne or tribunal with him, reproached him as the sole author of the present calamities, and, after many bitter and virulent invectives, stripped him of his purple robes, and tore them in pieces. Maxentius, leaping from the throne, implored the protection of the soldiery, who, being moved with his tears, but more with his promises, received him in their arms, loaded Maximian with injuries, and threatened him with present death [e]. Zonaras tells us, that Maximian, to appease the soldiery, told them, that he was not in earnest, but had made use of that artifice to try whether or no they were sincerely attached to his son: but no one believing him, he thought it advisable to leave Rome, and accordingly hastened back into Gaul, where he complained to Constantine, that his son had driven him from Rome. But Constantine, not seeming to be much affected with

But is obliged to retire with precipitation.

Maximian attempts to depose his son.

But is obliged to retire to Gaul.

[c] Idem ibid. c. 27. p. 25. Pan. 6. p. 136. Anonym. p. 472. [d] Lact. Anonym. ibid. [e] Panegyr. 6. p. 136. Eutrop. p. 687. Zos. l. ii. p. 674.

with his complaints, about the month of November he repaired to Galerius, the declared enemy of his ſon, to regulate with him, as he pretended, the public affairs, but in reality to watch an opportunity of diſpatching him, and ſeizing his provinces [f]. But no favourable occaſion offered of putting in execution his wicked purpoſe. Galerius was not then at Carnutum in Gaul, now Chartres, as we read in Zoſimus [g], but at Carnuntum, or Carnus, on the Danube in Pannonia, with Diocleſian, whom he had invited thither to authorize with his preſence the election of Licinius, whom he intended to create emperor in the room of Severus. On this occaſion Maximian, in a private conference with his antient collegue, did all that lay in his power to prevail upon him to reſume the empire, and deliver the people of Rome from ſo many tyrants [h]. Victor the younger writes, that Galerius himſelf preſſed Diocleſian to re-aſcend the throne [i]; which to us ſeems altogether improbable. Be that as it will, Diocleſian found ſuch delights in a retired life, that he would hearken to no propoſals of that nature. Lactantius aſſures us, that the deſign of Maximian was to re-inſtate Diocleſian and himſelf in the empire, and deſtroy the reſt one after another, his own ſon not excepted [k]. Some writers, and Eutropius among the reſt [l], ſeem to have believed, that Maximian only pretended to be at variance with his ſon, the better to deceive the other princes, and compaſs their ruin; but, inſtead of that, he was obliged to authorize with his preſence the promotion of Licinius, whom Galerius created emperor in the room of Severus, on the eleventh of November of this year 307. Licinius was a native of New Dacia, which lay on the Roman ſide of the Danube, and was, ever ſince the reign of Aurelian, accounted one of the provinces of Illyricum. He pretended to derive his pedigree from the emperor Philip, but was in reality ſprung from a family quite mean and ignoble [m]. His education was ſuitable to his birth; for he was brought up without the leaſt knowledge of letters; nay he was not aſhamed to declare himſelf an open enemy to learning, calling the ſciences the peſt and bane of the ſtate [n]. He was naturally of a cruel, violent, and haughty temper [o], and

Licinius created emperor.

His extraction and character.

[f] Lact. perſ. c. 29. p 26. Eutrop. p. 687. [g] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 673. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Vict. epit. p 542. [k] Lact. perſ. c. 43. p. 37. [l] Eutrop. p. 587. [m] Anonym. p. 473. Gord. vit. p. 165. Vict. epit. p. 543. [n] Vict. ibid. [o] Euſeb. l. x. c. 8. p. 397.

and addicted, even in his old age, to the moſt infamous debaucheries [p]. His inſatiable avarice prompted him, when raiſed to the empire, to fill his coffers by the moſt unjuſt, tyrannical, and iniquitous methods [q]. However, he was a brave and experienced officer, kept the ſoldiers to their duty, puniſhed the leaſt tranſgreſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity, and by that means revived in the army the diſcipline of the antient Romans [r]. In the year 323, he was, according to Victor the younger, about ſixty. Euſebius ſpeaks of him as one at that time worn out with old age [s]; and Lactantius tells us, that Galerius did not create him Cæſar in 305, becauſe he was aſhamed to call him his ſon, but choſe to raiſe him to the empire at once, and ſtyle him his brother [t]. However, in 313, he married Conſtantia, the ſiſter of Conſtantine, and had children by her [u]. Galerius and he had lived in great intimacy ever ſince they firſt entered into the army; and the emperor, repoſing an entire confidence in him, had, in all his expeditions, after he had attained to the dignity of Cæſar, ſuffered himſelf to be wholly governed by his counſels. The memorable victory, which Galerius gained over the Perſians, was in great meaſure owing to the valour and conduct of Licinius [w]. Galerius ſeems at firſt to have given him only the provinces of Pannonia and Rhœtia; but at the ſame time he promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe that were held by Maxentius, as ſoon as he had driven out that uſurper [x]. Thus was the empire ruled at once by ſix princes, viz. Maximian, Galerius, Licinius, Maximin, Conſtantine, and Maxentius.

Maxentius and his ſon Romulus conſuls at Rome.

THE following year, Maximan was conſul the tenth time, and Galerius the ſeventh; but at Rome the year was dated by the conſuls who ſhould be named, Maxentius who reigned there, refuſing to acknowledge the conſulſhip either of Galerius or his father Maximian. This continued till the twentieth of April, when Maxentius cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul with his ſon Romulus, ſtyled on the antient coins M. Aurelius Romulus [y]. Maxentius gave him the title of Cæſar and emperor, created him conſul the following year, and ranked him among the gods after his death, which happened during

[p] Vict. epit. p. 544. [q] Euſeb. p. 396, 397. Anonym. p. 474. [r] Eutrop. p. 587. Vict. epit. p. 543. [s] Euſeb. l. x. c. 8. p. 397. [t] Lact. perſ. c. 32. p. 29. [u] Idem ibid. c. 20. p. 19. [w] Eutrop. p. 587. [x] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 674. Lact. perſ. p. 434. [y] Buch. cycl. p. 238. Idat. Birag. p. 450, 452.

during his ſecond conſulſhip [z], being drowned, it ſeems, in the Tiber [a]. While the diſturbances and changes, which we have mentioned above, happened in the weſt, Maximin enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity in the eaſt, which he governed with the title only of Cæſar. But when he underſtood that Licinius had been declared emperor, he preſſed Galerius to raiſe him too to the ſame rank. The emperor could not be prevailed upon to grant him his requeſt, but, to content him, contrived a new title, appointing, that he and Conſtantine ſhould, for the future, be ſtyled Filii Auguſtorum, ſons of emperors; which title is ſtill to be ſeen on ſome of his and Conſtantine's coins [b]. Maximin pretended to be ſatisfied with this new mark of diſtinction, but, in the mean time, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by his army; and in the letter which he wrote on that occaſion to Galerius, aſſured him, that the troops had, without his conſent or co-operation, ſaluted him Auguſtus [c]. This gave Galerius great uneaſineſs; but nevertheleſs, as he did not think it adviſeable to quarrel with his nephew about the title he had uſurped, he confirmed it, and at the ſame time granted it to Conſtantine, who was thus, through the ambition of another man, acknowledged emperor through all the provinces of the empire [d].

Maximin cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed emperor.

This year, Maximian, thinking himſelf neglected by Galerius, left Illyricum, and privately withdrew to Conſtantine in Gaul, with a deſign to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to diſpatch him, and cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged in his room. The better to deceive him, he quitted the purple the ſecond time, declaring, that in imitation of Dioclefian, he would lead a retired life, and no longer concern himſelf with public affairs. Conſtantine received him with the greateſt marks of honour and eſteem, aſſigned him an apartment in his own palace, and commanded all his ſubjects to pay the ſame obedience to his father-in-law, as to his own. But the reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit of Maximian did not ſuffer him long to enjoy ſo happy a ſituation. Conſtantine was then buſied in building a bridge over the Rhine; which great undertaking ſtruck the neighbouring nations with ſuch terror, that they ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, offering to deliver up ſome of their chiefs as hoſtages and pledges of their ſincerity. However, ſome Franks ſtill

Conſtantine acknowledged emperor by Galerius.

[z] Vide Noris de Dioclef. num. [a] Paneg. 6. p. 146. [b] Birag. p. 446. Lact. p. 23. Euſeb. p. 310. [c] Lact. perſ. p. 433. [d] Idem ibid. c. 43. p. 36. c. 44. p. 38.

continued in arms; and againſt theſe Maximian adviſed Conſtantine to march with a ſmall body of forces, and leave the reſt at Arelatum, now Arles. His deſign was to make himſelf maſter of Conſtantine's forces, and ſeize his provinces, if any misfortune ſhould befall him, as there was room to believe there might, ſeeing he was attended only by a ſmall army. Conſtantine, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, followed the advice of his father-in-law, who marched part of the way with him, and then returned to Arles, where the emperor had left the flower of his troops. When he thought him engaged in the enemy's country, he all on a ſudden reſumed the purple a third time, made himſelf maſter of the palace, ſeized on the treaſures there, diſtributed great part of them among the ſoldiers who were preſent, and wrote to thoſe who were abſent letters filled with the moſt bitter invectives againſt Conſtantine, inviting them, with mighty promiſes, to follow the example of the troops at Arles [e]. Conſtantine was no ſooner informed of what had paſſed, than he led back his army by land from the Rhine to Challon, where he embarqued his forces on the Sône; and landing them unexpectedly at Arles, ſurpriſed Maximian, before he was in a condition to oppoſe him. The ſoldiers who had declared for Maximian, awed with the preſence of their lawful commander, returned to their duty, a ſmall number excepted, who being ſeduced by the preſents and promiſes of the uſurper, fled with him to Marſeilles, and ſhut themſelves up in that city. Conſtantine purſued them cloſe, and arriving before the place, would have carried it by aſſault, had not his ſcaling ladders unluckily proved too ſhort. This obliged him to ſound the retreat; but, in the mean time, ſome of the inhabitants having opened one of the gates to Conſtantine's men, they entered the city, ſeized on the uſurper, while he was uttering from the walls bitter invectives againſt the emperor, and carried him to Conſtantine; who, after having reproached him with his treachery and ambition, and obliged him to quit the purple, not only granted him his life, but ſuffered him, through an exceſs of clemency and good-nature, to continue with him in the ſame palace [f]. While theſe things paſſed in Gaul, the troops in Africa revolting from Maxentius, who was acknowledged there, declared Alexander,

Maximian attempts to deſtroy Conſtantine.

He is taken priſoner; but uſed with great clemency by Conſtantine.

Alexander uſurps the empire in Africa.

[e] Lact. p. 26. Panegyr. 9. p. 199, 200. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 673. Valeſ. rer. Franc. p. 21. Lact. perſ. c. 99. p. 27.

[f] Panegyr. 9. p. 200, 201, 202.

der, who commanded them in quality of lieutenant, emperor, and with the uſual ceremonies gave him the purple at Carthage [g]. He was deſcended of an ignoble and mean family in Phrygia [h], or, as Aurelius Victor will have it, in Pannonia [i]. All authors paint him as one in every reſpect unequal to ſo great a charge, being ſtricken in years, and quite deſtitute of vigor, prudence, and courage. Beſides, his troops conſiſted chiefly of new levies, unacquainted with the military diſcipline, and for the moſt part without arms. However, as he had a Maxentius for his rival, he maintained his uſurped authority for the ſpace of three years at leaſt, ſome of his Greek coins, which have reached us, being dated the fourth year of his reign [k]. One Nigrinianus, who is repreſented on ſome antient medals with rays round his head, and the title of divus or deified, is by moſt antiquaries thought to have been the ſon of Alexander [l].

THE following year, 309, Maxentius took upon him his ſecond conſulſhip at Rome, having his ſon Romulus for his collegue [m]. There were, it ſeems, no other conſuls, in the other parts of the empire; for this year is commonly diſtinguiſhed by the conſuls of the preceding year thus, the year after the tenth and ſeventh conſulſhip, viz. of Maximian and Galerius. Some, however, are of opinion, that Licinius was this year conſul for the firſt time; and it is paſt all doubt, that he was conſul before the death of Galerius. This year Eumenius, as is commonly believed, pronounced his panegyric on Conſtantine, in a city which ſtood on a great river that falls into the Rhine above Cologne [n]; that is, according to moſt interpreters, in Treves, which ſtood then, as it ſtill does, on the Moſelle, the river plainly pointed at in the abovementioned deſcription. The panegyriſt tells us, that Conſtantine was then buſied in repairing the walls of that city, which had been ruined, and in building there a great circus, a large ſquare, baſilics, and a magnificent palace for the adminiſtration of juſtice. He extols the generoſity of the good-natured emperor, the effects whereof had been felt in all the places through which he had paſſed; and therefore he entreats him to viſit the city of Autun, where the orator himſelf was born, and at that time taught rhetoric. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he recommends to the emperor his five children, and

Eumenius pronounces his panegyric on Conſtantine.

[g] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 675. Vict. epit. p. 542. [h] Zoſ. & Vict. ibid. [i] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [k] Goltz. p. 125. [l] Birag. p. 445. [m] Buch. cycl. p. 238. Onuph. in faſt. p. 263. [n] Panegyr. 9. p. 198.

all his diſciples, ſome of whom already enjoyed the firſt employments in the ſtate [o]. The following year, Andronius and Probus were named conſuls by Galerius; but were not acknowledged as ſuch at Rome, where Maxentius took upon him that dignity the third time without a collegue. In the conſular tables this year is dated as the preceding, thus; the ſecond year after the tenth and ſeventh conſulſhip [p]. This year, Maximian, no longer able to lead a private and retired life, reſolved at all events to attempt the recovery of his former condition; but being well appriſed, that all his efforts would prove unſucceſsful, ſo long as Conſtantine lived, he determined, in the firſt place, to murder him; and, in order to compaſs his wicked purpoſe, had recourſe to his daughter Fauſta, the wife of Conſtantine, uſing his utmoſt endeavours, and all manner of careſſes and entreaties, to prevail upon her to betray her huſband, and leave the door of the bed-chamber open; which ſhe promiſed to do, but immediately revealed the whole to Conſtantine, who, unwilling to condemn his father-in-law without ſome undeniable proof of his guilt, placed one night an eunuch in his bed, and left the door of the chamber open. Maximian did not fail to lay hold of the opportunity, and entering the room about midnight, killed the eunuch, crying out as he retired, Conſtantine is dead; I am emperor. But Conſtantine appearing that inſtant, with a numerous guard, ſtopped him, and ſhewed him the body of the murdered eunuch. It is eaſier to conceive than expreſs the terror and diſmay that ſeized him, when he found himſelf thus convicted of the moſt deteſtable treachery imaginable, without being able either to excuſe or deny it. As he had been chiefly prompted to this exceſs of wickedneſs by the mild treatment which he had hitherto met with, and ſtill promiſed himſelf, from Conſtantine, that prince thought himſelf obliged, in his own defence, to put an end to the life and crimes of ſuch an ambitious, implacable, and treacherous enemy. The only favour he granted him was the choice of his death, and he choſe of all deaths the moſt infamous and diſgraceful, which was hanging [q]. Such was the unhappy, but deſerved, end of Maximian, after having reigned with great glory at leaſt twenty years, and lived, according to Victor the younger,

Maximian attempts to murder Conſtantine.

He is diſcovered and ſeized.

His death.

[o] Idem, p. 190, &c. [p] Buch. p. 238. & 249. Idat. Proſp. &c. [q] Lact. perſ. c. 30. p. 27. Eutrop. p. 587. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 674. Vict. epit. p. 542.

younger [r], about ſixty (E). Conſtantine cauſed all his ſtatues to be pulled down, his images to be torn in pieces, and his inſcriptions eraſed, not ſparing even ſuch as were common to him with Diocleſian [s]. The ſame year Galerius was ſeized with a moſt dreadful diſtemper, an incurable ulcer in his privy parts. Lactantius [s] and Euſebius [t] deſcribe at length the miſerable condition to which he was reduced, and tell us, that, beſides the inexpreſſible torments with which he was racked night and day, without the leaſt reſpite, ſuch an inſufferable ſtench iſſued out of his body, as infected not only the palace, but the whole city. The diſtemper encreaſed daily, in ſpite of all the art and ſkill of the beſt phyſicians and ſurgeons: his thighs putrified by degrees, his belly was conſumed, his bowels laid open, and the whole maſs of his blood corrupted. Notwithſtanding all the care that could be uſed, he was devoured alive with infinite ſwarms of worms and vermin. No longer able to bear ſuch unrelenting torments, he often attempted to lay violent hands on himſelf, and cauſed ſome of his phyſicians to be put to death, becauſe their remedies proved ineffectual. He had recourſe to Apollo, to Æſculapius, and all his gods, but to no effect; nay, the remedies which Apollo, or rather ſome impoſtor in his name, preſcribed to him, ſerved only to aggravate his raging diſtemper. He languiſhed in this painful and, beyond expreſſion, miſerable

Galerius is ſeized with a dreadful diſtemper.

[r] Idem ibid. [s] Lact. perſ. c. 33. p. 30. [t] Euſeb. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314, 315.

(E) Some authors write, that Maximian died at Marſeilles, confounding perhaps his death with what happened to him there in 308, as Zoſimus confounds it with that of Maximin II. in telling us, that he died a natural death at Tarſus (46). In an antient chronicle, quoted by Du Cheſne (47), we are told, that about the year 1054, his body was diſcovered at Marſeilles in a leaden coffin, encloſed in a tomb of white marble, ſo well embalmed, that it was ſtill entire, and appeared freſh. The author of the chronicle writes, that he learnt this of thoſe who had ſeen the body; and adds, that Raimbaud, archbiſhop of Arles, perſuaded the inhabitants to throw the carcaſe of ſuch an unmerciful perſecutor of the church into the ſea, with the coffin, tomb, and whatever elſe was found with it. St. Ambroſe had written long before, that Maximian was buried in a moſt beautiful tomb of marble (48).

(46) Zoſ. l. ii. p. 674. (47) Du Cheſ. tom. 3. p. 641. (48) Ambroſ. epiſt. lvii. p. 321.

miſerable condition, a whole year and upwards, ſuffering every minute all the agonies of death [u]. The pagan as well as chriſtian writers take notice of this unaccountable malady of Galerius [w]. The latter aſcribe it to divine vengeance, as he had been the chief author of the perſecution and unheard-of cruelties ſuffered by the chriſtians. This year, Conſtantine waged war with the Alemans, the Bructerians, Cheruſcans, Chamavians, and ſeveral other German nations; who, after having attacked the Romans in ſeparate bodies, joined in the end all their forces, and formed a very numerous and powerful army [x]. Conſtantine, not depending upon the relation of others, ventured in diſguiſe into the midſt of their army, pretending to be a deputy ſent to them by the emperor. As he found, that not caring to engage him, they deſigned to ſeparate, which would have rendered the war more tedious, he aſſured them, that the emperor was not then with his army; which they no ſooner underſtood, than they diſmiſſed the pretended deputy, and without loſs of time marched with all their forces againſt the enemy. Conſtantine received them at the head of his army, put them to the rout at the firſt onſet, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them in their flight [y]. It was perhaps on account of this victory that he took the title of Maximus, which we find on ſome of his medals ſtruck this year 310, the fifth of his reign [z]. Euſebius tells us, that, after he had driven out of Gaul, or entirely ſubdued, the barbarians bordering on the Rhine and the ocean, he paſſed over into Britain, and there reduced ſuch of the inhabitants as had not yet ſubmitted to him [a]. But of this expedition no mention is made by the panegyriſts.

Conſtantine overcomes ſeveral German nations.

THE next conſuls were Galerius, the eighth time, and Maximinus, the ſecond; but Maxentius refuſing to acknowledge them, Rome was without conſuls till the month of September, when Rufinus and Euſebius Voluſianus were honoured with that dignity [b]. As the diſtemper of Galerius grew daily more raging and violent, he began at length to aſcribe it to the juſt vengeance of heaven, for his cruelties to the innocent chriſtians, and immediately publiſhed an edict, ordering a ſtop to be put to the perſecution. This edict was enacted in the name of three emperors, viz. Galerius, Conſtantine, and Licinius.

Galerius puts a ſtop to the perſecution.

[u] Idem ibid. Lact. c. 33. Zoſ. p. 674. [w] Anonym. p. 472. [w] Aur. Vict. epit. p. 525. [x] Panegyr. 7. p. 163—165. [y] Idem, p. 164. [z] Birag. p. 462. [a] Euſeb. vit. Conſtanc. l. i. c. 25. p. 420. Buch. cycl. p. 238. [b] Lact. perſ. c. 35. p. 31.

Licinius. Maxentius was looked upon by Galerius as an enemy, and had never been acknowledged by him; and as for Maximin, he either would not agree with the reſt to put a ſtop to the perſecution, or his name has been, through a miſtake of the tranſcribers, omitted in the edict, as that of Licinius has been left out in moſt editions of Euſebius, and even in the Latin tranſlation by Rufinus. The edict was dated the twentieth year of the reign of Galerius, and conſequently muſt have been drawn up after the firſt of March of this year 311. It was publicly ſet up at Nicomedia on the thirtieth of April, and the following month his death was known there; for he died, according to the moſt probable opinion, at Sardica, the metropolis of New Dacia, now known by the name of Sofia, or, as the inhabitants ſtyle it, Triadizza [c]. Galerius had reigned, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæſar, nineteen years, two months, and ſome days. He had been emperor ſix years and a few days; for we find ſome of his coins dated the ſeventh year of his reign [d]. Before he expired, he earneſtly recommended to Licinius his wife Valeria, the daughter of Diocleſian, and Candidianus his natural ſon [e]; which ſhews, that Licinius was preſent when he died. He was buried in the ſame city where he was born, and afterwards deified with the uſual ceremonies [f]. Maximin was no ſooner informed of the death of Galerius, then he haſtened from the eaſt, where he then was, with a deſign to ſeize on his provinces, and entering Bithynia, made himſelf maſter of all the countries beyond the Propontis. On the other hand, Licinius, having drawn together his forces, marched to oppoſe him; and the two armies encamped over-againſt each other, the one on the coaſt of Aſia, and the other of Europe. However, they came at length to an agreement; and in a private interview, which they had in the ſtreights of Chalcedon, they entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance, which they confirmed with the moſt ſolemn oaths [g]. Maximin remained maſter of Bithynia, and Licinius of Thrace, the ſtreights of Chalcedon being the common boundary between the two empires [h]. Valeria, the widow of Galerius, though earneſtly recommended by him at the point of death to Licinius, choſe to withdraw into

His death.

Licinius and Maximin divide his provinces.

[c] Lact. perſ. c. 33. p. 30. Euſeb. l. viii. c. 17. p. 315. [d] Pagi, p. 311. [e] Lact. c. 35, 50. p. 32, 44. Euſeb. l. viii. c. 17. [f] Vict. epit p. 543. Birag. p. 444. Euſeb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 364. [g] Euſeb l. ix. c. 10. Lact. c. 45. p. 39. [h] Euſeb. Lact. ibid.

into the dominions of Maximin, with her mother Priſca the wife of Dioclefian, Candidianus the natural ſon of Galerius, and Severianus the ſon of Severus, put to death by Maximian in 307. Maximin treated Valeria for ſome time with the utmoſt reſpect, honouring her with the title of mother; nay, he conceived a violent paſſion for her, and even offered to repudiate his own wife, and marry her. Valeria, not a little ſurpriſed at this unexpected propoſal, anſwered him with great freedom, That the ſtate and habit ſhe was in, the time of her mourning for the death of her huſband not being yet expired, did not allow her to think of marriage; that to her it ſeemed very ſtrange he ſhould put away a wife, who had not given him the leaſt occaſion of complaint; that ſuch a proceeding gave her room to expect the like treatment; and, in ſhort, that it was both unbecoming and unprecedented in a perſon of her rank to entertain the leaſt thought of a ſecond marriage. Maximin was provoked to ſuch a degree with this frank and generous anſwer, that, changing his love into hatred and rage, he immediately baniſhed both her and her mother, ſeized on all her effects, confined her domeſtics, put her eunuchs to the rack, and, upon falſe accuſations, ſentenced to death ſeveral illuſtrious ladies who attended her, and among the reſt two ſenators wives, and one, whoſe daughter was a veſtal at Rome. They were publicly executed at Nicea, upon the depoſition of a Jew, who falſly accuſed them of adultery, hoping to eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes by impeaching them. The people loudly complained of ſuch a bare-faced piece of injuſtice, and, tranſported with rage, would have torn in pieces Eratineus the governor of that province, while he ſat on his tribunal to condemn them, and ſee his ſentence put in execution, had he not been ſurrounded by a numerous body of ſoldiers, who with much-ado protected him againſt the inſults of the incenſed populace. The Jew, their accuſer, being afterwards condemned to be crucified, acknowledged on the croſs their innocence, and his own guilt, in ſuffering himſelf to be ſuborned to accuſe them [i]. Valeria, though confined in the deſerts of Syria, found means to acquaint her father Dioclefian with the miſerable ſtate ſhe was in, who, moved with tenderneſs and compaſſion, ſent ſeveral perſons, and among the reſt a kinſman of his own, an officer of great diſtinction in the army, to entreat Maximin, by all the obligations he owed him, to releaſe his beloved daughter from her confinement, and allow him the ſatisfaction

Valeria enormouſly abuſed by Maximin.

[i] Lact. perſ. c. 39, 40. p. 35, 36.

faction of enjoying her company in his old age. But the tyrant was deaf to all entreaties; which is said to have haſtened the death of the old emperor [k].

CONSTANTINE, in the mean time, was buſied in viſiting the provinces under his government. He arrived this year, the ſixth of his reign, at Autun; and finding the inhabitants overloaded with taxes, he not only forgave them what they owed to the exchequer ever ſince his acceſſion to the empire, but remitted above a fourth part of all impoſts. In acknowledgment of this favour, the city of Autun, looking upon the generous and good-natured emperor as their founder, took the name of Flavia, which was the name of his family; and upon his return to the place of his reſidence, probably Treves, they ſent Eumenius to return him thanks for his extraordinary kindneſs to them, which the orator did in a ſpeech that is ſtill extant [l]. In the mean time, Maxentius, who reigned at Rome, undertook the reduction of Africa, which had revolted, as we have related above, in 308, and declared Alexander emperor. Againſt him Maxentius diſpatched Rufus, or Rufius Voluſianus, probably the conſul of this year, and one Zenus, a celebrated commander, who, in the firſt battle that was fought, put the troops of Alexander to the rout, took him priſoner, and cauſed him immediately to be ſtrangled [m]. Thus ended the war in Africa; but not the calamities of that unhappy province: for Maxentius cauſed ſuch of the Africans, as were conſiderable either for their birth or wealth, to be inhumanly put to death, and ſeized their eſtates, pretending they had favoured the uſurper; nay, he commanded the city of Carthage, at that time one of the moſt beautiful and flouriſhing cities in the world, to be laid in aſhes. Thus was the province of Africa utterly ruined, and the inhabitants reduced to beggary, and obliged, through fear of the tyrant, to abandon their native country, and take ſhelter in the provinces of the other princes [n]. Maxentius triumphed at Rome for the defeat of Alexander, or rather for the deſtruction of Carthage, and the ruin of Africa. But Rome and Italy were no leſs grievouſly afflicted by the lewd, inhuman, and avaricious tyrant, than Carthage and Africa. The unexpreſſible calamities, under which they groaned, are deſcribed at length by Zoſimus [o], Euſebius [p], Aurelius Victor [q], and the pane-

Conſtantine's generoſity to the city of Autun.

Maxentius reduces and ruins the province of Africa.

Rome and Italy grievouſly afflicted by him.

[k] Idem, c. 41. p. 36. [l] Paneg. 8. p. 188, &c. [m] Aur. Vict. p. 526. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 675. Lactan. perſ. c. 43. p. 37. [n] Paneg. 6, 7. p. 145, 173. Aur. Vict. Zoſ. ibid. [o] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 675. [p] Euſeb. l. viii. p. 310. [q] Aur. Vict. p. 526.

panegyriſts who flouriſhed in thoſe times [r]. His luſt ſpared not the moſt illuſtrious ladies of Rome, nor his avarice the chief men in the ſenate: he forced the former, by all manner of torments, to comply with his impure deſires; and condemned the latter, under various pretences, to death or baniſhment, in order to ſeize their eſtates. Euſebius [s] and Rufinus [t] tell us, that having by menaces forced the governor of the city to yield up to him his wife, by name Sophronia, ſhe, who profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and conſequently thought death a leſs evil than defiling herſelf with any impurity, begged a few minutes to put on her beſt attire; which being granted, ſhe withdrew into her cloſet, and there, after a ſhort prayer, buried a dagger in her breaſt, and died on the ſpot. This action is mightily commended by Euſebius and Rufinus; and Palladius ſeems to approve it [u]. It ſhews a courage in Sophronia above her ſex, and a love of purity worthy of the religion which ſhe profeſſed; but nevertheleſs cannot, in the opinion of St. Auſtin [w], be commended, or even excuſed, unleſs done by a particular or extraordinary impulſe from heaven, ſuch as he ſuppoſes Razias to have had, of whom mention is made in the books of the Maccabees. Maxentius allowed his ſoldiers the ſame unreſtrained liberty, or rather licentiouſneſs, which he took himſelf, abandoning to them the honour, the lives, and the fortunes of the moſt innocent perſons. By this means Rome was in a ſhort time reduced to a moſt deplorable condition; the ſenators were ſtripped of their eſtates, and either baniſhed upon falſe accuſations, or publicly executed; and the people ſo loaded with taxes, that they had not wherewithal to purchaſe the common neceſſaries, and great numbers of them died daily for want. He was greatly addicted to the ſtudy of magic, which prompted him to many unheard-of cruelties, as he hoped to learn future events from the entrails of women and innocent children [x]. A fire accidentally breaking out in the temple of Fortune, and the people flocking from all parts to extinguiſh it, a ſoldier uttered ſome words of raillery againſt the "unfortunate goddeſs"; which one of the populace hearing killed the ſoldier on the ſpot. His comrades, to revenge his death, fell ſword in hand upon the people; which occaſioned a dreadful tumult, in which an incredible number of

The reſolution and intrepidity of Sophronia, a chriſtian lady.

The cruelty of Maxentius.

[r] Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 137, 158. [s] Euſeb. hiſt. l. viii. c. 14. p. 313. [t] Rufin. c. 17. p. 141. [u] Pallad. hiſt. Lauſiaca, c. 150. p. 105. [w] Auguſt. civ. Dei, l. i. c. 26. [x] Panegyr. 6. p. 136.

of perſons loſt their lives [y]. Zoſimus writes, that Maxentius immediately reſtrained the fury of his ſoldiers; but though he excuſes him on this occaſion, yet he owns, that his tyranny grew daily more inſufferable, and that the Roman people impatiently wiſhed for a deliverer [z]. Prudentius gives us a pathetic account of the evils which the city endured under ſo cruel a tyrant, who was not aſhamed to fill the public priſons with the moſt venerable and illuſtrious perſons in the ſenate [a]. Being elated with his ſucceſs againſt Alexander, tyrant of Africa, he began to entertain thoughts of deſtroying the other princes, one after the other; for he was often heard to ſay, That he alone was emperor, and that the others were only his lieutenants, employed by him to defend and guard the confines of the empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, that he might enjoy at Rome an undiſturbed peace and tranquillity. He reſolved to begin with Conſtantine, under the plauſible pretence of revenging the death of his father Maximian, though we are aſſured, that he was not in the leaſt affected with it [b]. He had then under his command an hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot and eighteen thouſand horſe, moſt of whom had ſerved under his father, and conſequently were enured to military toils and dangers. He had amaſſed by his extortions vaſt ſums to defray the charges of a war, and great ſtore of proviſions, having for that purpoſe drained Africa and the adjacent iſlands. He no ſooner began to aſſemble his troops, than Conſtantine, well appriſed of his deſign, wrote to him, and by laying before him the dreadful evils and calamities attending a civil war, endeavoured to divert him from it. Nazarius tells us, that Conſtantine, pitying the miſerable condition to which he ſaw, with the utmoſt concern, the metropolis of the empire reduced, burnt with a deſire of redeeming it from the tyranny under which it groaned; but not thinking that could juſtify his engaging in a war with his brother-in-law, he endeavoured to ſatisfy him as to the death of his father. But Maxentius, who wanted only a pretence for ſtripping Conſtantine of his dominions, without giving ear to his remonſtrances, cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down, and his images defaced, giving out, that he was determined at all events to revenge the death of his father. Hereupon Conſtantine, leaving a ſtrong body of troops to guard the banks of the Rhine, and prevent the barbarians from

He reſolves to make war upon Conſtantine.

[y] Euſeb. p. 310. Aur. Vict. p. 52. [z] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 675. [a] Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 219, 220. [b] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 675. Aur. Vict. p. 526.

Conſtantine begins his march to Italy.

from breaking into Gaul during his abſence, ſet out on his march to Italy, at the head of an army, conſiſting, acccording to thoſe who magnify their number the moſt, of ninety thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. Of theſe only twenty-five thouſand were Romans, and the reſt auxiliaries [c]. A panegyriſt, in an oration pronounced before him, ſays, that he engaged in this war with a ſmaller number of troops than Alexander had with him, when he went to attack the king of Perſia [d]; that is, not quite forty thouſand men. He endeavoured to gain over Licinius, by promiſing him his ſiſter Conſtantia in marriage; which gave ſuch jealouſy to Maximin, that he ſent deputies to court the friendſhip of Maxentius, and entered into an alliance with him; which, however, was kept ſecret; for Conſtantine was not appriſed of it till he became maſter of Rome, and ſaw there the ſtatue of Maximin placed cloſe to that of Maxentius [e]. We are not told, that Maximin ſent any ſuccours to Maxentius, or Licinius to Conſtantine. In this war providence had ſomething in view infinitely more important, than the reſcuing Rome from the tyranny of Maxentius; nothing leſs than the delivering of the church from the cruel perſecution under which it had groaned for the ſpace of near three hundred years. Conſtantine had inherited of his father ſome love and eſteem for the chriſtians; for the firſt uſe he made of his authority was to put a ſtop to the perſecution in the provinces ſubject to him [f]. However, he had not yet ſhewn any inclination to embrace a religion which he both honoured and eſteemed; but in the war with Maxentius, apprehending that he ſtood in need of an extraordinary aſſiſtance from heaven, he began ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf, what deity he ſhould implore as his guardian and protector. He revolved in his mind the fallacious anſwers given by the oracles to other princes, and the ſucceſs that had attended his father Conſtantius in all his wars, who deſpiſed the many gods worſhipped by the Romans, and acknowledged only one Supreme Being. At the ſame time he obſerved, that ſuch of his predeceſſors as had perſecuted the chriſtians, the adorers of this God, had miſcarried in moſt of their undertakings, and periſhed by an unfortunate and untimely end; whereas his father, who countenanced and protected them, had in all his wars been attended with uncommon ſucceſs, and ended his life in the arms of his children. Upon theſe conſide-

He delibe-rates with himſelf what god he ſhould implore.

[c] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 676. [d] Pan. 6. p. 137. [e] Lact. perſ. c. 43. p. 37. [f] Idem, c. 24. p. 25.

conſiderations, he reſolved to have recourſe to the God of his father, and adhere to Him alone. To Him therefore he addreſſed himſelf with great humility and fervour, beſeeching Him to make himſelf known to him, and to aſſiſt him in his preſent expedition. Heaven heard his prayer in a manner altogether miraculous; which, however incredible it may appear to ſome, Euſebius aſſures us, he received from the emperor's own mouth, who ſolemnly confirmed the truth of it with his oath. As he was marching at the head of his troops in the open fields, there ſuddenly appeared to him, and the whole army, a little after mid-day, a pillar of light above the ſun, in the form of a croſs, with this inſcription, In this conquer. The emperor was in great pain about the meaning of this wonderful viſion, till the following night; when our Saviour appearing to him, with the ſame ſign that he had ſeen in the heavens, commanded him to cauſe ſuch another to be framed, and to make uſe of it in conquering his enemies. The next morning, Conſtantine imparted to his friends what he had ſeen; and ſending for the ableſt artificers and workmen, ordered them to frame a croſs of gold and precious ſtones, according to the direction which he gave them. This croſs is minutely deſcribed by Euſebius who ſaw it [g]. Baronius, who has cauſed it to be engraved in his annals [h], places the images of Conſtantine and his children on the ſtandard that was faſtened to the croſs-part of it, though Euſebius ſeems to place them below the ſtandard. In a crown of gold at the top of the croſs was a figure, conſiſting of the two firſt letters of the name of Chriſt, according to the Greek orthography [i]. This figure, on ſome medals, is formed thus ☧ and in other thus ☩. This cypher was probably ſhewn to Conſtantine with the croſs; for we are no-where told that he contrived it. Some are of opinion, that this cypher, in which the croſs is plainly repreſented, was the only thing Conſtantine added to the antient ſtandard. This the pious emperor cauſed to be carried before him in all his wars, as an enſign of ſafety and victory [k]. Socrates ſeems to inſinuate, that in his time, about the year 430, it was lodged in the imperial palace at Conſtantinople [l]; and Theophanes tells us, that it was ſtill to be ſeen in the ninth century [m]. Conſtantine cauſed ſeveral other croſſes to be made after the ſame manner, and to be conſtantly

A miraculous apparition.

[g] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 27—31. p. 421—423. [h] Baron. ad ann. 312. [i] Euſeb. ibid. c. 31. p. 423. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Socrat. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.

The croſs becomes the chief ſtandard.

ſtantly carried at the head of his armies, inſtead of the figures of Mars, Jupiter, Romulus, &c. The name of Chriſt was not always at the top of the croſs, but ſometimes on the ſtandard [n]. When the troops in any part of the army began to give ground, the emperor cauſed the ſtandard with the croſs to be conveyed thither; and his faith ſays Euſebius [o], was rewarded with victory, which began on that ſide where the greateſt danger was apprehended. He choſe fifty of the moſt courageous, robuſt, and religious men among his guards to attend this ſtandard, and carry it in their turns. Euſebius aſſures us, that none of thoſe who carried it were ever wounded in battle; and adds, that, in one encounter, the perſon who held it, finding himſelf aimed at on all ſides by the enemy, and therefore delivering it to another, in order to avoid the danger by flight, was ſhot through with a dart the minute he parted with it; whereas the other eſcaped unhurt amidſt the ſhowers of arrows that flew round him. This Euſebius, as he aſſures us, learnt of Conſtantine himſelf [p]. In the year 416, Theodoſius the younger beſtowed great privileges on thoſe who carried the labarum or laborum; for ſo the ſtandard conſecrated, to uſe the expreſſion of St. Ambroſe [q], with the name of Chriſt, is ſtyled by Gregory of Nazianzum, Prudentius, and others. As to the etymology of that name, we are quite in the dark. The reader will find many conjectures concerning it in Du Cange, who is of opinion, that it was borrowed of the Germans [r]. At the ſame time, Conſtantine ordered the ſhields, helmets, and offenſive as well as defenſive weapons of the ſoldiers, to be marked with croſſes, as appears from Euſebius [s], and various antient monuments. Sozomen tells us, that the emperor cauſed the name of our Saviour to be put upon the labarum, that the ſoldiers, who, in all times, paid the utmoſt reſpect to the imperial ſtandard, might, by degrees, be brought to forget their falſe deities, and pay the ſame honours to Him, whoſe name they had conſtantly before their eyes [t]. Conſtantine had the above-mentioned viſion before he paſſed the Alps to make war upon Maxentius, and conſequently in Gaul; but as to the preciſe place, we are quite at a loſs. Some ſtand up for Beſancon; others

The labarum or laborum.

[m] Theoph. p. 11. [n] Nazar. orat. iii. p. 75. Sozom. l. i. c. 4. p. 405. Euſeb. p. 535. [o] Euſeb. ibid. l. ii. p. 447. [p] Idem ibid. p. 448. [q] Ambroſ. epiſt. xvii. p. 213. [r] Cange diſſert. de inferior. ævi numiſmat. p. 18. & gloſſar. p. 190. [s] Euſeb ibid. l. iv. c. 21. p. 535. [t] Soz. l. i. c. 4. p. 405.

others for Sinzic on the Rhine, at a ſmall diſtance from Cologne; and ſome for Numegen, a village on the Moſelle, about five miles below Treves; which Auſonius calls the illuſtrious camp of Conſtantine [u]; but their conjectures are altogether groundleſs. Baluſius complains, and not without reaſon, of the irreligious temerity of a modern writer [w], who is pleaſed to ſtyle the whole account of this miraculous apparition, that is, the beſt atteſted fact in the hiſtory of Conſtantine, a pious fiction, which, in other terms, is caling Euſebius an impious impoſtor, and at the ſame time charging him with the greateſt folly imaginable, in pretending to impoſe upon the world with ſuch an enormous falſhood, while many thouſands of witneſſes were ſtill living, who would not have failed to diſprove what he wrote, and give him the lye. To imagine a writer of Euſebius's character, guilty of ſuch folly, impudence, and preſumption is, in our opinion, carrying ſcepticiſm and incredulity to too great a height.

Conſtantine being, after the miraculous viſion, immutably determined to adore that God alone who had appeared to him, ſent for ſeveral biſhops, in order to be inſtructed by them in the myſteries of their religon, and in ſeveral particulars of the late apparition. He hearkened to them with the utmoſt reſpect, and believed what they told him of the divinity, incarnation, croſs, and death of our Saviour, reading with great attention the holy ſcriptures, and conſulting in his doubts the biſhops, whom for that purpoſe he kept conſtantly about him [x]. Euſebius does not name them; but Zoſimus tells us, that an Egyptian, coming from Spain to the place where Conſtantine was, prevailed upon him to abandon the religion of the Romans [y]. This may be true, though no great ſtreſs is to be laid upon what Zoſimus writes touching the converſion of Conſtantine; for Oſius, the celebrated biſhop of Corduba in Spain, was by birth an Egyptian, and might, as he was a man of great piety and learning, have been ſent for by the emperor. It is at leaſt certain, that Conſtantine ſoon after appointed him his almoner, and treated him on all occaſions with the utmoſt reſpect, eſteem, and veneration. The modern Greek writers pretend, that one of the emperor's chamberlains, by name Euphrates, had a great ſhare in his converſion; but of him no mention is made by the antients. We may well

Conſtantine is inſtructed in the chriſtian religion, and embraces it.

[u] Buch. de Belg. l. vii. c. 6. p. 243. [w] Jacobus Oiſelius in theſaur. numiſ antiquor. p. 463. [x] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 32. p. 423, 424. [y] Euſeb. l. ii. p. 685.

well imagine what a great alteration the converſion of Conſtantine produced in the church. The whole imperial family followed, it ſeems, his example; we are well aſſured, that his mother Helen did: for though Theodoret writes, that ſhe inſpired her ſon from his infancy with ſentiments of piety [z], yet Euſebius tells us in expreſs terms, that ſhe knew not the true God, till ſhe was induced by her ſon to embrace the truth, and adhere to it [a]. The zeal which Conſtantia ſhewed for the doctrine of Arius, inclines us to believe, that ſhe profeſſed the chriſtian religion. Euſebius tells us, that Eutropia, the widow of Maximian and mother-in-law of Conſtantine, followed the example of the emperor; and Valeſius maintains the ſame thing of her daughter Fauſta; which does not at all ſeem improbable, though not poſitively aſſerted by any of the antients. Johannes Damaſcenus writes, that Conſtantine cauſed not only the croſs, but the image of our Saviour, to be repreſented on his coins; but no medals have been yet found to confirm his opinion. On his coins appear only the labarum, and on ſome of his ſon Conſtantius the ☧ with the A and Ω, the emblem aſſumed by our Saviour in the Revelations [b]. The ſilence of the antient panegyriſts with reſpect to ſo public and remarkable an event as the apparition of the croſs, which occaſioned the converſion of Conſtantine, would ſeem to us unaccountable, were we not well appriſed of the great and almoſt invincible power of prejudice in matters of religion. The authors of thoſe panegyrics could not, even in their ſpeeches uttered before Conſtantine, forbear ſpeaking of their fabulous deities, as if the emperor had ſtill been a pagan. However, ſome of them ſeem to have hinted at that apparition, though in very dark and ambiguous terms; for one of the orators ſpeaks much at length of an extraordinary aſſiſtance, which, he ſays, all Gaul believed to have been ſent to Conſtantine from heaven [c]. Another ſays, that every one dreaded the war with Maxentius, on account of an evil omen [d]. This may be well underſtood of the croſs, than which nothing was more infamous, or more deteſted, among the Romans. But Conſtantine placed his chief confidence in it, and cauſing it to be carried at the head of his army, as the banner of victory, croſſed the Alps the following year, when he and Licinius were conſuls the ſecond time, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, till he arrived at Seguſium, now Suſa; which,

His example is followed by the imperial family.

Conſtantine paſſes the Alps and makes himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities.

[z] Theodoret. l. i. c. 17. p. 563. [a] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506. [b] Vide Du Cange Byzant. famil. p. 31—33. [c] Paneg. 7. p. 161. [d] Idem. 6. p. 135.

which, being fortified both by nature and art, and defended by a numerous garriſon, refuſed to ſubmit. Hereupon Conſtantine, having ordered a general aſſault, and at the ſame time cauſed fire to be ſet to the gates, carried the place by ſtorm the ſame day; but would not give it up to be plundered, nor ſuffer the inhabitants to be any-ways injured in their lives or fortunes [e], though Zoſimus writes, that he laid in ruins all the cities that preſumed to oppoſe him [f]. From Seguſium he marched to Auguſta Taurinorum, now Turin, in the neighbourhood of which place he was met by a numerous army of the enemy, whoſe cavalry, armed cap-à-pé, fell upon him with a fury hardly to be expreſſed; but Conſtantine ordering his ranks to open and receive them, they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and, unwieldy as they were, pulled off their horſes and killed, without the loſs of a ſingle man on Conſtantine's ſide. The reſt of the army was eaſily put to the rout, and purſued with great ſlaughter to the gates of Turin; which the citizens ſhut againſt them, but opened to Conſtantine, whom they received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. All the cities between the Po and the Alps followed the example of this, ſending deputies with great ſtore of proviſions to the conqueror, and aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of their power againſt Maxentius, whoſe cruelties and tyranny they could no longer bear [g]. From Turin he marched to Milan, which city he entered without oppoſition; and having paſſed a few days there, he purſued his march to Breſcia, where he was met by a numerous body of horſe, who, being routed at the firſt onſet, retired in great confuſion to Verona, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all the troops of Maxentius diſperſed up and down the country. They were very numerous, and commanded by Ruricius Pompeianus, an experienced officer and captain of the guards to Maxentius, who, not thinking it adviſeable to venture a battle, ſhut himſelf up in Verona, with part of his troops. Conſtantine, having paſſed the Adige a great way above that city, inveſted it with his whole army. Pompeianus made a vigorous ſally; but being repulſed with great loſs, he ſtole away in the night, and ſoon after returned, with a numerous army, which he had with incredible expedition drawn together from all parts. Conſtantine, receiving intelligence of his approach, left part of his troops to purſue the ſiege, and marched with the reſt to meet

Verona beſieged.

[e] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 37. p. 426. [f] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 676. [g] Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 138, 166.

meet him. Hereupon an engagement enſued, which laſted almoſt the whole night; but in the end the troops of Pompeianus were utterly defeated, and the general himſelf killed. Conſtantine diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion in a very eminent manner, grappling hand to hand with the enemy like a common ſoldier; inſomuch, that his officers, after the battle, conjured him with tears in their eyes to moderate his courage for the future, and not expoſe to ſuch dangers a life, on which depended the ſafety and welfare of the ſtate [h]. The city of Verona ſtill held out for ſome time; but was in the end taken by ſtorm and utterly ruined. The garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion, and Conſtantine, contrary to their expectation, granted them their lives; but that his own men might not be employed in guarding them, as they were very numerous, he cauſed chains to be made of their ſwords, and confined them in two priſons [i]. During the ſiege of Verona, Conſtantine detached part of his troops to attack Aquileia, Mutina, and ſeveral other cities; which readily ſubmitted. By this means he became maſter of all the places between the Alps and Rome, the deliverance of which city from the tyranny of Maxentius, was what he had moſt of all at heart [k]. He therefore bent his march thither, and approached the city with all his forces. His approach rouſed Maxentius, who had abandoned himſelf to eaſe, and wallowed in all manner of pleaſures and debaucheries, ſtifling the tidings that were daily brought to him of the defeat of his troops, and the progreſs of Conſtantine. He cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the Tiber, a little above the Milvian bridge, now Ponte Molle, ſo contrived that it could be eaſily looſened, which he charged one of his engineers to do as ſoon as Conſtantine was entered upon it with his army. But the emperor choſe to encamp in a ſpacious plain, over-againſt the Milvian bridge, hoping by that means to draw Maxentius out of Rome, and tempt him to venture a general engagement, being well appriſed, that if he kept within the city, which was ſupplied with great ſtore of proviſions, the beſieging him there would prove a dangerous undertaking, and protract the war to a great length. But Maxentius ordering his troops to encamp between the Milvian bridge and the city, in order to prevent Conſtantine from approaching the walls, did not ſo much as ſtir out of his palace, till he was frightened from it by an inauſpicious omen, which obliged him to repair with

Maxentius's army defeated.

Verona taken.

And ſeveral other cities.

Conſtantine approaches Rome.

[h] Idem, 6. p. 141. & 7. p. 168, 169. [i] Idem, 6. p. 141, 142. [k] Idem, 7. p. 170, 171.

with his wife and ſon to the houſe of one of his friends [i]. Lactantius tells us, that the night preceding the twenty-ſeventh, or rather the twenty-eighth, of October, Conſtantine was admoniſhed in a dream to cauſe the ſhields of his ſoldiers to be marked with the ☧ and then give battle. The order was immediately executed, and not only on the ſhields, but likewiſe on the helmets, as appears from an antient medal [k], of all the ſoldiers were diſplayed the croſs, and the name of our Saviour [l]. The ſame day, the twenty-eighth of October, Maxentius, who then ended the ſixth year of his reign, exhibited, notwithſtanding the danger that threatened him, magnificent ſhews in the circus; and having cauſed the ſibylline books to be conſulted, had this anſwer, that the great enemy of Rome was doomed to periſh that very day. This he underſtood of Conſtantine; and therefore, quitting the city without delay, he croſſed the bridge, which he had cauſed to be laid over the Tiber, and choſe for the field of battle a place called Saxa rubra, or the red rocks, about nine miles from Rome, drawing up his numerous army between the enemy and the river. Conſtantine, overjoyed to hear that Maxentius had marched out of the city, immediately advanced againſt him; and having encouraged his men with certain hopes of victory, ordered the ſignal to be given for the battle. At the firſt onſet, the Romans and Italians in Maxentius's army, out of hatred to the tyrant, gave way and retired; but the others, chiefly the prætorian guards, the miniſters of his tyranny, ſtood their ground, and fought with great reſolution and intrepidity; ſo that the victory remained doubtful, till Maxentius's cavalry being broken, the tyrant abandoned the field to ſave himſelf acroſs the bridge of boats, and return to the city [m]. Lactantius writes, that the bridge broke down of itſelf during the battle [n]; but Euſebius and Zoſimus tell us, that the engines which faſtened the boats together, giving way under the great weight of the multitude that fled with or before Maxentius, the boats parted, and he was puſhed into the river by thoſe who were flying with him [o]. Be that as it will, all authors agree, that he was taken in the ſnare which he had laid for Conſtantine; and that, falling into the Tiber with his horſe and armour, he was there drowned, with many of his men and ſome of his chief officers.

His dream.

Maxentius defeated, and drowned in the Tiber.

[i] Idem, p. 145. [k] Baron. ad ann. 312. [l] Lact. perſ. c. 44. p. 37. [m] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 676. Anonym. p. 473. Panegyr. 6, 7. p. 145, 170. Lact. p. 38. [n] Lact. ibid. [o] Zoſ. p. 677. Euſeb. vit. Conſt. p. 427.

ficers. His body being with much ado found the next day, buried in the mud, Conſtantine cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, in order to ſhew it to the Roman people, who had not yet ſhewed any joy for his death, apprehending it might be only a falſe report, ſpread on purpoſe to diſcover their inclination and real ſentiments [p]. The ſame day, the twenty-ninth of October, Conſtantine, cauſing the head of Maxentius to be carried upon a pole before his army, made his public entry into the city, attended by the ſenate in a body, and by infinite crowds of people, who flocked from all parts to behold and welcome, with loud ſhouts of joy, their new prince and deliverer. In the ſhews which were exhibited the following days, the people, neglecting the diverſions, kept their eyes immoveably fixed on Conſtantine, returning thanks to the tutelar gods of the city and empire, for giving them, in the room of a cruel and inhuman tyrant, a prince, of whoſe humanity, prudence, and moderation, fame had proclaimed ſo many inſtances [q].

Conſtantine enters Rome.

His clemency after victory.

THE battle was no ſooner over, ſays one of the panegyriſts [r], than Conſtantine ſheathed his ſword, and not only pardoned, but received into favour, even his moſt inveterate enemies [c]; nay, and preferred ſuch of them as he found qualified for public employments. The people demanded with great importunity the death of ſome of the tyrant's chief miniſters, but could not prevail upon the good-natured emperor to comply with their demands, and humour their revengeful temper [d]. All the troops of Maxentius were immediately diſarmed; but Conſtantine reinſtated them ſoon after in their former condition, and employed them againſt the barbarians on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. As for the prætorian guards, a corps ſo famous ever ſince the time of Auguſtus, and ſo powerful as to raiſe to the empire, and depoſe, whom they pleaſed, he either diſbanded them, or reduced them to the rank of common ſoldiers, cauſing their camp, which had been begun by Sejanus, in the reign of Tiberius, to be utterly demoliſhed [e]. Aurelius Victor ſeems to inſinuate, that he would not ſuffer any troops to remain in Rome, thinking them more apt to foment, than ſuppreſs, tumults and ſeditions [f]. Zoſimus writes, that Conſtantine puniſhed ſome, though very few, of thoſe who had been moſt attached

The prætorian guards diſbanded.

[p] Zoſ. ibid. [q] Panegyr. 7. p. 146, 147. Lact. c. 44. p. 38. [r] Panegyr. 6. p. 148. [c] Liban. orat. 12. p. 262. [d] Panegyr. 6. p. 148. [e] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 677. Aur. Vict. p. 526. [f] Idem ibid.

tached to the tyrant [g]; and Nazarius, that he cut off his whole race [h], that is, his ſon, for he had no other iſſue; and of him no mention is made from this time forward, tho' he was alive when his father was drowned. Upon the death of Maxentius, incredible numbers of informers ſtarted up to accuſe ſuch as had adhered to him. But Conſtantine, treading in the footſteps of other good princes, put a ſtop to their accuſations, and the evils that thence threatened the ſtate, by a law enacted this year, in which he declared all informers, and ſuch as attempted to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of private perſons with unjuſt ſuits, guilty of death [i]. He reſtored the ſenate to its former luſtre and authority, filling it with perſons of the greateſt merit, choſen out of all the provinces ſubject to him. He recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed by Maxentius, ſet thoſe at liberty whom he had confined, and by a general edict, remitted to all without diſtinction whatever puniſhment had been inflicted upon them by Maxentius [k]. Not ſatisfied with delivering them from the evils under which they groaned, he exerciſed his generoſity and good-nature to all in ſuch a manner, as to make full amends, in the ſpace of two months, for the calamities they had ſuffered during the tyrant's ſix years reign [l]. As he was now maſter of all Italy, the people crouded from every quarter to Rome, to ſee their benefactor and deliverer, and were received by him with ſuch marks of kindneſs and unfeigned affection, that they returned home with a far greater opinion of his affability, good-nature, and moderation, than fame, which delights in exaggeration, had raiſed in them [m]. The ſenate, out of gratitude, decreed him the firſt place among the emperors, tho' claimed by Maximin, and a triumphal arch, which is ſtill ſtanding, and was raiſed, as we read in the inſcription, in honour of Conſtantine, for having, by divine inſtinct, and with extraordinary courage, delivered, in one combat, the republic from the tyrant and his whole faction. In the ſame inſcription, Conſtantine is ſtyled the deliverer of Rome, and the author of the public tranquillity. This arch is thought not to have been ended and dedicated before the ſolemnity of the tenth year of Conſtantine's reign, that is, before the year 315 [n]. Baronius obſerves, that it was adorned with ſeveral ſtatues, taken from monuments erected to the honour of M. Aurelius

He enacts a ſevere law againſt informers.

Honours conferred upon him by the ſenate.

[g] Zoſ. p. 677. [h] Paneg. 7. p. 157. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. 3. p. 430, 431. [k] Panegyr. 6. p 137. & 7. p. 175. Euſeb. l. i. c. 41. p. 409. [l] Panegyr. 7. p. 174. [m] Idem, p. 173. [n] Noris de Licin. num. c. 3. p. 49, 50.

and other princes, which far excelled in workmanſhip ſuch as were done at this time [o]. The ſenate conſecrated likewiſe to Conſtantine ſeveral magnificent edifices, which had been raiſed at a vaſt charge by Maxentius. Baronius obſerves, that the panegyriſts, in deſcribing the triumphal entry of Conſtantine into Rome, tell us, that he went to the palace and to the ſenate, but take no notice of his viſiting the capitol, tho' that was one of the chief ceremonies of the ſolemnity [p]. Zoſimus writes, that the court being, on occaſion of a certain ſolemnity, obliged to go to the capitol, Conſtantine was ſo far from complying with the antient cuſtom, that he openly deſpiſed and derided both that and the other ceremonies of the religion of the Romans [q]. As he aſcribed the late victory, and all his other ſucceſſes, not to his own conduct or ſtrength, but to God alone, ſoon after his entry into Rome, he cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to himſelf, holding a croſs in the right hand, with an inſcription, importing, that under the influence of that victorious and ſalutary ſign, he had delivered the city from the tyrannical yoke under which it groaned, and reſtored the ſenate and people of Rome to their antient liberty and ſplendor. About the month of November of this year 312, an edict was iſſued in his name, and in the name of Licinius, putting a ſtop to the great perſecution which had been begun by Dioclеſian, and had raged with incredible fury in moſt provinces of the empire for the ſpace of ten years. This edict was ſent by the two emperors to Maximin, the moſt implacable enemy the chriſtians ever had, accompanied by a letter from Conſtantine, wherein the pious emperor acquainted him with the miraculous aſſiſtance he had received from heaven, and the victory he had by that means gained over the tyrant Maxentius. As Maximin yet pretended to live in friendſhip and amity with Conſtantine and Licinius, (for the letter was ſigned by both princes) notwithſtanding his hatred to the chriſtians, he publiſhed in their favour the decree, which is related at length by Euſebius [r], and ſeems to have been enacted this year. That writer, in ſpeaking of the conduct of Conſtantine at this time, tells us, that he treated with the utmoſt reſpect the miniſters of the true God, kept ſeveral of them conſtantly with him, entertained them at his own table, and paid an entire deference to their counſels. He ſeems to have honoured above the reſt Melchiades, biſhop of Rome; for to him he appeals in ſpeaking of the veneration

Pays great reſpect to the croſs.

Cauſes a ſtop to be put to the perſecution.

[o] Baron. ann. 312. Aur. Vict. p. 526. [p] Baron ibid.
[q] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 686. [r] Euſeb. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360.

neration he had for the catholic church, and his ſincere deſire of ſeeing unity reign in it without the leaſt ſchiſm or diviſion [s]. Theophanes mentions ſome conſtitutions ſaid to have been addreſſed by Conſtantine to that holy biſhop, but thought by Theophanes to be ſpurious pieces forged by the Arians [t]. It is certain, that the emperor beſtowed great privileges on the clergy of the city of Rome [u]. We are not told what privileges theſe were; but moſt writers ſuppoſe the emperor to have exempted them from the payment of taxes, from the diſcharging of public offices, not ſuitable to their calling, and ſuch-like burdens. Baronius pretends, that this year, 312, Conſtantine gave the Lateran palace to the biſhop of Rome [w]. But Optatus Milevitanus writes that in the year 313, a council was held there in the apartment of the empreſs Fauſta [x]; whence ſome conclude, that it ſtill belonged to the emperor. However, as it is certain, that it appertained to the ſee of Rome in the fourth century, and that the church adjoining to it was even then ſtyled the baſilic of Conſtantine, we cannot think it improbable, that the palace was a gift of Conſtantine to the biſhops of Rome, and that the church was built by him, as we read in Anaſtatius [y]. As for the famous donation, by which Conſtantine declared the Pope prince and ſovereign of Rome, it is now looked upon by the Roman catholic, as well as the proteſtant, writers, as a forgery of a later date. Baronius is aſhamed to maintain it as a genuine piece, and yet declines declaring it a forgery. It is commonly believed to have been forged in the eighth century by the noted impoſtor Iſidorus [z]. Euſebius tells us, that Conſtantine built a great number of churches, ſupplied them with vaſt riches, and adorned the altars with magnificent offerings [a]. There are ſeveral churches in Rome, and at other places, ſaid to have been founded by Conſtantine; but the authority of Anaſtatius and ſuch-like writers is not of ſufficient weight with us to aſcribe that glory to any in particular. What he writes of the church of St. Peter on the Vatican is confirmed by two verſes, that were formerly to be ſeen in the vault of that church, importing, that it had been founded by Conſtantine [b]. In demoliſhing the antient church, to build that which is at preſent looked upon as the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the

Pays great reſpect to the biſhops and clergy.

Builds a great number of churches.

[s] Euſeb. hiſt. l. x. p. 391. [t] Theoph. p. 14. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. 16. t. 2. l. xiv, p. 40. [w] Baron. ann. 312. [x] Optat. l. i. p. 44. [y] Anaſt. c. 34. p. 13. [z] Vide P. Pagi, p. 324. [a] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. i. c. 4. p. 429. [b] Baron. ann. 324. Anaſt. c. 34. p. 15.

the world, the name Conſtantine was diſcovered in ſeveral places. In ſome monuments, thought to be of the ſixth century, we read, that Conſtantine built at Rome the baſilic of the Seſſorian palace, in which he placed the true croſs, about the year 326, whence it was called the church of the holy croſs [c]. In ſome antient inſcriptions, the church of St. Agnes is ſaid to have been built by Conſtantine, at the requeſt of his daughter Conſtantia, or rather Conſtantina, who is ſuppoſed to have been buried there in 354 [d]. Theophanes writes, that Conſtantine no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of Rome, than he cauſed the reliques of the holy martyrs to be carefully gathered and honourably interred [e]. He received, continues Euſebius in deſcribing his conduct, all ſtrangers with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and made them rich preſents. Not thinking it enough to relieve the common beggars with money, he cauſed them to be maintained and cloathed at his own expence. To ſuch as were come of noble, but decayed, families, he was rather magnificent than liberal, beſtowing upon ſome of them eſtates, and profitable employments upon others. He took under his protection orphans and widows, ſupporting them with great generoſity, and eſtabliſhing rich funds for their maintenance. He married to wealthy citizens, and perſons of diſtinction, many young women, who were deſtitute of friends and relations, allowing them fortunes out of the exchequer proportionable to the eſtates of their huſbands. In ſhort, all who had the good fortune to live under him, felt the effects of his generoſity and good-nature. No one ever implored his aſſiſtance in vain; no one ever departed diſſatisfied from his preſence. He was often heard to ſay, that whoever was allowed to approach his prince, ought to receive ſome favour or other at his hands; that it was incumbent upon the prince to make it his chief ſtudy to content all who applied to him: hence to thoſe, againſt whom juſtice obliged him to pronounce in the judging of cauſes, he uſually gave large ſums, or by ſome other means made good the loſſes they ſuſtained; ſo that his generoſity was no leſs extolled and commended by thoſe who loſt their ſuit, than his juſtice was by ſuch as carried it. Thus far Euſebius *.

His generoſity and good-nature to all.

The indiction.

THE indictions, that is, a cycle or revolution of fifteen years, made uſe of in reckoning time, are ſuppoſed to have begun about the end of the preſent year 312. The origin of

[c] Boll. 18. Feb. p. 69. [d] Idem, p. 70. [e] Theoph. p. 11.

* Euſeb. l. i. c. 43. p. 429, 430. & l. iv. c. 4. p. 528.

of this cycle, and the etymology of its name, has occaſioned great diſputes among modern writers. The reader will find in Du Cange a liſt of the authors who have written on this ſubject [f]. Conſtantine having reduced the time, which the Romans were obliged to ſerve, to fifteen years, ſays Baronius, he was conſequently obliged every fifteen years, to impoſe, or indicere, according to the Latin expreſſion, an extraordinary tax for the paying of thoſe who were diſcharged; and hence came this new cycle, which, from the Latin word indicere, was ſtyled indiction [g]. The opinion of Baronius, though in reality a bare conjecture, ſeems to Petavius more probable than any thing that has been ſaid by others on the ſame ſubject [h]; for we know nothing for certain touching the origin, name, or author of this cycle. There are three kinds of indictions, viz. the Cæſarean or imperial indictions, which begin on the twenty-fourth of September, and were long made uſe of in France and Germany [i]; the Conſtantinopolitan indictions, beginning with the year of the Greeks, on the firſt day of September; and the papal indictions, or indictions of the popes, who, ſome centuries ſince, reckon from the firſt of January of the year 313. Petavius ſeems to think, that the Conſtantinopolitan indiction was generally uſed among the Greeks as early as the reign of the emperor Anaſtatius, and perhaps of Theodoſius the younger; nay, he is inclined to believe, that the indiction originally began on the firſt of September [k]. And truly, from various paſſages of the hiſtory of the fifth century, it appears, that the emperors of Conſtantinople followed this ſtyle, and that it prevailed all over Syria, and even at Rome [l]. Some have reckoned the indictions from the year 314, or from September of the year 313, but Petavius [m] and cardinal Noris ſhew, that we ought to count them from the month of September of 312, though we have no certain proof that they firſt began then; for ſome pretend, that they were in uſe in the time of Julius Cæſar, or Auguſtus [n]; which we can hardly believe, ſince no mention is made of indictions by any author who flouriſhed before the reign of Conſtantine. The firſt thing

[f] Vide Chron. Paſchale, ſeu Alexandrin. ex edit. Cangiana, Pariſ. ann. 1688. [g] Baron. ann. 312. [h] Petav. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 40. p. 365. [i] Vide Johan. Forbes, inſtitut. hiſtorico-theologic. l. v. c. 20. p. 268. & P. Pagi, ann. 312. [k] Petav. p, 564. [l] Noris, epoch. p. 340—342. [m] Petav. p. 363. [n] Noris ibid. [o] Vide Petav. c. 39. p. 360—362. & Noris, epoch. p. 169, 171.

thing we find dated by them is the council of Antioch, held, as we read in Athanaſius [p], if that paſſage is genuine, which Petavius queſtions [q], in the year 341, and in the fourteenth indiction. However, it is certain, that St. Ambroſe mentitions the indiction in a letter of the year 386, and obſerves, that it began in the month of November [r]. From that time forward it is common in the code, where mention is made of the indiction of the year 367, and in other monuments both of ſacred and profane hiſtory; but the indictions, as cardinal Noris obſerves, are ſeldom marked right [s]. Onuphrius quotes a book on the indictions, by one Chyrius Fortunatianus, whom he takes to be the biſhop of Aquileia of that name, ſo famous in the time of Conſtantine's children [t]. But Petavius thinks there never was any ſuch book; and likewiſe rejects, as quite groundleſs, the opinion of thoſe who tell us, that the council of Nice commanded all biſhops to mark the indiction in their letters [u]. He even ſuſpects the council of Rome, ſaid to have been held under pope Julius, and dated the ſixth indiction [w]. The reader muſt obſerve, that the firſt year of this cycle is called the firſt indiction; the ſecond year the ſecond indiction, and ſo of the reſt, till the fifteenth; after which, the cycle is begun anew, and the years counted in the ſame manner.

Maximin perſecutes the chriſtians.

During the war between Conſtantine and Maxentius in the weſt, Maximin, who had enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the eaſt ever ſince his agreement with Licinius, began anew the perſecution, which the edict of Galerius, in favour of the chriſtians, had obliged him to interrupt for ſome time. In a reſcript addreſſed to the inhabitants of Tyre he had bragged of the happineſs of his reign, which, he ſaid, had never been interrupted or diſturbed by wars, ſtorms, dearth of proviſions, contagions, or earthquakes. This exemption from the evils that afflicted other parts of the empire, he aſcribed to the great care he took in promoting the worſhip of the gods, and perſecuting with fire and ſword their enemies the chriſtians [x]. But providence did not fail to humble his pride, and puniſh, in a very remarkable manner, his cruelty to thoſe who deſerved it the leaſt. For the very next winter proving exceeding dry, the drought produced a famine when no-ways expected, and the famine a dreadful plague, attend-

His dominions afflicted with many dreadful calamities.

ed

[p] Athan. de ſyn. p. 894. [q] Petav. p. 363. [r] Idem, p. 364. [s] Noris, epoch. p. 342. [t] Onuph. p. 265. [u] Petav. p. 365. [w] Concil. tom. ii. p. 527. [x] Euſeb. l. ix. c. 7. p. 353, 354.

ed with nauſeous ſores, which breaking out in the face, and eſpecially about the eyes, deprived of ſight an infinite number of men, women, and children. This Euſebius, with a great deal of reaſon, looks upon as a puniſhment from heaven upon Maximin, who ſparing, out of his great mercy, to uſe his expreſſion, the lives of ſeveral chriſtians, cauſed their right eyes to be put out, in order to diſtinguiſh them by that mark of infamy from his other ſubjects [y]. To the famine and plague, that ravaged the dominions of Maximin with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, was added a deſtructive war. For the tyrant, attempting to oblige the Armenians, who had embraced the true religion, to offer victims to his falſe deities, forced them to take arms in their own defence, and from antient friends and allies, to become enemies of the Roman people and empire [z]. This muſt be underſtood of Armenia Major; for the people of Armenia Minor were not allies, but ſubjects, of the empire. This is the firſt inſtance we find in hiſtory of a religious war, or a war for the ſake of religion. As to the iſſue of it, we are only told, that, in the courſe of this war, Maximin and his army ſuffered much, our hiſtorian being wholly taken up in deſcribing the inexpreſſible miſeries that attended the plague and the famine, in all the provinces ſubject to Maximin, and the charitable conduct of the chriſtians towards their greateſt enemies, during the time of their diſtreſs [a]. Maximin was obliged, as we related above, by the decree of Conſtantine and Licinius, to put a ſtop to the perſecution this year, not daring yet openly to oppoſe them.

THE next conſuls were Conſtantine and Licinius, both for the third time. The former did not, it ſeems, ſtay at Rome above two months, as appears from a law which he publiſhed at Milan, dated the tenth of March [b]. He was met in that city by Licinius, and there he married to him his ſiſter Conſtantia, whom he had betrothed to him before his war with Maxentius [c]. They both wrote to Diocleſian, inviting him to aſſiſt at that ſolemnity; but he begging to be excuſed on account of his age, they highly reſented it, and ſent him a ſecond letter, filled with menaces, which haſtened his death; for he died ſoon after, in the month of July of this year 313 [d]. The two emperors, in this interview, enacted

Conſtantine marries his ſiſter Conſtantia to Licinius.

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem, p. 355. [a] Euſeb. ibid. p. 553—557. [b] Cod. Theodoſ. t. 5. p. 114. [c] Lact. perſ. c. 45. p. 38. Vict. epit. p. 545. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 677. Anonym. p. 473. [d] Vict. epit. p. 542.

acted an edict in favour of the chriſtians, which is related at length by Euſebius [e]. Conſtantine was ſoon obliged to leave Milan, and haſten into Gaul to make head againſt the Franks, who, forgetful of the treaty which they had made with him a few years before, were aſſembling their forces with a deſign to invade the Roman dominions. The emperor arrived while they were preparing to paſs the Rhine; but finding they withdrew, awed by his preſence, he gave out, that the Germans too were ready to break into Gaul; and leaving ſome troops concealed among the woods at a ſmall diſtance from the river, retired with the reſt. The Franks no ſooner heard of his departure, than they paſſed the Rhine; when the Romans, riſing unexpectedly out of their ambuſcade, fell upon them before they could draw up their forces, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to repaſs the river in the utmoſt confuſion. Conſtantine, not allowing them time to recover themſelves from their conſternation, entered their country, laid waſte their lands, burnt their habitations, and, having taken an incredible number of captives, expoſed them all to be devoured by the wild beaſts, in the ſhews which he exhibited on account of his victory [f]. This ſeverity towards a perfidious and faithleſs enemy, whom no ties could bind, is commended by his panegyriſt; but whether it anſwers the character of a mild, generous, and good-natured prince, which all the writers of thoſe times give him, is what we leave our readers to judge. Cruelty, even towards an enemy, however treacherous, was not, at leaſt, countenanced by the religion which he profeſſed. For this victory he took the title of Francicus [g]. Conſtantine was, as appears from the date of ſeveral laws [h], in the months of November and December of this year, at Treves; during which time the panegyric of the anonymous writer is thought to have been pronounced [i], in which the orator extols the victory, which he had lately gained over Maxentius; and in the end of his ſpeech addreſſes himſelf to the great and only true God; but at the ſame time plainly ſhews, that he had not yet wholly renounced the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the Gentiles. He obſerves, that certain barbarians, who inhabited a diſtant country, had ſubmitted to Conſtantine; but as to this particular, there is a profound ſilence among hiſtorians. This year, Conſtantine granted great privileges to catholic churches in Africa, which province had ſubmitted to him upon the news

Overcomes the Franks.

He beſtows great privileges on the clergy and the church.

[e] Euſeb. l. x. c. 5. p. 388. [f] Valeſ. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 23.
[g] Idem, p. 25. [h] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 7. [i] Paneg. 6.

news of the death of Maxentius. In a reſcript addreſſed to Anulinus, whom he had appointed proconſul of Africa, he commands him to exempt the clergy belonging to the catholic church there, of which Cæcilianus, biſhop of Carthage, was the head, from all civil employments, that they might not be diverted from the ſacred functions of their office. Nothing, ſays he in that reſcript, ſpeaking of the clergy, will more contribute to the welfare of the ſtate, than their applying themſelves wholly to the worſhip of God [k]. This ordinance was notified by Anulinus to Cæcilianus, as appears from his anſwer to Conſtantine, dated the fifteenth of April of this year 313. As this exemption was granted only to the catholic clergy, the heretics, probably the Donatiſts, attempted to diſturb them in the enjoyment of it; which obliged Conſtantine to confirm the privileges he had granted them by a new edict, dated the twenty-firſt of October of this year. His exempting the clergy thus from the public offices in the cities, proved very burdenſome to the other inhabitants, and many entered themſelves among them on purpoſe to enjoy that privilege: the emperor therefore, by another edict, put a ſtop to the encreaſe of the clergy, ordaining, that none ſhould be admitted among them but to ſupply the places of others deceaſed; and that thoſe, who were admitted, ſhould be perſons not qualified by their birth or wealth for the firſt and moſt chargeable employments. In virtue of this edict, ſeveral cities attempted to oblige ſuch of the clergy as were qualified for thoſe offices to diſcharge them, though they had been ordained before it was enacted; which Conſtantine prohibited by a reſcript, dated the eighteenth of July of the year 320. But after all, his forbidding perſons of rank and eſtates to enter themſelves among the clergy, in order to eaſe the laymen, was afterwards looked upon by other emperors, ſome ſay by Conſtantine himſelf, as an affront and injury offered to the church; and therefore that edict was annulled, and perſons of the higheſt rank were allowed to enter into holy orders, but upon condition of their reſigning to others, either their whole eſtates, or the greateſt part of them; which was deemed ſuitable to that diſintereſtedneſs which the church requires in her miniſters [m]. Some writers are of opinion, that Conſtantine at the ſame time exempted the church-lands from all taxes and burdens whatſoever, there being mention made of this immunity, as already eſtabliſhed, in a law of the year 315;

[k] Euſeb. l. xx. c. 6. p. 392.
[l] Cod. Theod. t. 6. p. 21.
[m] Idem, t. 6. p. 23, &c.

315; but others pretend this law to be of a later date, and aſcribe the above-mentioned exemption to Conſtantius, the ſon of Conſtantine [n]. We have a letter written this year by Conſtantine to Cæcilianus, biſhop of Carthage, acquainting him, that he deſigned to put into the hands of the miniſters of the catholic church a conſiderable ſum, to be diſtributed by them among the indigent chriſtians in Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania; and that with this deſign he had ordered Urſus, his receiver in Africa, to pay him a certain ſum, to be diſtributed according to the tickets which he ſhould receive from Oſius: he adds, that if the ſum he mentions was not by him thought ſufficient, he might recur to Heraclides, another of his receivers, whom he had enjoined to ſupply him with what monies he wanted for ſo pious an uſe [o]. Oſius, mentioned in this letter, is, without all doubt, the great Oſius, biſhop of Corduba, to whoſe counſels Conſtantine ever paid the utmoſt regard in whatever related to the affairs of the church. In the ſame letter he acquaints Cæcilianus, that by word of mouth, he had ordered Anulinus, proconſul of Africa, and Patricius, lieutenant in that province, to check and ſuppreſs thoſe who diſturbed the peace of the catholic church there, meaning, we ſuppoſe, the Donatiſts, who had formed a powerful party againſt Cæcilianus himſelf. Not ſatisfied with the orders he had given to his officers, in order to put an end to the diſturbances raiſed by thoſe obſtinate ſchiſmatics, and maintain the unity of the church, he aſſembled, on the ſecond of October of this year, a council at Rome; and another, far more famous, the year following, at Arles in Gaul [p].

Gives ſums to the clergy to be diſtributed among the indigent chriſtians.

His zeal for the unity of the church.

When Conſtantine left Milan to oppoſe the Franks, threatening to invade Gaul, Licinius returned to Illyricum, where he was ſoon after attacked by Maximin, who, taking umbrage at his marrying the ſiſter of Conſtantine, and jealous of the good underſtanding that paſſed between thoſe two princes, reſolved to deſtroy them, and to begin with Licinius, whoſe ruin he hoped to compaſs, while the other was employed in Gaul againſt the Franks and Germans. With this view, he aſſembled in great haſte his forces; and leaving Syria, marched in the depth of winter into Bithynia; and from thence paſſing into Thrace, laid ſiege to Byzantium, which, after having held out eleven days, was obliged to ſubmit. He attacked Heraclea next, which made a vigorous defence, but was

War between Licinius and Maximin.

[n] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 11. [o] Euſeb. l. x c. 6. p. 393. [p] Idem ibid.

was in the end taken by ſtorm. In the mean time, Licinius, having drawn together what forces he could, took the field, not with a deſign to venture an engagement, (for he had with him only thirty thouſand men, whereas Maximin's army was twice that number) but to ſtop the progreſs of his conqueſts. However, the two armies meeting between Heraclea and Adrianopolis, Licinius, if we may give credit to Lactantius [q], was admoniſhed in a dream to give the enemy battle, and aſſured of victory, provided he implored the aſſiſtance of the true God, by a prayer which was ſuggeſted to him in his ſleep. Licinius remembering it when he awaked, dictated it to his ſecretary, and cauſed many copies of it to be diſtributed among his ſoldiers, whom he took care to acquaint with his dream; which inſpired them with new courage and an eager deſire of engaging the enemy, over whom they promiſed themſelves certain victory, ſince heaven had declared in their favour. This prayer is related at length by Lactantius [r]. Licinius deſigned to give battle on the firſt of May, the day on which Maximin ended the eighth year of his reign. But Maximin having drawn up his army in battle-array on the laſt day of April, Licinius could no longer put off the engagement. When the two armies were in preſence of one another, the officers and ſoldiers of Licinius, quitting their ſhields and helmets, with their hands lifted up to heaven, repeated three times the above-mentioned prayer. Afterwards the two princes had an interview; but Maximin hearkening to no terms, they parted, and ordered the ſignal for battle to be given [s]. Zoſimus writes, that Licinius's men at firſt gave ground and retired; but ſoon after returned to the charge and carried the day [t]. But Lactantius [u] and Euſebius [w] tell us, that the army of Maximin was put to flight at the firſt onſet, and purſued with great ſlaughter by the conqueror. Moſt of his troops, eſpecially the legions, were cut in pieces, and the reſt, his guards not excepted, abandoning him, ſubmitted to Licinius. Maximin himſelf, quitting his purple robes, fled in the diſguiſe of a ſlave, and, croſſing the Boſphorus, reached Nicomedia on the firſt of May about ſun-ſet, having in the ſpace of twenty-four hours travelled an hundred and ſixty miles. He did not ſtop at Nicomedia; but, taking with him his wife and children, continued his flight into Cappadocia, where he

Licinius's dream or viſion.

He gains a complete victory over Maximin.

[q] Lact. perſ. c. 46. p. 39. [r] Idem, ibid. p. 40. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 677, [u] Lact. p 41. [w] Euſeb. l. ix. c 10. p. 363.

he halted, and reſumed the purple, being met there by ſome troops that were marching from Syria to his aſſiſtance [x]. Licinius entering Bithynia a few days after the battle, was received every-where with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable, eſpecially at Nicomedia, where he cauſed ſolemn thanks to be returned to the Almighty for the ſucceſs with which he had bleſſed his arms; and then ordered the edict, which had been enacted by him and Conſtantine at Milan, in favour of the chriſtians, to be publiſhed; which was done accordingly on the laſt day of June of this year 313, that is, about ten years and four months after the edict, which gave riſe to this long and bloody perſecution, had been firſt publiſhed in the ſame city, by Dioclefian and Galerius [y]. Licinius had no ſooner put a ſtop to the perſecution by this edict, than he left Nicomedia, and purſuing Maximin, arrived at the ſtreights of mount Taurus, where he had reſolved to make a ſtand; but his courage failing him at the approach of the victorious army, he retired with great precipitation to Tarſus, propoſing to paſs from thence into Egypt, and raiſe a new army there. But diſtruſting the troops he had with him, and apprehending they deſigned to deliver him up to Licinius, he altered his mind, and reſolved, ſince he found no means of making his eſcape, to put an end to his life by poiſon; which, however, had not the deſired effect, but brought upon him a dreadful diſtemper, whereof the unaccountable ſymptoms are deſcribed at length by Euſebius, and Lactantius [a], who aſcribe it to divine vengeance. He was tormented night and day with inexpreſſible pains; his eyes and tongue putrefied, a puniſhment juſtly inflicted upon him for the blaſphemies he had uttered againſt heaven, and his cauſing the eyes of many chriſtians to be put out; an inviſible fire, to uſe the expreſſion of Euſebius [b], was kindled in his bowels, which, being attended with unrelenting torments, reduced him in a few days to a ſkeleton; his whole body was covered over with a kind of leproſy, and devoured by ſwarms of vermin: He could not be prevailed upon to take any nouriſhment, but greedily ſwallowed handfuls of earth, as if he had hoped by that means to aſſwage his pains, and allay the hunger, which tormented him without intermiſſion [c]. Euſebius tells us, that reflecting in this condition on his unjuſt conduct towards the chriſtians,

Licinius becomes maſter of all Bithynia.

The unaccountable diſtemper of Maximin.

[x] Euſeb. Lact. Zoſ. ibid. [y] Lact. perſ. c. 48. p. 41.
[z] Euſeb. l. ix. c. 10. p. 361. [a] Lact. perſ. c. 49. p. 43.
[b] Euſeb. p. 365. [c] Euſeb. ibid. Lact. p. 44. Hier. in Zachar. xiv. ver. 12.

chriſtians, and aſcribing the agonies he ſuffered to his cruelty towards them, he cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, more favourable to them than that which he had been forced by Conſtantine and Licinius to enact the year before. But as his repentance, ſays Euſebius, was not ſincere, it obtained no eaſe to his torments, which at length put an end to his life at Tarſus in Cilicia, about the middle of Auguſt, after he had reigned nine years with the title of Cæſar, and five years and ſix months with that of Auguſtus [d]. He left ſeveral children behind him, whom he had created Cæſars, as appears from ſeveral antient coins [e]; but their names are not mentioned by hiſtorians. By his death, Licinius became maſter of all the Eaſtern provinces; ſo that the whole empire was now divided between him and Conſtantine. Maximin was declared by the edicts of the two ſurviving princes a public enemy, and treated as ſuch; for his ſtatues were pulled down, his images defaced, his name razed out of all public inſcriptions, and ſuch monuments as had been erected to his honour overturned and levelled with the ground. His children and relations were ſentenced to death and publicly executed; his wife was thrown into the Orontes at Antioch and drowned; all his miniſters and favourites were involved in his ruin, and among the reſt Culcianus, who had put a great number of chriſtians to death in Egypt; Firmilianus, who had ſignalized his hatred againſt them in Paleſtine; and Peuceces, whom the tyrant had favoured above the reſt, and created three times conſul. Licinius cauſed likewiſe a celebrated magician, by name Theotechnes, and all his aſſociates to be publicly executed at Antioch, after having obliged them to diſcover and own the impoſtures, with which they had led aſtray the ignorant populace, and ſtirred them up againſt the chriſtians [f]. Candidianus, the ſon of Galerius, being introduced to Licinius at Nicomedia, was received by him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and treated for ſome time in a manner ſuitable to his rank; but when he thought himſelf ſafe, he was, by the order of Licinius, murdered with Severianus, the ſon of Severus, killed, as we have related above, in the year 307. Valeria, the daughter of Dioclefian and widow of Galerius, who had adopted Candidianus, was no ſooner informed of his death, than ſhe withdrew from Antioch with her mother Priſca, and wandered about in diſguiſe and undiſcovered for the ſpace of fifteen months; but being

His death.

All his friends, relations, and favourites, put to death by Licinius.

[d] Chron. Alex. p. 456. [e] Noris de Licin. c. 2. p. 48.
[f] Euſeb. l. ix. c. 11. p. 366, 367. & de Pall. c. 18. p. 342.

at laſt known at Theſſalonica, ſhe was ſeized there, and by Licinius's order publicly executed with her mother, and both their bodies thrown into the ſea [g]. Thus were the families of theſe three cruel perſecutors of the church, Dioclesian, Galerius, and Maximin, utterly cut off and extirminated. Zoſimus tells us [h], that the ſecular games ought to have been celebrated at Rome this year, but were neglected by Conſtantine; which was no-ways pleaſing to the pagans, who looked upon them as one of the chief ſupports of the empire, and a powerful preſervative againſt plagues, wars, earthquakes, and other calamities, though the laſt, celebrated by Severus an hundred and ten years before, in the conſulate of Chilo and Libo, had not, as we have ſeen, kept off theſe evils.

The death of Valeria and Priſca.

THE next conſuls were Rufius Voluſianus, the ſecond time, and Annianus. Conſtantine paſſed the firſt months of this year at Treves, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws [i]. By one, which was publiſhed at Rome on the twenty-fourth of April, he declared all thoſe free, who had been condemned to ſlavery by Maxentius, commanding, under the ſevereſt penalties, ſuch as held them in captivity to reſtore them forthwith to their antient liberty [k]. From Treves the emperor paſſed to Arles, where he ordered a general council to meet of all the biſhops in the weſt, in order to ſuppreſs the Donatiſts, who raiſed great diſturbances in the church. The letter he wrote to the council is a manifeſt proof of his piety, of his reſpect for the clergy, and his zeal for the unity of the church [l]. He was obliged to leave Gaul before the biſhops met, a war breaking out this year between him and Licinius, of which hiſtorians give us but a confuſed account, ſome blaming Licinius as the author of it, and others Conſtantine. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, lays the whole blame on Licinius. According to him, Conſtantine had married his ſiſter Anaſtaſia to Baſſianus, whom he deſigned to create Cæſar, and appoint governor of Italy; but not caring to take this ſtep without the approbation of Licinius, he diſpatched one Conſtantius to acquaint him with his deſign and obtain his conſent. But having diſcovered at the ſame time, that Licinius attempted to ſtir up Baſſianus againſt him by means of Senecio, the brother of Baſſianus, he wrote a letter to Licinius, upbraiding him with treachery, and inſiſting

War between Conſtantine and Licinius.

[g] Idem, c. 50, 51. p. 44, 45. [h] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 671. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p 8, 9. [k] Cod. Juſt. 7. t. 22. leg. 3. p. 665. [l] Concil. tom. 1. p. 1431.

ſiſting upon his delivering up to him Senecio, who had taken refuge in his court. Licinius was ſo far from complying with his requeſt, that, reſenting the letter he had written to him, he cauſed his ſtatues to be pulled down in Æmona, a city of Upper Pannonia. Hereupon Conſtantine, having drawn together in great haſte a body of twenty thouſand men, marched into Illyricum, hoping to ſurprize Licinius. But he found him already in the field, with an army far more numerous than his own. However, he advanced into Pannonia; and the two armies meeting in the neighbourhood of Cibalæ, an engagement enſued, in which Licinius was utterly defeated, with the loſs of twenty thouſand of his beſt troops. It appears from Zoſimus, who relates the moſt minute particulars of this battle, that it was fought on the eighth of October of this year, 314 [m]. Licinius fled to Sirmium, and from thence, with his wife, his children, and treaſures, into Dacia, where he raiſed to the dignity of Cæſar one of his officers, by name Valens. From Dacia, he paſſed into Thrace, and there aſſembled a ſecond army, far more numerous and powerful than the former. In the mean time, Conſtantine made himſelf maſter of Cibalæ and Sirmium; and having cauſed the bridge over the Save to be repaired, which Licinius had ordered to be broken down, he purſued the enemy into Thrace. Upon his arrival at Philippopolis, he was met by a deputation from Licinius, with propoſals for an accommodation; but Conſtantine inſiſting upon his depoſing Valens, and Licinius obſtinately refuſing to comply with that article, a ſecond battle was fought in the plains of Mardia in Thrace, which laſted from morning to night, when both armies retired, according to Zoſimus, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide [n]. Aurelius Victor [o] and the anonymous author of Conſtantine's life [p] write, that Conſtantine would have gained a complete victory, had not night intervening ſaved Licinius's army from utter deſtruction. The next day, Licinius ſent one Meſtrianus, who is ſtyled comes or count, to Conſtantine, to negotiate a peace, which was in the end concluded upon the following terms: 1. That Valens ſhould be forthwith depoſed, and reduced to his former condition. 2. That Syria, Egypt, Lybia, Aſia, Thrace, Mœſia, and the leſſer Scythia, ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of Licinius; but that Illyricum, Dardania, Macedon, Greece,

Licinius defeated in Pannonia,

And in Thrace.

The articles of their agreement.

[m] Anonym. p. 473. Zoſ. l. i. p. 678. Eutrop. p. 588. Euſeb. p. 210. Vict. epit. p. 543. [n] Zoſ. p. 679. [o] Aur. Vict, p. 526. [p] Anonym. p. 474.

Greece, and Mœſia, ſhould be yielded to Conſtantine [q]. Mœſia is named in both diviſions, there being then two provinces of that name, the one, known at preſent by the name of Servia, belonging to Illyricum, and the other, now Bulgaria, to Thrace. Peace being thus concluded, the two emperors entered the following year, 315, on their fourth conſulſhip. Conſtantine, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, paſſed the beſt part of this year in Illyricum and Greece, which had been yielded to him by the late treaty. By one of theſe laws, dated the firſt of Auguſt, he forbids the crucifying of criminals, and entirely aboliſhes that ſort of puniſhment, though common among the Romans till his time, eſpecially with reſpect to ſlaves. This prohibition is generally looked upon by the fathers as an inſtance of his reſpect for the croſs and paſſion of our Saviour [r]. By another law, enacted at Naiſſus on the thirteenth of May, he commands the officers of the revenue to receive, and educate, at his expence ſuch children as ſhall be brought to them by their parents, as not being in a condition to provide for them by their own labour and induſtry [s]. He ordered this law to be engraved on braſs, and to be publicly hung up in all the cities of Italy. In the year 322, he extended it to Africa, enjoining the proconſuls, governors, and receivers of the revenue there, to ſupply with corn out of the public granaries ſuch parents as they ſhall find incable of maintaining their children. By a third law publiſhed this year at Sirmium, and dated the ſecond of June, he forbids, on pain of death, the attaching for debt either ſlaves or cattle employed in tilling the ground [t]. From Illyricum, Conſtantine went to Aquileia, and from thence to Rome, where he was on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt and the thirteenth of September, as appears from a law addreſſed to Probinus, or rather Probianus, proconſul of Africa, and from an edict addreſſed to the people of Rome [u]. On the eighteenth of October, he was at Naiſſus in Dacia; for the law bears that date, which he publiſhed there, forbidding, under pain of being burnt alive, the Jews and their patriarchs, to moleſt ſuch as ſhould abandon their ſect to embrace the true religion, and inflicting ſevere puniſhments on thoſe who ſhould embrace the Jewiſh religion.

Several laws enacted by Conſtantine.

[q] Idem ibid. Sozom. l. i. c. 2. p. 403. Zoſ. p. 779. [r] Vide Auguſt. ſerm. 88. c. 9. p. 473. [s] Cod. Theod. 11. t. 27. l. i. p 188. [t] Cod. Theodoſ. l. i. p. 224, 225. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 10.

religion [w]. Conſtantine paſſed almoſt the whole year enſuing, when Sabinus and Rufinus were conſuls, in Gaul; for on the eleventh of January he was at Treves, on the fourteenth of May at Vienna in Dauphiny, and on the thirteenth of Auguſt at Arles, where his wife Fauſta was delivered of a ſon, whom ſome take to be Conſtantine his eldeſt ſon, and others to be his youngeſt ſon Conſtans. This year, the emperor enacted a law, dated the eighth of June, and addreſſed to a biſhop, by name Protogenes, probably the celebrated biſhop of Sardica, by which he gave leave to all maſters to infranchiſe their ſlaves in the preſence of the chriſtian people aſſembled with their biſhops or paſtors in the church, without recurring, as was preſcribed by the Roman laws, to the prætors and conſuls. Thus the manumitting of ſlaves, which before was attended with great difficulties and no ſmall expence, became eaſy and no-ways chargeable, the maſters being no longer obliged to recur to the prætors and conſuls at Rome, but only to their own biſhops and clergy [x]. In the month of October of this year, the emperor was at Milan, and there heard the complaints of the Donatiſts againſt Cæcilianus biſhop of Carthage [y]; and on the fourth of December at Sardica, where he enacted a law, commanding perſons even of the greateſt diſtinction, when guilty of rapes, extortions, or other crimes of that nature, to be tried by the governors of the provinces and executed, without being allowed to appeal to the governor of Rome, or the emperor [z]. This ſeverity was judged neceſſary to check the inſolence of the nobility, who began to oppreſs the people in a moſt tyrannical manner, eſpecially in the remote provinces. The following year 317, when Gallicanus and Baſſus were conſuls, Conſtantine and Licinius agreed to create three Cæſars, viz. Criſpus and Conſtantine, the ſons of the emperor Conſtantine, and Licinius or Licinianus, the ſon of Licinius by Conſtantia, the ſiſter of Conſtantine. This promotion was made, according to the beſt chronologers, on the firſt of March, and was afterwards notified to the armies, and publiſhed in all the cities of the empire [a]. The ſon of Licinius is ſtyled on the antient coins Valerius Licinianus Licinius, and

Fauſta delivered of a ſon at Arles.

Criſpus, Conſtantine, and young Licinius created Cæſars.

[w] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 1. p. 214. [x] Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 111. Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 414. [y] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 13. [z] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 3, 4. [a] Anonym. p. 474. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 679. Hier. chron. Liban. orat. 3. p. 111.

alſo Licinius the younger [b], and was but an infant, about twenty months old, when raiſed to the dignity of Cæſar [c]. Criſpus, Conſtantine's ſon by his firſt wife, was born, according to ſome, in the year 300, according to others in 296, ſo that he was at this time in the ſeventeenth or twenty-firſt year of his age [d]. Conſtantine had committed the care of his education to the celebrated Lactantius, a perſon equally capable of inſtructing him in the ſciences, and inſpiring him with ſentiments of piety. Euſebius ſtyles him an excellent prince, a prince beloved of heaven, a ſon in no reſpect inferior to his father [e]. He is called in the antient inſcriptions Flavius Valerius Julius Criſpus [f]. This year was born, according to the common opinion, on the ſeventh, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth, of Auguſt, in Illyricum, and according to ſome in the city of Sirmium, Conſtantius, Conſtantine's ſecond ſon by Fauſta the ſiſter of Maxentius [g]. Conſtantine paſſed the following year, when Licinius was conſul, the fifth time, with Criſpus, partly in Illyricum, and partly in the neighbourhood of Rome, and revived the antient Roman law againſt parricides, which had been abrogated by Pompey the Great, comprehending under the name of parricide the murder, not only of a father and mother, but likewiſe of a ſon [h]. The next conſuls were Conſtantine, the fifth time, and Licinius Cæſar. Conſtantine paſſed this and the three following years in Illyricum; and by ſeveral laws enacted there, and addreſſed to the governors of Rome and to the Roman people, endeavoured to reform the many abuſes which had long prevailed in the metropolis of the empire. By one of theſe laws, publiſhed at Rome on the firſt of February, he gives the pagans leave to conſult the aruſpices, that is, thoſe who pretended to foretel events from the entrails of victims; but forbids the aruſpices, as well as the other pagan prieſts, to enter the houſes of private perſons, though their friends or relations, upon pain of being burnt alive: ſuch as received them were by this law to forfeit their eſtates, and be baniſhed for life; the informers were not to be puniſhed in this, as in other caſes, but amply rewarded for their zeal [i]. The end of this law was to prevent

Conſtantius born.

Laws againſt the aruſpices.

[b] Goltz. p. 130. Noris de Licin. c. 1. p. 39, 40. [c] Vict. epit. p. 543. [d] Zoſ. p. 679. Panegyr. 7. p. 177. [e] Euſeb. l. x. c. 9 p. 398. [f] Goltz. p. 129. [g] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 13. Du Change Byzant. famil. p. 47. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 15. p. 112, 113. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 1, 2, p. 114, 115.

vent all private ſacrifices and conſultations. By another law, dated the ſeventeenth of December, he commands thoſe, who ſhall conſult the aruſpices or other diviners, to ſend their anſwers to him [k]. The emperor continued this year at Sirmium till the twenty-ſecond of June, as appears from the dates of his laws; was at Naiſſus on the fifteenth of July, at Milan on the ſeventeenth of September, at Aquileia on the twelfth of October, at Sardica on the twenty-ſixth of November, and again at Sirmium on the firſt of December [l]. The following year, Conſtantine entered upon his ſixth conſulſhip, having his ſon Conſtantine for his collegue. This year he abrogated the Papian and all other laws againſt celibacy; but ſuffered thoſe who had children to enjoy the privileges granted them by thoſe laws [m]. He annulled another law, impowering the creditors to ſeize on the eſtates and effects of their debtors; and at the ſame time declared, that ſuch as had forfeited their eſtates by that law, might redeem them by paying the ſums they owed [n]. By a law dated the firſt of February, he forbids the officers of the revenue to puniſh with rods, or confine to the public priſons, ſuch as were backward in paying the common taxes; but orders them to be ſecured in places where every one might ſee and viſit them [o]. This law muſt have been unknown to Zoſimus, who tells us, that rods and all ſorts of torments were uſed by the officers of Conſtantine in exacting what was due to the exchequer [p]. Two other laws were enacted by Conſtantine this year, the one forbidding married men to keep concubines [q], and the other commanding all judges to diſpatch the cauſes of criminals, and the goalers to treat them, however guilty, with humanity, to keep them in open and wholeſome places, and not to confine them, at leaſt in the day-time, to dungeons: he declares ſuch as ſhall by ill uſage extort money from their priſoners, guilty of death; and threatens with his indignation the magiſtrates who ſhall wink at ſuch diſorders [r]. This year Criſpus gained a victory over the Franks, the particulars of which are not mentioned in hiſtory: Nazarius in his panegyric only tells us, that he overcame the Franks, granted them a peace, and then returned to his father [s].

Conſtantine revokes the Papian and other laws againſt celibacy.

Laws in favour of priſoners.

THE

[k] Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 257. [l] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 16—27. [m] Sozom. l. i. c. 9. p. 413. Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 26. Cod. Theod. p. 643, 644. [n] Idem, p. 251, 252. [o] Idem, p. 68, 69. [p] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 691. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 70, 71. [r] Idem, p. 33. [s] Panegyr. 7. p. 177.

THE following year, when Criſpus and Conſtantine, the emperor's two ſons, were conſuls, Conſtantine publiſhed an edict on the ſeventh of March, forbidding all manner of work on ſundays [t]. Sozomen writes, that, out of reſpect to the croſs, he likewiſe ordered fridays to be kept holy [u]. But of this edict no mention is made either by Euſebius, or any other hiſtorian. However, the authority of Sozomen, who lived at Conſtantinople, was by profeſſion a pleader, and ſhews himſelf every-where thoroughly acquainted with the laws, is of great weight with us. The following year 322, Petronius Probrianus and Anicius Julianus being conſuls, Conſtantine gained a great victory over the Sarmatians [w]. Optatianus writes, that they were overcome in ſeveral battles with the Carpi and the Getæ, that is, the Goths [x]. Theſe battles were fought, according to that writer, at Campona, Marga, and Bononia, all three cities of Illyricum on the Danube, the firſt in Pannonia or Valeria, near the preſent city of Buda, and the other two in Upper Mœſia [y]. Rauſimodes, king of the Sarmatians, had, as we read in Zoſimus [z], beſieged a city, which he does not name; but Conſtantine, haſtening to the relief of the place, put the enemy to flight, and having obliged thoſe who had made their eſcape to repaſs the Danube, purſued them croſs that river, defeated them a ſecond time with great ſlaughter, their king being killed among the reſt, and returned with an incredible number of captives. Euſebius does not ſpeak of this victory in particular; but tells us in general terms, that heaven rewarded with many victories over the different clans of barbarians the emperor's zeal for the propagation of the goſpel [a]. The Sarmatian games, which were yearly celebrated about the latter end of November, probably took their riſe from this victory [b]. The next conſuls were Severus and Rufinus. Conſtantine, after his victory over the barbarians, marched with his army to Theſſalonica; but while he was buſied there in making a port, the Goths, notwithſtanding their late defeat, entered Thrace and Mœſia, committing every where dreadful ravages. Conſtantine marched againſt them with incredible expedition; and having gained a complete victory over them, purſued them with great ſlaughter into

And for keeping holy ſundays.

Conſtantine defeats the Sarmatians.

And the Goths.

[t] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 18. p. 534. Cod. Juſt. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 250. [u] Sozom. l. i. c. 8. p. 412. [w] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 22. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 680. [x] Optat. c. 23. [y] Baud. [z] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 680. [a] Euſeb. vit. Conſtant. p. 431. [b] Cod. Theod. Chronol. p. 22.

to the dominions of Licinius; which that prince highly reſenting, complained of it as an open breach of the treaties ſubſiſting between them. Conſtantine endeavoured to appeaſe him; but as Licinius, diſſatisfied with the late partition of the empire, waited only a plauſible pretence to break with Conſtantine, after ſeveral embaſſies and unſucceſsful negotiations, both princes began to prepare for war. Conſtantine diſpatched expreſſes into all the provinces, ordering his troops to haſten into Illyricum and join him [c]. Zoſimus writes, that his army was an hundred and thirty thouſand men ſtrong, and that he aſſembled at the port of Athens a fleet conſiſting of two thouſand two hundred veſſels of different rates and ſizes; whereas Licinius had with him but an hundred and fifteen thouſand men, and three hundred and fifty gallies [d]. Conſtantine was ſtill at Sirmium on the 25th of May [e], and a few days after at Theſſalonica, whence he marched into Thrace, and found Licinius encamped there on the banks of the Hebrus, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. The two armies continued ſome days encamped over-againſt each other, being parted by the river. Conſtantine was for laying a bridge croſs the Hebrus; but, in the mean time, having diſcovered a ford at ſome diſtance, he paſſed it at firſt with twelve horſemen, who being followed by a few more, kept the enemy in play, till the whole army croſſed the river. Both princes drew up their forces in battle-array, and prepared for the enſuing engagement, which was likely to prove deciſive. Euſebius writes, that the author of the war, that is, Licinius, gave the ſignal for the onſet, and that Conſtantine, having firſt with a fervent prayer invoked the Almighty, and given for the parole God our Saviour, ordered the croſs, in which he confided more than in the number and bravery of his ſoldiers, to be diſplayed at the head of his army. His confidence, ſays the ſame writer, was not ill-grounded; for victory attended the royal banner where-ever it appeared [f], Conſtantine's men behaved with incredible bravery, animated by the example of their leader, who, though he expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, eſcaped only with a ſlight wound in the thigh. But of the enemy thirty-three thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt though advantageouſly poſted upon a riſing ground, obliged to betake themſelves to a precipitous and diſorderly flight. Licinius eſcaped in the night, with what forces he could

War between Conſtantine and Licinius.

[c] Anonym. p. 474. [d] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 680. [e] Cod. Theod. p. 23. [f] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 3. & 6. p. 445, 447.

Licinius entirely defeated at Adrianople.

could rally, to Byzantium; and the next morning ſuch of his men as had remained in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, ſubmitted to Conſtantine, who, tranſported with joy for ſo ſignal a victory, granted a diſcharge to many of his veterans [g]. This memorable battle was fought on the third of July of this year 323. Euſebius tells us, that Licinius, before the battle, retired to a neighbouring wood to ſacrifice to his gods; and, when the ceremony was over, told thoſe who attended him, that he had offered victims to the gods, whom both his and their anceſtors had ever adored, but the enemy had forſaken, to embrace a religion unknown to the Romans, whoſe ſtandards he diſhonoured with the ignominious ſign of a croſs. He added, that as Conſtantine, tranſported with a blind zeal for his new religion, had declared himſelf an enemy rather to his gods than to him, it was incumbent upon them to defend and protect him, that the world might conclude from the ſucceſs of the approaching engagement, how powerful were the gods of the Roman empire, how weak the unknown God adored by Conſtantine. "If we are overcome, continued "he, we muſt deſpiſe thoſe deities whom we now adore, "and adore that deity whom we now deſpiſe. But if our "gods bleſs our endeavours with ſucceſs, as I am confident "they will, we muſt with an eternal war purſue their ene-"mies, and utterly extirpate the chriſtian name." Euſebius tells us, that he learnt this ſpeech, ſoon after the battle, of thoſe who were with Licinius when he made it [h]. Sozomen likewiſe writes, that Licinius had reſolved, if his gods had granted him the victory, to purſue with fire and ſword their enemies the chriſtians; and therefore that writer looks upon his defeat as a glaring inſtance to prove, that the chriſtians were, in a ſpecial manner, favoured by heaven, and that their religion was not an human contrivance, but the work of the Almighty [i]. As Licinius had fled to Byzantium, Conſtantine purſued him thither without loſs of time, ordering his fleet, commanded by his ſon Criſpus, to repair to the ſame place. Criſpus immediately put to ſea, and ſailing along the coaſts of Macedon and Thrace, entered the ſtreights of Gallipoli, where the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two hundred veſſels, under the command of Abantus, or, as others call him, Amandus, waited for him. As the place was very narrow, Criſpus thought it adviſeable to engage him only with eighty

[g] Euſeb. ibid. Anonym. p. 475. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 681. [h] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 5. p. 445, 446. [i] Soſom. l. i. c. 7. p. 409.

eighty of his beſt ſhips. Victory was long doubtful, both fleets fighting with great obſtinacy and reſolution: but in the end the enemy being encumbered by the great number of their ſhips running foul of one another in ſo narrow a place, were utterly defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men, and one hundred and thirty ſhips. Amandus, the enemy's admiral, with the utmoſt difficulty ſaved himſelf aſhore[k]. Zoſimus, who deſcribes all the particulars of this battle, tells us, that even the winds fought for Conſtantine, in order to render the victory of the ſon by ſea no leſs glorious than that of the father had been by land [l]. Criſpus himſelf haſtened to his father with the joyful tidings of the total defeat of the enemy's fleet, and was by him received with the moſt tender expreſſions of paternal affection and eſteem. Conſtantine had already laid ſiege to Byzantium, after having gained ſome new advantages over the enemy; but, before his fleet arrived, Licinius made his eſcape by ſea, and taking with him the flower of his troops, and his treaſures, paſſed the ſtreights, and ſhut himſelf up in Chalcedon, with a deſign to raiſe a new army in Aſia. In that city, he preferred to the dignity of Cæſar one M. Martianus, the chief officer of his houſhold, and diſpatched him with a conſiderable force to Lampſacus, to make head againſt Conſtantine, in caſe he attempted to enter the Helleſpont [m]. But Conſtantine, leaving Byzantium, embarqued his troops, and croſſing over into Aſia, landed in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon; and finding Licinius encamped on a riſing ground not far from that city with a numerous army, which he had drawn together with incredible expedition, he began to prepare for a ſecond engagement. But, in the mean time, deputies arriving from Licinius, with propoſals for an accommodation, Conſtantine hearkened to them with great joy, and complied with the terms they propoſed, which were, ſays Euſebius [n], no leſs advantageous to Licinius, than to the whole empire. But this agreement was ſhort-lived; for Conſtantine being ſoon after informed that Licinius was drawing together forces from all parts, and had even invited the barbarians to join him, advanced to Chalcedon, with a deſign to inveſt the place, and oblige Licinius to comply with the terms of their agreement. But as he approached Chryopolis, the port of Chalcedon, he was there to his great

And his fleet by Criſpus in the ſtreights of Gallipoli.

Licinius creates M. Martianus Cæſar.

An agreement between Licinius and Conſtantine, which is broken by the former.

ſurprize,

[k] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 681, 682. Anonym. p. 475. [l] Idem ibid.
[m] Zoſ. p. 683. Anonym. p. 475. [n] Euſeb. ibid. l. ii. c. 15. p. 451.

ſurprize, met by Licinius, at the head of a numerous army. Zoſimus writes, that he had with him above an hundred and thirty thouſand men, counting the troops commanded by Martinianus, whom he had ordered to leave Lampſacus and join him [o]. Conſtantine drew up his men in battle-array; but, ſcrupling to break the treaty, waited till the ſignal was given by the enemy; which was no ſooner done, than he fell upon them with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that, not able to withſtand him, they immediately gave way and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. In this battle Licinius loſt, according to the anonymous writer of Conſtantine's life, twenty-five thouſand men [p]; but, according to Zoſimus, above an hundred thouſand [q]. It was fought on the eighteenth of September; and a few days after the cities of Byzantium and Chalcedon opened their gates to the conqueror. Licinius fled, with what forces he could rally, to Nicomedia, whither Conſtantine purſued him, and immediately inveſted the place; but, on the ſecond day of the ſiege, his ſiſter Conſtantia entreating him with many tears, by the tenderneſs he had ever ſhewn her, to forgive her huſband, and grant him at leaſt his life, he was prevailed upon to comply with her requeſt; and the next day Licinius, finding no means of making his eſcape, preſented himſelf before the conqueror, and, throwing himſelf at his feet, yielded to him the purple and the other enſigns of ſovereignty. Conſtantine received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, entertained him at his table, and afterwards ſent him to Theſſalonica, aſſuring him, that he ſhould live unmoleſted, ſo long as he raiſed no new diſturbances [r]. However, he was ſoon after ſtrangled by Conſtantine's orders, who, on that account is highly blamed by Zoſimus and Aurelius Victor. St. Jerom has copied the very words of the latter in his chronicle. The anonymous writer, whom we have often quoted, tells us, that the ſoldiers, having demanded the death of Licinius, Conſtantine complied with their requeſt, fearing he might, in imitation of Maximian, one day reſume the empire. Zonaras writes, that upon the complaints brought againſt Licinius by the ſoldiery, Conſtantine referred the whole affair to the ſenate, who ſentenced him to death [s]. Socrates ſays in expreſs terms, that Licinius began privately to make new preparations for war, and to invite the barbarians to his aſſiſtance; which Conſtantine

Licinius utterly defeated.

He ſubmits to Conſtantine.

He is by his order put to death.

[o] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 683. [p] Anonym. p. 475. [q] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 683. [r] Idem, p. 684. Vict. epit. p. 543. [s] Zonar. vit. Conſt. p. 4.

tine no ſooner knew, than he ordered him to be put to death, and by that means prevented a new civil war [t]. Conſtantine cauſed all his ſtatues to be pulled down, and by two laws, the one dated the ſixteenth of May 324, the other the twelfth of February 325, annulled all his acts, and repealed the laws which had been publiſhed by him or his officers in his name [u]. As for Martinianus, Zoſimus writes, that Conſtantine abandoned him to the fury of the ſoldiery [w], as ſoon as he fell into his power. But the anonymous writer and Victor the younger aſſure us, that Conſtantine at firſt granted him his life; but afterwards ordered him to be put to death, as having been privy to the deſigns of Licinius [x]. All thoſe who had prompted him to perſecute the chriſtians, underwent the ſame fate [y], and among the reſt his ſon Licinius, who was this year degraded from the dignity of Cæſar, and two years after, that is, in 325, according to St. Jerom, ſentenced to death. Licinius had been created emperor on the eleventh of November 307, and conſequently had reigned near ſixteen years. We have not thought it neceſſary to take notice of the miracles, which Zonaras and Nicephorus have inſerted in their account of the defeat of Licinius, as things not vouched by any antient writer. For this victory Conſtantine, and after him his ſon and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, aſſumed the title of Victorious, which we find ſtill prefixed to ſome of his letters [z]. Not long after the defeat of Licinius, he preferred Conſtans, at that time his third ſon and ſix years old, to the dignity of Cæſar.

CONSTANTINE, now maſter of all the eaſtern provinces, made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh there the worſhip of the true God, as he had already done in the weſt, and to aboliſh all the remains of idolatry, which had been no leſs countenanced by Licinius, than the chriſtian religion perſecuted and oppreſſed. He began with two edicts, whereof both Greek and Latin copies were ſent into all the provinces of the empire, ſigned with the emperor's own hand, and addreſſed, the one, To the churches of God, the other, To the people of each province. By theſe edicts he reinſtates in their former condition all, who, on account of their religion, had been condemned to exile, to the mines, or any other puniſhment; orders their goods and eſtates to be forthwith reſtored

Conſtantine orders whatever had been taken from the churches, &c. to be reſtored to them.

[t] Socrat. l. i. c. 4. p. 8. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 1. p. 404, 405. [w] Zoſ. p. 685. [x] Anonym. p. 475. Vict. epit. p. 543. [y] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. p. 452. Anonym. ibid. [z] Euſeb. ibid. p. 452. Optat. p. 284.

ſtored to them or to their heirs; gives leave to ſuch as had been deprived of their military employments to reſume them, if they pleaſed; and commands the officers of the revenue, as well as private perſons, of what rank or condition ſoever, to deliver up to the churches, upon the publication of the edict, without waiting the ſentence of the magiſtrates, what houſes, tenements, gardens, orchards, &c. had ever belonged to them, but more eſpecially the places where the holy martyrs had been interred. He threatens with his indignation ſuch as ſhall not yield immediate obedience to this ordinance, which, he ſays, compriſes thoſe too who may have purchaſed ſuch lands, houſes, &c. of the emperor, or received them as a preſent, or by way of reward for their paſt ſervices. Theſe, however, he encourages to depend upon his generoſity; but requires of them, as well as of the reſt, an immediate compliance with his edict [y]. Theſe ordinances were followed by others, forbidding the offering of ſacrifices to idols, the conſecrating of any new idol, and the conſulting, either in public or in private, the aruſpices, ſoothſayers, oracles, &c. He had no ſooner cauſed theſe laws to be publiſhed, than he enacted another, ordering the churches, which had been pulled down during the perſecution, to be rebuilt at his own expence, enjoining his receivers in the different provinces to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for that purpoſe; and thoſe whom he appointed to overſee ſuch buildings, to take care that they were capable of containing all the inhabitants; for we hope, added the pious emperor, that they will all embrace the faith of the true God. He wrote upon the ſame ſubject to all the metropolitan biſhops, ſtyling them his beloved brethren, and among the reſt to Euſebius of Cæſarea, who relates his letter at length, and tells us, it was the firſt he had received from him [z]. Not long after, he publiſhed an edict drawn up by himſelf, and addreſſed to all the people of the empire; wherein he exhorts them to renounce their antient ſuperſtition, to adore but one God, the Creator of the univerſe, and to place all their hopes in Jeſus Chriſt. This edict is related at length by Euſebius, who tranſlated it out of the original Latin into Greek [a]. Conſtantine, not thinking it yet adviſeable to pull down the temples of the idols, ordered them to be ſhut up in all the places where that might be done without tumults and bloodſhed; to be ſtripped of their riches and ornaments, and even

He enacts ſeveral edicts againſt the worſhipping of idols.

Orders the temples to be ſhut.

of

[y] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. ii. c. 19.—28. p. 453, 458. [z] Idem ibid c. 44, 45. p. 464, 465. [a] Idem ibid. c. 47, 48. p. 465, 466.

of their idols; and all the lands, houſes, and revenues belonging to them to be applied to pious uſes. In virtue of this ordinance, the Pythian and Smynthian Apollo, the tripod of Delphos, the muſes of Helicon, the famous Pan, whom all the cities of Greece had conſecrated after the Perſian war, and whatever miſled antiquity had for many ages revered and adored, were publicly dragged through the ſtreets, and either daſhed in pieces, or made uſe of as maſter-pieces of art to adorn the ſquares, villas, palaces, public galleries, &c. [b]. From the ſeveral laws enacted this and the following year 324, when the emperor's two ſons, Criſpus and Conſtantine, were conſuls, it appears, that Conſtantine continued in the eaſt, reſiding for the moſt part at Nicomedia. The next year, Paulinus and Julianus being conſuls, the emperor, to put a ſtop to the diſturbances and diviſions that rent the church, aſſembled the famous council of Nice, at which he aſſiſted in perſon, and afterwards condemned to baniſhment the refractory hereſiarch Arius, with Euſebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and ſeveral others, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce his impious tenets. On the twenty-fifth of July of this year, the emperor ſolemnized with extraordinary pomp and magnificence the twentieth year of his reign, and on that occaſion made a great entertainment in his palace, to which he invited all the biſhops of the council, treated them with the utmoſt reſpect, made them ſeveral preſents, and cauſed large ſums to be diſtributed among the poor, diſpatching at the ſame time orders to all the governors of provinces to ſupply yearly the ſacred virgins, widows, and eccleſiaſtics in each city of their reſpective diſtricts with a certain quantity of corn [c]. Conſtantine paſſed this year partly at Nice, partly at Nicomedia, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws. By one publiſhed at Nicomedia on the ſeventeenth of October, and addreſſed to all the ſubjects of the empire, he encourages ſuch as had been, or ſhould be, oppreſſed, or any ways injured by his miniſters, counſellors, governors of provinces or cities, &c. to apply to him for redreſs, aſſuring them, that they ſhould be well received, and amply rewarded, for undeceiving him, ſince he had employed none but ſuch as he believed to be men of integrity. But the beſt princes, adds he, are liable to be deceived and impoſed upon by wicked miniſters; if therefore thoſe in whom I repoſed

Aſſembles a council at Nice.

He encourages all his ſubjects to recur to him

[b] Idem, c. 10, 511. Sozom. p. 449. [c] Euſeb. p. 491. Soz. p. 438.

I repoſed an entire confidence, have deceived me by a falſe appearance of integrity, and injured the meaneſt of my ſubjects, let the perſon thus injured lay his complaints before me, and accuſe me as the author of the injuries he has ſuffered, if I do not revenge them [d]. In the beginning of November he enacted another law, forbidding throughout the whole empire the combats of gladiators, and ordering, that criminals, inſtead of being obliged to fight in the arena, ſhould, for the future, be condemned to work in the mines [e]. The following year, Conſtantine entered upon his ſeventh conſulſhip, having his third ſon Conſtans for his collegue. The emperor paſſed the winter in Thrace and Illyricum; for he was on the third of February at Heraclea, and on the fifteenth of March at Sirmium. From thence he went to Milan, and from Milan to Rome, where he was on the eighth of July; but he did not ſtay long there, being, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, in the beginning of October at Spoletum, on the twenty-third of the ſame month at Milan, and on the laſt day of December at Sirmium [f]. Zoſimus, a declared enemy to Conſtantine, writes, that the whole Roman people loaded him with injuries and curſes, for having abandoned the religion of his anceſtors, and promoted with great zeal the worſhip of an unknown God; and adds, that the diſreſpect and averſion which the Romans ſhewed him prompted him to transfer the ſeat of the empire to Byzantium [g]. Libanius tells us, that he bore with great patience the ſatires and lampoons, that were daily publiſhed againſt him during his ſtay at Rome. He left the city highly diſſatisfied with the diſreſpectful behaviour of the Roman people, and was never after prevailed upon to return to it [h]. But the moſt remarkable event of this year was the death of Criſpus, Conſtantine's eldeſt ſon. The empreſs Fauſta, jealous of the great reputation he had acquired, and piqued to ſee him preferred to her own children, falſly accuſed him of having ſolicited her to inceſt. Some ſay, that ſhe charged him with aſpiring at the ſovereignty. Be that as it will, Conſtantine, hearkening to the accuſation, and not only forgetting on this occaſion his uſual clemency, but acting contrary to all laws of juſtice and equity, without examining an accuſation of ſuch importance, without giving the accuſed prince room to clear himſelf, ordered him to be put to death. Some write, that he

He is inſulted by the Roman people.

[d] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 25. [e] Cod. Theodoſ. tit. 5. p. 397. [f] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 28, [g] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 686. [h] Liban. orat. xv. p. 412.

he was diſpatched with poiſon; others, that by the emperor's orders his head was ſtruck off. He was, according to the moſt probable opinion, executed at Pola, in Iſtria, on the firſt of March, being then in the thirtieth, or, as others will have it, only in the twenty-fifth, year of his age. He was a prince of extraordinary endowments, had ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner againſt the Franks and in the war with Licinius, and was univerſally beloved by the people and ſoldiery, on account of his bravery, his obliging behaviour to perſons of all ranks, his generoſity, and other princely qualities. He had in all likelihood embraced the chriſtian religion, nay, and been baptized, according to Baronius; but the authority of Nicephorus, whom that writer quotes, is of no great weight with us. The death of Criſpus was followed by that of young Licinius, Conſtantine's nephew, at that time in the twelfth year of his age [i]. St. Jerom ſtyles theſe executions the effect of an unheard-of cruelty [k]. Fauſta did not long out-live her ſon-in-law; for, being this very year convicted of having accuſed him falſly, and moreover of having proſtituted her honour to perſons of the meaneſt rank, Conſtantine cauſed her to be ſuffocated with the ſteam of a hot bath [l]. With Fauſta many perſons of diſtinction, ſuppoſed to have been acceſſory to her crimes, were condemned, and either privately diſpatched with poiſon, or publicly executed [m]. Evagrius, to excuſe Conſtantine, denies all theſe facts [n]; but they are too well atteſted, both by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians, to be denied, or even called in queſtion. Euſebius, in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, which he publiſhed before the death of Criſpus, beſtows the higheſt encomiums upon that prince, and tells us, that he had great ſhare in the victory gained over Licinius [o]; but in the life of Conſtantine, he ſuppreſſes thoſe encomiums, and though he deſcribes at length that memorable victory, yet he does not ſo much as mention the name of Criſpus. This ſilence is, in our opinion, a ſtrong argument againſt Evagrius, who pretends the above-mentioned facts to have been feigned by the enemies of Conſtantine, becauſe he does not find them in Euſebius; but as they are ſufficiently atteſted by ſeveral other credible writers, we ought rather to infer from

He puts his ſon Criſpus to death.

And likewiſe his nephew Licinius, and his wife Fauſta.

[i] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 685. Aur. Vict. p. 527. Ammian. l. xiv. p. 29. Eutrop. p. 588. [k] Hier. chron. [l] Zoſ. p. 685. Vict. epit. Philoſtorg. hiſt. eccleſ. 470. Ammian. p. 56. Hier. chron. [m] Eutrop. p. 588. [n] Evag. l. iii. c. 41. p. 371. [o] Euſeb. l. x. c. 9. p. 398, 399.

the ſilence of Euſebius, that he was well appriſed nothing could be alledged to excuſe Conſtantine, and therefore took no notice of thoſe executions, chuſing rather to incur the cenſure of having tranſgreſſed the known laws of hiſtory, than to take upon him the juſtifying of facts, which all the world but too juſtly condemned. This inexcuſeable cruelty and injuſtice in Conſtantine drew down upon his family divine vengeance; for his brothers, his nephews, and his favourite miniſters, were, ſoon after his death, all maſſacred by Conſtantius, his ſecond ſon by Fauſta, whom he loved and cheriſhed above the reſt. Conſtantine his eldeſt ſon was killed by Conſtans the youngeſt, Conſtans by Magnentius, Gallus their couſin by Conſtantius, and Conſtantius by Julian, the brother of Gallus. Julian periſhed in a moſt miſerable manner, and in him ended the numerous family of Conſtantine, which every one expected, would have furniſhed the empire with princes for many ages, the emperor having three brothers, four ſons, ſeveral ſiſters and daughters, and nine nephews [p]. Conſtantine ſeems to have paſſed the following year 327, when Conſtantius and Maximus were conſuls, in Illyricum and Thrace; for on the twenty-ſeventh of February he was at Theſſalonica, on the eighteenth of May at Sardica, and at Heraclea on the fifth of Auguſt. He probably paſſed the following winter at Nicomedia; for he was in that city on the firſt of March [q].

His cruelty and injuſtice puniſhed by heaven.

This year, Conſtantine granted the privileges of a city to the village of Drepanum in Bithynia, ſtyling it, from the name of his mother, Helenopolis. This honour he beſtowed upon the place out of reſpect to the holy martyr Lucianus, who had ſuffered under Maximin in the year 312, and was interred there [r]. About this time the empreſs Helena is ſaid to have diſcovered the ſepulchre and croſs of our Saviour, which induced Conſtantine to build at Jeruſalem the famous church of the reſurrection, which was conſecrated in the year 335 [s].

Makes Drepanum a city.

The pious princeſs died ſoon after in the arms of her ſon, who cauſed her body to be conveyed with great pomp to Rome, and to be interred in the burying place of the emperors [t]. To honour her memory, he gave the name of Helenopolis to a city of Paleſtine [u], and that of Helenopontus to a part of the Euxine ſea [w], and cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to her

The empreſs Helena dies.

[p] Julian. ad Athen. p. 497, 498. [q] Cod. Theod. p. 29. [r] Hier. chron. p. 662. Socrat. l. i. c. 18. p. 49. [s] Philoſtorg. hiſt. eccleſ. l. ii. c. 12. p. 474. [t] Theodoret. l. i. c. 17. p. 564. Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506. [u] Sozom. l. ii. c. 1. p. 443. [w] Cod. Juſt. p. 235.

her honour at Daphne near Antioch. From this ſtatue the ſtreet in which it ſtood took the name of Auguſtal [x]. The following year, Januarius and Juſtus being conſuls, Conſtantine was, as we have hinted above, on the firſt of March at Nicomedia, and on the thirteenth of July at a place in Mœſia called Oiſcos and Eſcos[y]; whence ſome conjecture, that he was waging war with the barbarians in thoſe parts: and indeed we read in the chronicle of Alexandria [z], that this year the emperor paſſed the Danube ſeveral times, and that he even laid a bridge over that river. Both the Victors mention this bridge among his other great works; and on ſeveral antient coins of this and the following years, notice is taken of a bridge, of his paſſing the Danube, and his defeating the Goths [a]. According to the chronicle of Alexandria [b], he began this year the city of Conſtantinople; but, according to others, on the twenty-ſixth of September of the following year 329. Notwithſtanding his zeal for the catholic faith, he recalled this year from baniſhment the two biſhops Euſebius and Theognis, great ſticklers for the doctrine of Arius, and ſuffered them to gain a great aſcendant over him. The next year Conſtantine took upon him his eighth conſulſhip, having his eldeſt ſon, the fourth time conſul, for his collegue. He paſſed this whole year in the neighbourhood of the Danube; for on the nineteenth of June he was at Sardica in Dacia; on the twenty-ſecond of July at Sirmium in Pannonia; on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month at Naiſſus in Dardania; on the third of Auguſt at Heraclea in Thrace; on the eighteenth of the ſame month, and twenty-ninth of September, at Sardica; and on the twenty-fifth of October at Heraclea [c].

The emperor recals from baniſhment two Arian biſhops.

The following year 330, when Gallicanus and Symmachus were conſuls, is remarkable for the dedication of the city of Conſtantinople, the greateſt of all Conſtantine's works. Authors are divided in their opinions with reſpect to the motives that prompted Conſtantine to undertake the building of that city. Zoſimus writes, that he did it out of hatred to the Romans, ſeeing himſelf ſcorned and inſulted by them for having embraced and introduced a new religion [d]. He had, according to Eutropius, nothing elſe in view but to diſplay his power, and ſhew, that, in a few years, he could build a city equal to Rome, which, for ſo many ages, had been not undeſervedly

Conſtantine undertakes the building of a new city

[x] Suid. p. 448. [y] Cod. Theod. p. 30. [z] Chron. Alexand. p. 662. [a] Birag. p. 467. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 602. [c] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 30, 31. & l. xi. tit. 30. leg. 15. p 236, 237. [d] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 686.

vedly looked upon as the wonder of the univerſe [e]. Others only tell us, that Conſtantine, diſliking Rome for motives unknown to them, reſolved to build a city elſewhere, and reſide there. That he diſliked Rome, whatever his motives were, is very plain; for though he had been maſter of that metropolis near twenty years, yet he had never made any long ſtay in it, but paſſed moſt of his time in Gaul, and, after his victory over Licinius, in Thrace. Sozomen writes, that Conſtantine, ſeeing himſelf abſolute maſter of the whole empire, and not being diſturbed by any domeſtic tumults or foreign wars, undertook the building of a new city, as a work worthy of a great prince, and reſolved, as he did not care to reſide at Rome, to ſettle the imperial ſeat there [f]. The firſt place he choſe for executing his deſign was between Troas and antient Ilium, on the coaſt of Aſia; but afterwards changing his mind upon a viſion which he had, or imagined to have had, he reſolved to enlarge the antient city of Byzantium, and make it the ſecond, or, if he could, the firſt, of the empire. This pretended viſion is much ſpoken of by the modern Greek and Latin writers [g]; and Conſtantine himſelf, in one of his laws, declares, that, in the choice of the place, he followed the directions of heaven [h].

He enlarges the city of Byzantium.

gan with extending the walls of the antient city from ſea to ſea; and while ſome of the workmen were buſied in rearing them, others were employed in raiſing within them a great number of ſtately buildings, and among the reſt a palace noways inferior in magnificence and extent to that of Rome. As he deſigned to fix his own court there, and was deſirous, that the ſucceeding emperors ſhould follow his example, and honour his new city with their ordinary reſidence, he ſpared no coſt or labour to render it both beautiful and convenient.

Adorns it with many new buildings.

With this view he built a new capitol and amphitheatre, made a circus maximus, ſeveral forums, porticoes, and public baths, and divided the whole city into fourteen regions, ſecuring the inhabitants with many wholſome laws, and granting them great privileges and immunities. By this means Byzantium became in a ſhort time one of the moſt flouriſhing and populous cities of the empire, whole families flocking thither from all parts, eſpecially from Pontus, Thrace, and Aſia, Conſtantine having appointed by a law enacted this year,

[e] Eutrop. p. 488. [f] Soz. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. [g] Vide Du Cange urb. Conſtantinop. deſcript. l. i. p. 23, &c. [h] Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 64. [i] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 687. Soz. p. 444. Socrat. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90.

year, that ſuch as had lands in thoſe countries, ſhould not be able to diſpoſe of them, nor even leave them at their death to their heirs, unleſs they had a houſe in his new city. The common people were enticed thither from the different and moſt diſtant provinces, and even from Rome itſelf, by the emperor's largeſſes, and the great quantities of corn, oil, and meat, which were daily diſtributed among them [i]. But however deſirous the emperor was to ſee his new city filled with people, yet he did not care it ſhould be inhabited by any but chriſtians; and therefore cauſed all the idols to be pulled down, and their temples to be conſecrated to the true God. He built beſides an incredible number of churches, and cauſed croſſes to be erected in all the ſquares and public places. When moſt of the buildings were finiſhed, the emperor, on the eleventh of May of the year 330, the twenty-fifth of his reign, cauſed his new city, by a very ſolemn dedication, to be conſecrated, according to Cedrenus, to the virgin Mary [k]; but, according to Euſebius [l], to the God of martyrs. Some modern Greek writers tell us, that this ceremony was performed by the fathers of the council of Nice, that the ſolemnity laſted forty days, and that Conſtantine, during the whole time, cauſed an immenſe quantity of all ſorts of proviſions to be daily diſtributed among the populace [m]. It was on this occaſion that Conſtantine ſtyled the new city from his own name Conſtantinople, or the city of Conſtantine, and likewiſe Second, or, as others will have it, New Rome [n]. At the ſame time he equalled it to antient Rome, granting it the ſame rights, immunities, and privileges enjoyed by that metropolis [o]. He eſtabliſhed a ſenate and other magiſtrates, with a power and authority equal to that of the Roman ſenate [p], and declared New Rome the metropolis of the eaſt, as Old Rome was of the weſt. Conſtantine, having accompliſhed this great work, according to ſome in five, according to others in two, years, fixed his reſidence in the new city, and never more returned to Rome. The removal of the imperial ſeat from Rome to Conſtantinople, happened in the year of the chriſtian æra 330, the twenty-fifth of Conſtantine's reign, and 1078, after the foundation of Rome. By this removal the Roman empire received a fatal ſtroke, and ſhrunk by degrees into nothing, as the reader will find in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

And ſolemnly conſecrates it, and equals it to Rome.

[k] Vide Du Cange de Conſtantinop. l. i. p. 27. [l] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. iii. c. 48. p. 507. [m] Vide Georg. cod. in antiq. Conſtantinop. p. 25. [n] Socrat. p. 45. [o] Sozom. l. ii. c. 3. p. 444. [p] Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. 13. leg. 1. p. 220, 223.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the removal of the imperial ſeat to* Conſtantinople, *to the death of the emperor* Julian.

CONSTANTINE having fixed his court at Conſtantinople, continued there, as appears from three dates of ſeveral laws [q], great part of the enſuing year 331, when Baſſius and Ablavius were conſuls, being chiefly employed in building new churches, and adorning with other ſtately monuments the city he deſired might be honoured with the reſidence of the ſucceeding emperors. The next year, Pacatianus and Hilarius being conſuls, the Sarmatians having implored the aſſiſtance of Conſtantine againſt the Goths, who had made an irruption into their country, and committed every-where unheard-of cruelties, the emperor, either in perſon, or, as ſome write, by his ſon Conſtantine, gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of April. Near an hundred thouſand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or periſhed after the battle with hunger and cold; inſomuch, that the barbarians were obliged to ſue for peace, and deliver up hoſtages to the emperor, among whom was the ſon of their king, Ariaric or Araric [r]. Sozomen and Socrates write, that the Goths acknowledging the power of the God adored by Conſtantine, who had miraculouſly aſſiſted him in this war, great numbers of them embraced the chriſtian religion, which had been firſt preached among them about ſeventy years before [s]. The Sarmatians, unmindful of the aſſiſtance they had received from Conſtantine, as ſoon as he withdrew with his victorious army, began to ravage the provinces of Mœſia and Thrace; but the emperor, returning with incredible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and forced the reſt to ſubmit to what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them [t]. The next conſuls were Dalmatius, either the brother or nephew of Conſtantine, and Xenophilus, or Zenophylus. This year Conſtantine created Conſtans, his youngeſt

Conſtantine gains a complete victory over the Goths.

And the Sarmatians.

[q] Cod. Theod. p. 353, & ſeq. [r] Ammian. p. 476. Jul. orat. i. p. 16. Euſeb. vit. Conſtant. l. iv. p. 529. [s] Soz. p. 48. Socrat. p. 411. [t] Anonym. p. 476.

youngeſt ſon, Cæſar, who was born in 320, and is ſtyled in all the antient inſcriptions Flavius Julius Conſtans [u]. The ſame year, Syria, Cilicia, and Thrace were grievouſly afflicted with a peſtilence and famine, which ſwept off incredible numbers of people. Theophanes tells us, that at Antioch, the wheat was ſold at four hundred pieces of ſilver the buſhel [w]. During this calamity, Conſtantine ſent to the biſhop of Antioch thirty thouſand buſhels, and an incredible quantity of corn, oil, and all ſorts of proviſions to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, eccleſiaſtics, &c. Towards the cloſe of this year, embaſſadors arrived at Conſtantinople from the Blemyes, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and Perſians, with rich preſents for the emperor, whoſe friendſhip they courted, acknowledging him, ſays Euſebius [y], for their ſovereign, and declaring, that they coveted nothing ſo much as to live in peace and amity with ſo great a prince, ſo renowned a warrior. The Perſian embaſſadors, in the name of Sapor their king, renewed the antient treaties between the two empires. Conſtantine received them with extraordinary marks of honour; and being informed that the chriſtians were very numerous in Perſia, he was tranſported with joy; and looking upon himſelf as their general protector, he wrote a letter in their behalf to Sapor, which is related at length by Euſebius [z] and Theodoret [a]. The letters from Conſtantine to the biſhops, begging their prayers, and thoſe both from him and his children to the great Antony for the ſame purpoſe, which we read in Euſebius [b], Athanaſius [c], Sozomen [d], and Proſper [e], are ſuppoſed to have been written this year. The following year, when Optatus and Anicius Paulinus Junior were conſuls, the Goths, under the command of Geberic their king, who had ſucceeded Araric, made new irruptions into the country of the Sarmatians, whom they defeated in a great battle fought on the banks of the Mariſus, in which their king, by name Wiſimar, and moſt of their chiefs, were cut in pieces. The Sarmatians in this extremity armed their ſlaves, and by their means gained a complete victory over the Goths; but the victorious ſlaves, ſenſible of their ſtrength, threw off the yoke, and turning their

The emperor's generoſity during a famine.

Embaſſadors ſent to him from the moſt diſtant nations.

[u] Euſeb. ibid. p. 533. [w] Theoph. p. 23. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Euſeb. ibid. l. i. c. 8. p. 409, 410. [z] Idem ibid. c. 9—13. p. 350—535. [a] Theod. l. i. c. 24. p. 573—575. [b] Euſeb. ibid. l. iv. c. 14. p. 533. [c] Athan. vit. Anton. p. 497. [d] Soz. p. 47. [e] Proſp. chron.

their arms againſt their maſters, for whoſe defence they had been entruſted with them, drove them out of the country, and ſeized their houſes, lands, and effects for themſelves. St. Jerom [f] and Ammianus Marcellinus [g] call theſe ſlaves Limigantes; and the former tells us, that, in his time, the free-born among the Sarmatians were ſtyled Arcaragantes. The Sarmatians, thus driven from their habitations, fled for refuge to Conſtantine, who received them, to the number of three hundred thouſand, incorporated in his legions ſuch of them as were fit for ſervice, and gave ſettlements to the reſt in Thrace, Scythia, Macedon, and Italy [h]. Another party of the fugitive Sarmatians had recourſe to certain barbarians, called by Ammianus Victohales, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame people with the Quadi Ultramontani. Theſe were re-eſtabliſhed in their antient poſſeſſions by the Romans in the year 358, after they had driven out the Ligimantes [i]. This year Euſebius, biſhop of Cæſarea, pronounced before Conſtantine his ſpeech on the holy ſepulchre; and returning afterwards to his dioceſe, wrote and inſcribed to Conſtantine a book on the feaſt of Eaſter; for which the emperor returned him thanks by a very kind and reſpectful letter, deſiring him at the ſame time to cauſe fifty copies of the holy ſcriptures to be tranſcribed, and ſent him for the uſe of the churches of Conſtantinople. Euſebius immediately complied with his requeſt, and, in his anſwer to him, acquainted him with the converſion of Maiuma, the port of Gaza in Paleſtine, of the city of Conſtantina in Phœnicia, and of ſeveral others; which gave Conſtantine an inexpreſſible pleaſure [k]. The learned cardinal Noris takes Conſtantina to be the city and iſland of Aradus; for a biſhop of that place, by name Atticus, ſtyled himſelf biſhop of Aradia Conſtantia; which the above-mentioned writer ſuppoſes to have been, through miſtake, put inſtead of Aradus Conſtantina [l]. Conſtantine was this year, on the ſeventeenth of June, at Conſtantinople, on the fifth of July at Singidunum in Mœſia, and on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt at Naiſſus in Dacia [m]. The next conſuls were Flavius Julius Conſtantius, the emperor's brother, and Rufius Albinus. As Conſtantine, on the twenty-fifth of July of this year 335, entered the thirtieth year of his reign, which had happened to

He allots the Sarmatians ſettlements in the dominions of Rome.

[f] Hier. chron. [g] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 107. [h] Euſeb. p. 529. Ammian. p. 478. Jornand. rer. Goth. p. 641. [i] Ammian. l. vii. p. 106. & l. xvii. p. 105—111. [k] Euſeb. ibid. p. 542—545. [l] Noris. epoch. p. 363. Concil. tom. 4. p. 921. [m] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 34.

to no emperor ever ſince the time of Auguſtus, he celebrated that day at Conſtantinople with extraordinary pomp and magnificence; and ſoon after aſſembled two councils, the one at Tyre, hoping by that means to appeaſe the diſturbances raiſed in the church by the followers of Arius; the other a few weeks after at Jeruſalem, to conſecrate the magnificent church which he had built there. But the council of Tyre condemned, for ſeveral pretended crimes, and depoſed, the great Athanaſius, biſhop of Alexandria; and that of Jeruſalem admitted Arius and his followers to the communion of the church. The emperor, miſled by the Arians, eſpecially by Euſebius biſhop of Nicomedia, and by a prieſt, whom his ſiſter Conſtantia, the widow of Licinius, had earneſtly recommended to him on her death-bed, conformed to the deciſions of both councils; and though the crimes laid to the charge of Athanaſius were evidently falſe, yet he was ſo far prepoſſeſſed againſt him, that, inſtead of examining the accuſations, when he appealed to his tribunal, he baniſhed him into Gaul, and at the ſame time depoſed and ſent into exile three other biſhops, viz. Euſtathius of Antioch, Aſclepas of Gaza, and Lucas of Adrianople, for zealouſly oppoſing the wicked and impious tenets of Arius [n]. The emperor, not ſatisfied with having created his three ſons, Conſtantine, Conſtantius, and Conſtans, Cæſars, raiſed this year, on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of September, to the ſame dignity his nephew Dalmatius, ſon to his brother of the ſame name, and appointed Annibalianus, brother to young Dalmatius, king of Pontus [o]. Soon after their promotion, the emperor, to prevent any miſunderſtanding, jealouſy, or quarrels between his nephews and children, divided the government of the empire among them in the following manner: Conſtantine, the eldeſt, had Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Conſtantius, the ſecond ſon, all the Orient; that is, Aſia, Syria, and Egypt; and Conſtans, the youngeſt, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. To his nephew Dalmatius he gave Thrace and part of Illyricum; that is, Macedon and Achaia; and to king Annibalianus, his other nephew, Armenia Minor and the neighbouring provinces; that is, Pontus and Cappadocia, with the city of Cæſarea, which he deſired might be the capital of his kingdom [p]. About this time one Calocerus, a man of great intereſt and authority in the iſland of Cyprus,

The council of Tyre and Jeruſalem.

Conſtantine favours the Arians.

Divides the empire amongſt his children and nephews.

[n] Euſeb. ibid. p. 545. & 510. [o] Eutrop. p. 588. Aur. Vict. p. 227. Chron. Alex. p. 668. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 692. [p] Euſeb. orat. in tricennal. Conſt. p. 609. Vict. epit. p. 544. Anonym. p. 476.

Cyprus, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor there, and made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. But Dalmatius, who was ſent with an army againſt him, defeated the rebel, took him priſoner, and carrying him to Tarſus in Cilicia, condemned him to be burnt alive in that city [q]. On an antient medal quoted by Spanhemius [r], mention is made of one Tiberius, who uſurped the ſovereignty in the time of Conſtantine; but of him we find nothing in hiſtory. As for one Azotus, who was overcome by Conſtantine, as we read in Suidas and Codinus, it appears from ſeveral epigrams in the anthology, that both he and that Conſtantine, by whom he was overcome, were but drivers of chariots in the circus. Athanaſius was accuſed of having ſupplied with money a rebel, by name Philumenes [s]; but of him not the leaſt mention is made in hiſtory. The emperor was this year at Conſtantinople on the thirtieth of March, at Viminacum in Mœſia on the twelfth of Auguſt, and again at Conſtantinople on the twenty-ſecond of October [t]. The following year, Nepotianus and Facundus being conſuls, died the famous hereſiarch Arius, and ſoon after him Alexander biſhop of Conſtantinople, whom Conſtantine had ſolicited in vain to re-admit the anathematized heretic to the communion of the church. The holy biſhop Paul was raiſed to the ſee of Conſtantinople in the room of Alexander; but the emperor was perſuaded by Euſebius, biſhop of Nicomedia, to baniſh him into Pontus [u]. Towards the cloſe of this year Conſtantine married his ſecond ſon Conſtantius to the daughter of Julius Conſtantius and Galla. Julius Conſtantius was brother to the emperor, and his wife Galla ſiſter to Rufinus and Cerealis, of whom hereafter. He had by Galla Gallus Cæſar, born in Hetruria in the year 325 or 326, another ſon, who was killed in 337, and one daughter, married this year to Conſtantius, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us. The emperor Julian, ſpeaking of this and other marriages between the nephews and nieces of Conſtantine, ſays that a ſtrange confuſion reigned in the imperial family; that marriages were celebrated which were no marriages; and that the laws, both human and divine, were profaned and troden under foot [w]. But there were yet no laws forbidding marriages between couſin-germans. On occaſion of this marriage,

Arius dies.

Conſtantius married to the daughter of Julius Conſtantius.

[q] Theoph p. 23. Aur. Vict. p. 296. [r] Spanh. l. vi. p. 601. [s] Athan. apol. 2. p. 779. [t] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 35. [u] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 49. p. 551. [w] Julian. orat. vii. p. 425.

riage, Conſtantine cauſed large ſums, and great quantities of proviſions, to be diſtributed among the people in all the cities and provinces of the empire [x]. He had long before married his eldeſt ſon Conſtantine; but to whom, we are no-where told. The year enſuing, when Felicianus and Titianus were conſuls, the Perſians, after having lived in peace with the Romans for the ſpace of forty years; that is, ever ſince the year 297, began to commit hoſtilities in Meſopotamia, becauſe the emperor refuſed to reſtore to them the five provinces which they had been obliged to yield to Galerius. Hereupon Conſtantine having drawn together a very numerous and powerful army, and made the other neceſſary preparations for a vigorous war, began his march, with a deſign to invade the Perſian dominions. But in the mean time the enemy, terrified at his approach, diſpatched embaſſadors to him, with propoſals of an accommodation; which ſeeming very reaſonable to the emperor, a peace was concluded, and both armies withdrew. Thus Euſebius [y]. But Feſtus and moſt other hiſtorians tell us, that Conſtantine, deſirous of triumphing over the Perſians, would not grant them a peace upon any terms, and that by death alone he was prevented from invading their dominions [z]. Be that as it will, Conſtantine, having celebrated this year with extraordinary ſolemnity the feaſt of Eaſter, which fell on the third of April, was ſoon after taken ill, being then in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. He had recourſe to the warm baths of Conſtantinople; but his diſtemper encreaſing, he removed, for change of air, to Helenopolis in Bithynia, and from thence to a caſtle at a ſmall diſtance from Nicomedia, called Achyrona, or Aguyrona. Being there appriſed, that his end approached, he declared in a ſpeech, which he made to the biſhops who attended him, his eager deſire of being baptized, adding, that he deſigned to have received that ſeal of ſalvation in the waters of the Jordan; but ſince God, in his infinite wiſdom, had otherwiſe diſpoſed of him, he acquieſced to his will. When the ceremony was over, he was clad in white, and would not afterwards ſo much as touch or ſee his purple robes, paſſing moſt of his time in pious meditations, and edifying diſcourſes with the biſhops on the immortality of the ſoul, and the rewards and puniſhments of another life. Some of the officers of the army, who were admitted into his room, expreſſing with a flood of tears their concern for the loſs of ſo good a prince,

The Perſians awed by the terror of Conſtantine's army.

Conſtantine taken ill.

He is baptized.

[x] Euſeb. ibid. p. 551. [y] Euſeb. ibid. p. 554, 555. [z] Feſt. p. 57. Liban. orat. iii. p. 120. Eutrop. p. 117.

prince, he told them, That they ought rather to rejoice than mourn, ſince he was going to exchange a ſhort and miſerable, for an eternal, life, happy beyond conception or expreſſion [a]. St. Jerom writes, that he was baptized by Euſebius biſhop of Nicomedia; and that, by receiving baptiſm at his hands, he fell into the hereſy of Arius [b]. But Athanaſius and all other eccleſiaſtical writers, Lucifer alone excepted, aſſure us, that he held always inviolate the faith of the council of Nice, tho', deceived and miſled by the Arians, he perſecuted thoſe who defended it againſt the tenets of that hereſiarch. As for Euſebius, though he held, yet he did not openly profeſs, the doctrine of Arius; nor was he cut off from the communion of the church. As he was therefore biſhop of the place, Conſtantine could not decline being baptized by him, without openly affronting him, and likewiſe tranſgreſſing the laws of the church. Before he died, he ordered the great Athanaſius to be recalled from baniſhment, notwithſtanding the warm remonſtrances of Euſebius of Nicomedia, who did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of that zealous champion of the true faith [c]. He probably ordered at the ſame time the other catholic biſhops to be recalled; for Athanaſius tells us, that they were all reſtored with him to their reſpective ſees by the children of Conſtantine [d]. By his laſt will he bequeathed ſome revenues to the city of Rome, and others to that of Conſtantinople. He likewiſe confirmed the above-mentioned diviſion of the empire among his three ſons and two nephews [e]. The emperor Julian writes, that he committed to Conſtantius, his ſecond ſon, the care of all things, appointing him in a manner his executor, either becauſe he loved him above the reſt, or becauſe Conſtantius, who was nearer, arrived before the reſt, at leaſt before Conſtantine the eldeſt, who was then in Gaul [f]. But it is certain, that the emperor died before any of his children arrived, though he had diſpatched expreſſes to them all as ſoon he found himſelf paſt recovery. Not long therefore before he expired, he privately put his will into the hands of an eccleſiaſtic, in whom he repoſed an entire confidence, not knowing him to be a follower of Arius, and obliged him to promiſe upon oath not to deliver it to any but Conſtantius. This commiſſion proved very

He orders Athanaſius to be recalled from baniſhment.

He dies, and is univerſally lamented

[a] Euſeb. c. 62. p. 557, 558. Socrat. l. i. c. 39. p. 75. [b] Hier. chron. [c] Sozom. l. iii. c. 2. p. 498. Athan. apol. 2. p. 806. [d] Athan. ſolit. p, 814. [e] Socrat. l. i. c. 39. p. 75. Soz. l. ii. c. 34. p. 495. [f] Julian. orat. l. ii. p. 83 & 175.

very prejudicial to the church, on account of the credit which it procured to the eccleſiaſtic and his ſect with the new emperor [g]. Conſtantine having ſettled matters in the manner he judged beſt both for the church and ſtate, after various pious ejaculations, expired about noon on the twenty-ſecond of May, that year 337, Whitſunday, after having lived according to the moſt probable opinion, ſixty-three years, two months, and twenty-five days, and reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-ſeven days. His death was bewailed by perſons of all ranks, as the greateſt misfortune that could befal the empire. The ſoldiers no ſooner heard of it, than they tore their cloaths, fell proſtrate on the ground, and gave other public teſtimonies of their deep concern, calling him their deliverer, their beloved leader, their common parent. The people of Conſtantinople, overwhelmed with ſorrow, and drowned in tears, for the loſs of their great benefactor, of their magnificent and generous founder, expreſſed their grief in a manner ſuitable to ſo general a calamity [h]. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched with the diſmal tidings to his children, and in the mean time the body of the deceaſed prince, with the purple and diadem, was put into a golden coffin, and conveyed to Conſtantinople, being attended by all the troops quartered in that neighbourhood, who had aſſembled upon the firſt notice of his death. It was expoſed to public view in the chief hall of the palace, with an infinite number of tapers burning round it in golden candleſtics. All the great officers both civil and military, the ſenate, and other perſons of diſtinction, came to pay their devoirs to the corſe, kneeling before it, as if the emperor had been ſtill alive. Court was kept in the ſame manner as when he was living, and thoſe who attended his perſon, came at the uſual hours, as if he had ſtill wanted their attendance. This empty honour, formerly paid to the deceaſed emperors, as appears from Herodian and other writers, ſeems to have been long before laid aſide, and to have been revived now in honour of Conſtantine. His children were daily expected to pay him the laſt duty; but Conſtantius alone came, the other two being probably at a great diſtance; and ſoon after his arrival, cauſed the corſe to be conveyed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence to the famous church of the Apoſtles, which the emperor had built cloſe to the palace, deſiring to be interred

Honours done him after his death.

[g] Socrat. p. 75. Zoſ. p. 496. Theodor. p. 585. Rufin. p. 167. [h] Euſeb. c. 65. p. 559.

terred in it, that he might, after his death, ſays Euſebius [k], partake of the prayers offered there by the faithful in honour of the holy Apoſtles. That magnificent ſtructure was built in the form of a croſs, and covered, not with tiles, but gilt braſs. Conſtantine and the ſucceeding emperors were buried, not in the church itſelf, but in the porch, where mauſoleums were erected for them, and a burying-place allotted for the biſhops of the city; the prieſthood, ſays Sozomen [l], claiming equal honour and reſpect with the imperial dignity, eſpecially in holy places, where it holds the firſt rank. This church had been conſecrated a little before Conſtantine's death. Conſtantius attended the body to the church, but withdrew with the ſoldiers, as he had not yet been baptized, when the miniſters of the church began the holy ceremonies [m]. As ſoon as they were over, the body was depoſited in the porch, where Conſtantius cauſed a magnificent mauſoleum to be raiſed over it [n]. Not many years after, that is, in 358, or 359, the porch being ready to fall, the body of the emperor was conveyed from thence to the church of St. Aacius, a native of Conſtantinople, and martyr, built likewiſe by Conſtantine [o]; but it was afterwards carried back to the church of the Apoſtles [p], where it was to be ſeen, with the bodies of other princes of the ſame family, many ages after. Though Conſtantine had never made any conſiderable ſtay at Rome, and had in the end entirely abandoned that metropolis, yet the people expreſſed an uncommon concern for his death; for they no ſooner heard of it, than they ſhut up their ſhops and public baths, and intermitted all kinds of ſports and diverſions, as was uſual in time of ſome great and general calamity. They all demanded with one voice, that his body might be brought to Rome; and expreſſed the greateſt concern imaginable, when they underſtood, that it was, by his will, to remain at Conſtantinople [q]. It appears from ſome antient coins, that the ſenate of Rome conferred divine honours upon him [r]. He was by moſt churches, eſpecially in the eaſt, honoured as a ſaint, as he is ſtill by the chriſtians in Egypt, and the Greek church, which ſolemnizes his feſtival on the twenty-firſt of May with a very ſolemn office. The Muſcovites celebrate his anniverſary on the ſame day, though they can give no reaſon for their preferring that day to the twenty-ſecond of the ſame.

His obſequies.

He is honoured by the eaſtern churches as a ſaint.

[k] Euſeb. p. 555, 556. [l] Sozom. l. c. 34. p. 469. [m] Euſeb. c. 71. p. 562. [n] Idem ibid. & Julian. orat. i. p. 29. [o] Socrat. l. ii. c. 38. p. 145. [p] Chryſoſt. 2. Cor. [q] Aur. Vict. p. 527. Euſeb. c. 69. p. 561. [r] Goltz. p. 128.

ſame month, on which he died, as is agreed on by all writers, both antient and modern. About the middle of the fifth century, extraordinary honours were paid to his tomb, and to his ſtatue, which was ſet up upon a column of porphyry [s].

Encomiums beſtowed upon him by the modern Greeks.

The modern Greeks equal him to the apoſtles, as one to whom we all owe our being chriſtians: the apoſtles, ſay they, preached the goſpel in all parts of the world; but it never prevailed over paganiſm, till it was countenanced and eſtabliſhed by the great Conſtantine; which in reality is preferring the emperor to all the apoſtles. But of thoſe high flights, entirely ſuitable to the temper of the Greeks, we leave our readers to judge. All authors allow him to have been a prince endowed with extraordinary accompliſhments both of body and mind, an excellent commander, an able ſtateſman, a great encourager of learning, and himſelf much addicted to read, write, and meditate.

Authors diſagree as to his character.

But, as to his character in general, there is a great diſagreement among authors, ſome of the heathen writers painting him as a perfect tyrant, and the chriſtians extolling him as the beſt prince that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. The emperor Julian ſpeaks of him as a prince extremely ambitious of military glory, and one who had nothing ſo much at heart as the aggrandizing of himſelf and his family; and adds, that the bad example he ſet therein to his children, armed them againſt each other [t].

Several groundleſs charges brought againſt him by the pagan writers.

He is charged by ſome with having enriched the imperial robes with pearls not uſed before his time, and with conſtantly wearing the diadem. But this charge is quite groundleſs, it being certain, that Diocleſian was the firſt who added pearls to the imperial robes, and Conſtantius Chlorus the firſt who wore conſtantly the diadem, even when he was only Cæſar, as we read in Aurelius Victor [w] and Eutropius [x], and is evident from his medals [y]. The emperor Julian [z] and Zoſimus [a] repreſent him as a voluptuous prince, entirely abandoned to all manner of diverſions and pleaſures, to banquets and revellings, to public ſhews, &c. inſomuch, that he could ſpare no time from ſports and entertainments, to regulate the affairs of the ſtate. On the other hand, Victor [b], Euſebius [c], and Libanius [d], tell us, that he was conſtantly employed in reading,

[s] Theodoret. vit. Conſtant. l. i. c. 34. p. 66. [t] Jul. orat vii. p. 423, 424. [w] Aur. Vict. p. 523. [x] Eutrop. p. 586. [y] Spanh. p. 683. [z] Jul. Cæſ. p. 23, 42, 54. [a] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 687. [b] Vict. epit. p. 543. [c] Euſeb. p. 539. [d] Liban. orat. iii. p. 107.

ing, writing, meditating, compoſing ſpeeches, (ſome of which, of an extraordinary length, have reached our times) hearing embaſſies, giving audience to his miniſters and ſubjects; in ſhort, that he never was idle, but ever buſied either in forming or executing ſome great deſign or other for the good of the empire. Moſt of his laws were dictated by himſelf; he never continued long in any place, but was, as we have often obſerved, continually moving from one city or province to another; ſo that we cannot help thinking this charge as groundleſs as the former. Julian and Zoſimus, zealous ſticklers for idolatry, were evidently prejudiced againſt a prince, who had enacted ſo many ſevere laws againſt all manner of idolatrous worſhip. We are told, that he kept with him for the ſpace of thirty years one Samacus, who, pretending to be a fool, diverted the emperor when tired out with buſineſs. This was not a diverſion worthy of ſo great a prince. It proves, however, that Conſtantine applied himſelf ſeriouſly to buſineſs. Victor the younger, after having told us that he was addicted to raillery, gives us the following idea of his reign: Conſtantine, ſays he, reigned thirty years, and behaved the ten firſt like an excellent prince, the ten following like a robber, and the ten laſt like a prodigal [e]. The ſame charge is brought againſt him by Zoſimus, who writes, that, when he became maſter of the whole empire, he abandoned himſelf without controul to his rapacious temper, loading the people with heavy taxes, and at the ſame time ſquandering away the money thus raiſed upon undeſerving favourites, or uſeleſs buildings [f]. Amongſt the other impoſts with which that virulent writer pretends that Conſtantine oppreſſed the people, he mentions one called the chryſargyrum, and will have Conſtantine to have been the firſt who enacted it. But this Evagrius maintains to be a mere calumny, owing to the implacable hatred which that pagan bore to the deliverer of the church [g]. And truly long before Conſtantine's time a tax was laid upon the public proſtitutes, which moſt writers take to be meant by the chryſargyrum. Conſtantine, to ſave charges in raiſing it, ordered it to be paid only every fourth year. Zoſimus aſcribes to him another tax called follis, which was levied upon all perſons of quality, and occaſioned, according to that writer the ruin of all the cities of the empire [h]. But he is the only author who ſays, that it was introduced by Conſtantine Aureliu

[e] Vict. epit. p. 543. [f] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 685. [g] Evagr. iii. c. 40. p. 370. [h] Zoſ. p. 691.

Aurelius Victor writes in expreſs terms, that it was firſt raiſed by Maxentius [i]. In our opinion, it is not at all probable, that Conſtantine laid any new burdens upon the people, ſeeing he generouſly remitted to all his ſubjects the fourth part of the land-tax, and diſcharged ſeveral cities of contributions, which they had paid for the ſpace of an hundred and fifty years; among the reſt Tripolis in Libya, and Nice in Bithynia [k]. From an antient inſcription we learn, that one year he remitted all taxes throughout the empire [l]. Zoſimus writes, that, during his reign, rods, priſons, and all kinds of ſevere treatment, were made uſe of by him in levying the common taxes [m]; whereas the laws he enacted, forbidding theſe violences under the ſevereſt penalties, are ſtill extant, as we have obſerved above. Whence we leave the reader to judge what credit that implacable enemy to Conſtantine and the chriſtian religion deſerves. Zoſimus and Julian are rather accuſers than hiſtorians; and an accuſer is not to be believed, unleſs witneſſes can be produced to vouch what he ſays. Hence the accuſations brought againſt Conſtantine by theſe two writers, are of no weight with us, unleſs confirmed by the authority of other hiſtorians. Aurelius Victor [n], Ammianus Marcellinus [o], and even his panegyriſt Euſebius [p], complain of his employing, in the adminiſtration of affairs, perſons altogether unworthy of the confidence he repoſed in them, and ſuffering them to enrich themſelves at the expence of the people committed to their care. This fault, altogether inexcuſable in a prince, Euſebius aſcribes to his exceſſive goodneſs, which induced him to pardon, or only to inflict ſlight puniſhments on, ſuch of his miniſters as were found guilty of the moſt enormous extortions. He could not, ſays Euſebius, prevail upon himſelf to condemn thoſe whom he had once judged worthy of his favour; and hence his miniſters, preſuming upon his indulgence and good-nature, often committed great diſorders in the provinces, and oppreſſed the people in a moſt tyrannical manner. His thus neglecting to puniſh the crimes of his miniſters, rendered him, without all doubt, no leſs guilty than if he had committed them himſelf.

Several regulations introduced by Conſtantine.

We ſhall now proceed to ſeveral regulations in the government, both civil and military, thought to have been firſt introduced by Conſtantine. Before his time there were, according

[i] Aur. Vict. p. 526. [k] Euſeb. p. 528. Aur. Vict. p. 527. [l] Vide Baron. ad ann. 312. [m] Zoſ. p. 691. [n] Aur. Vict. p. 527. [o] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. [p] Euſeb. p. 540.

cording to Zoſimus [q], two captains of the guards, known by the name of præfecti prætorio, who had an equal authority over all the troops diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the empire. But Conſtantine, jealous of their too great power, leſſened it by creating two more, and allotting to each of them a certain number of provinces. By this means the whole empire was divided into four parts, which were the Orient, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, governed by the four præfecti prætorio, each of whom had ſeveral dioceſes or diſtricts under his juriſdiction. To the præfectus prætorio orientis were ſubjected the five following dioceſes; viz. Thrace, Aſia, Pontus, Egypt, and the Orient. Each of theſe dioceſes compriſed ſeveral provinces, as is manifeſt from the Theodoſian code, and the acts of ſeveral antient councils. The dioceſe of Thrace, whereof Heraclea, and afterwards Conſtantinople, was the metropolis, conſiſted of five provinces, viz. Europe, Thrace, Hemimuntum, Rhodope, Mœſia Secunda, or Lower Mœſia, and Scythia. The dioceſe of Aſia, which had Epheſus for its metropolis, compriſed ten provinces, viz. Pamphylia, the Helleſpont, Lydia, Piſidia, Lycaonia, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Lycia, Caria, and the iſlands of Rhodes, Leſbos, and the Cyclades. In the dioceſe of Pontus, the metropolis of which was Cæſarea in Cappadocia, were eleven provinces, viz. Paphlagonia, Galatia, Bithynia, Honoriades, Cappadocia Prima, Cappadocia Secunda, Pontus Polemonaicus, Helenopontus, Armenia Prima, Armenia Secunda, Galatia Salutaris. The dioceſe of Egypt which had Alexandria for its metropolis, conſiſted of ſix provinces, viz. Upper Libya, or Libya Pentapolitana, Lower Libya, Thebais, Egypt, Arcadia, and Auguſtamnica. The Orient compriſed fifteen provinces, the metropolis of which was Antioch: the provinces were, Palæſtina Prima, Palæſtina Secunda, Phœnicia Prima, Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus, Arabia, Iſauria, Palæſtina Salutaris, Phœnicia Libanenſis or Phœnicia Secunda, Euphratenſis, Syria Salutaris, Oſrhoene, Meſopotamia, Cilicia Secunda. The præfectus prætorio Illyrici had but two dioceſes under his juriſdiction, viz. Macedon, and Dacia; of which the former conſiſted of ſix provinces, viz. Achaia, Macedon, the iſland of Crete, Theſſaly, New and Old Epirus, and part of Macedonia Salutaris: the metropolis of this dioceſe was Theſſalonica. The dioceſe of Dacia compriſed five provinces, viz. Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia Ripenſis, Mœſia Prima, Dardania Prævalitana, and part

The præfecti prætorio, and diviſion of the empire into four prefectures.

[q] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 687.

part of Macedonia Salutaris. The præfectus prætorio Galliarum had three dioceſes under his juriſdiction, viz. Gaul, Spain, and Britain. In the dioceſe of Gaul were ſeventeen provinces, viz. Viennenſis, Lugdunenſis Prima, Germania Prima, Germania Secunda, Belgica Prima, Belgica Secunda, Alpes Maritimæ, Alpes Penninæ, Maxima Sequana, Aquitania Prima, Aquitania Secunda, Novempopulana, Narbonenſis Prima, Narbonenſis Secunda, Lugdunenſis Secunda, Lugdunenſis Turonica, Lugdunenſis Senonica. In the dioceſe of Spain were ſeven provinces, viz. Bœtica, Luſitania, Galicia, Tarraconnenſis, Carthaginienſis, Tingitana, and the Balearic iſlands. The dioceſe of Britain conſiſted of five provinces, viz. Maxima Cæſarienſis, Valentia, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Cæſarienſis. The præfectus prætorio of Italy had three dioceſes under his juriſdiction, viz. Italy, Illyricum Occidentale, and Africa. Illyricum conſiſted of ſix provinces, viz. Pannonia Secunda, Savia, Dalmatia, Pannonia Prima, Noricum Mediterrancum, Noricum Ripenſe: Sirmium was the metropolis of this dioceſe. Africa compriſed five provinces, viz. Africa Carthaginienſis, Byzacene, Mauritania Sitifienſis, Mauritania Cæſarienſis, and Tripolitana. Italy was divided into ſeventeen provinces, which were Venetia, Æmilia, Liguria, Flaminia and Picenum Annonarium, Hetruria and Umbria, Picenum Suburbicarium, Campania, Sicilia, Apulia and Calabria, Lucania and Brutium, Alpes Cotiæ, Rhætia Prima, Rhætia Secunda, Samnium, Valeria, Sardinia and Corſica. The prefects were the firſt officers of the empire, and generally looked upon, to uſe the expreſſion of Ammianus Marcellinus, as emperors of an inferior rank. They had ſeveral other officers under them, viz, proconſuls, vicars, rectors, conſulars, correctors, and preſidents. In the eaſt were two proconſuls; one in Achaia, and another in Aſia, and ſometimes, but very ſeldom, a third in Paleſtine: in the weſt there was but one, viz. the proconſul of Africa. The vicars repreſented the prefects, and were their lieutenants; whence, in the antient inſcriptions, they are ſtyled pro-præfecti or vice-præfects. There were vicars in the provinces of Aſia, Pontus, Thrace, the Orient, Macedon, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, and two in Italy, viz. the vicar of the city of Rome, and the vicar of Italy: under the former were the ten following provinces, Campania, Hetruria and Umbria, Picenum Suburbicarium, Sicilia, Apulia and Calabria, Lucania and Brutium, Samnium, Sardinia, Corſica, and Valeria: under the vicar of Italy were five provinces, Liguria, Æmilia, Flaminia, Picenum Annonarium, and Venetia; to which were afterwards

Italy divided into ſeventeen provinces.

The ſeveral officers under the præfecti prætorio.

added Iſtria, the Alpes Cotiæ, and both the Rhætias. The provinces under the vicar of Rome were called provinciæ ſuburbicariæ; and thoſe under the vicar of Italy, provinces of Italy. The vicar of Italy reſided at Milan, which by that means became the metropolis of all the Italian provinces. Next in dignity to the vicars were the rectors, who governed whole provinces under the prefect or his vicars, as did likewiſe the conſulars, the correctors, and the preſidents: Phœnicia was governed by a conſular, who reſided ſometimes at Tyre, ſometimes at Berytus, and ſometimes at Damaſcus: ſeveral provinces of Italy had likewiſe a conſular for their governor, viz. Æmilia, Liguria, Venetia, Picenum, Sicilia, Flaminia, and Campania: Hetruria, Apulia and Calabria, Lucania and Brutium, were governed by correctors; and Samnium, Valeria, the Alpes Cotiæ, both Rhætias, Sardinia, and Corſica, by preſidents. The prefects under Conſtantine and his ſon Conſtantius had only the title of clariſſimi, which was common to all ſenators, but were ſoon after diſtinguiſhed with that of illuſtres. Moſt writers, upon the authority of Zoſimus, aſcribe the inſtitution of theſe four prefects to Conſtantine; but that author was perhaps therein miſtaken, it being certain, that the empire was by Dioclefian divided into four parts, and governed by two emperors, and two Cæſars, each of whom had an army, and a præfectus prætorio; nay, even before Dioclefian's time, we find one Clarus ſtyled prefect of Illyricum and Gaul [r]. The prefects were originally military; but after this diviſion of the empire, became altogether civil officers, the command of the troops being given to two magiſtri militiæ, the inſtitution of which office is likewiſe aſcribed by Zoſimus to Conſtantine [s]. In Dioclefian's time, each province had its peculiar general, ſtyled dux or duke; but Conſtantine in their room created the two above-mentioned magiſtri militiæ, one for the foot, and another for the horſe, with a full power of making what regulations in the army they thought proper; of puniſhing the ſoldiers when guilty of breach of duty, or any other crime; of diſcharging and admitting into the army whom they pleaſed, &c. Sometimes both commands were veſted in one perſon; for in a law dated the ſeventeenth of June, 315, mention is made of one Euſebius, commander in chief both of the horſe and foot; and one Sylvanus, in two laws addreſſed to him in 349, is ſtyled magiſter utriuſque militiæ [t]. But their number was

The magiſtri militiæ.

ſoon

[r] Trig. tyrann. vit. c. 17. p. 193. [s] Zoſ. p. 688. [t] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xi. tit. 1 leg. 1. p. 6. & chronol. p. 48.

ſoon encreaſed; for in the time of Theodoſius I. they were at leaſt five, viz. one for the court, called præſentalis; one for Thrace, one for the Orient, one for Illyricum, and one for Gaul [u]. Theſe magiſtri militiæ were afterwards diſtinguiſhed with the title of comites or counts, and raiſed to the rank of the firſt officers of the empire. The patricii or patricians were ſuperior in rank both to the magiſtri militiæ, and the prefects. This was a new dignity inſtituted by Conſtantine, but had no power or authority annexed to it, being only a title of honour. The patricians, though raiſed above all the other ſubjects of the empire, were nevertheleſs obliged to give the precedency to the conſuls [w]. Conſtantine conferred this dignity on Julius Conſtantius, his brother, and Optatus, his brother-in-law [x]. The patricians are ſeldom mentioned by the writers of the fourth century, but frequently by thoſe of the fifth. The title of comes or count ſeems likewiſe to owe its origin to Conſtantine. Before Conſtantine's time, thoſe who attended the emperors out of Rome in quality of counſellors, ſtyled themſelves comites; but to that word added the name of the prince whom they attended. In Conſtantine's time, the name of the prince was omitted, and thoſe who accompanied him were ſtyled ſimply comites, companions, and in the modern languages counts: one Dionyſius is the firſt to whom we find that title to have been given: afterwards it became a title of honour, and was beſtowed upon all officers of any rank, though they neither followed the court, nor accompanied the emperor. Theſe comites or counts were divided, according to their employments, into three orders or ranks; and hence the expreſſions which we frequently meet with in the writers who flouriſhed under Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors, comes domeſticus primi ordinis, ſecundi ordinis, &c [y]. We find no mention made of the title of nobiliſſimus, or moſt noble, before Conſtantine's time, who gave it to two of his brothers, viz. Julius Conſtantius and Annibalianus [z]. It was, under the ſucceeding princes, beſtowed upon their ſons, before they were raiſed to the dignity of Cæſar. Of the writers who flouriſhed under Conſtantine, we ſhall ſpeak in our note (F).

The patricians.

The comites or counts.

[u] Notit. c. 5, 8, 34, 38. [w] Zoſ. p. 692. Cod. Theodoſ. p. 74, 75. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Vide Du Cange gloſſ. p. 1074. [z] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 692.

(F) We ſhall begin with thoſe who have written the hiſtory of Conſtantine. Euſebius of Cæſarea publiſhed his life in four books, but

but declares in the beginning of his work, that he designs to insert in his history such accounts only as serve to shew his piety and religion, and may prove edifying to his readers. However, he relates great part of his wars; and we may depend upon the truth of what he writes relating thereunto, since the emperor honoured him with his intimacy and friendship, and informed him himself of many transactions. He composed this work soon after the emperor's death; for he tells us, that he began it when Constantine's children reigned; and on the other hand it is certain, that he did not survive the emperor two full years. Besides the life of Constantine, he wrote two panegyrics on that prince, one in 325, which has been since lost; and another, of an extraordinary length, in 335, which has reached our times, but gives us no great insight into the transactions of those terms (1). Several other panegyrics on Constantine, composed in the beginning of his reign, are still extant, and have been of great use to us, as the reader must have observed, in writing the history of his life. Among these there are two, the authors of which are not known; one of them was pronounced in the year 308, on occasion of the marriage of Constantine and Fausta; and the other in 313, after the defeat of Maxentius (2). Two other panegyrics were composed by Eumenius, of whom we have spoken in the text, the one about the year 309, and the other in 311, to return thanks to the emperor for the favours and privileges granted to the city of Autun: that written by Nazarius was pronounced on the first of March, 321. Eumenius was professor of eloquence in the city of Autun, and esteemed one of the best orators of his time. St. Jerom speaks of Nazarius as a celebrated orator in 324, and adds, that he had a daughter no less esteemed for her eloquence than himself. Vinctus, in his comments upon Ausonius, calls her Eunomia; and styles her, upon what authority we know not, a christian virgin (3). Praxagoras by birth an Athenian, wrote, when only nineteen years old, two books on the kings of Athens; and three years after, two others, comprising the life of Constantine. At the age of thirty-one, he published the life of Alexander the Great in six books (4). An abridgment of his life of Constantine is to be found in Photius (5). His style is clear, but unequal. He was a pagan, but bestows great encomiums on Constantine. He is supposed to have flourished under Constantius, and to have been contemporary with the sophist Bemarchus, who was a native of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, wrote several declamations and speeches, and published the life of Constantine in ten books (6). But none of his works have reached our times. Libanius mentions one Bemarchus, a pagan sophist, but greatly favoured by Constantius (7). Eu-

(1) Euseb. or. habit. in tricennal. Constantin. p. 605. (2) Panegyr. 5. p. 124. & 7. p. 152. (3) Vinct. in Auson. p. 158. (4) Phot. c. 62. p. 64. (5) Idem, p. 64. (6) Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 17. Suidas, β. p. 551.

(7). Eunapius likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of Conſtantine, but compriſed without all doubt in the general hiſtory, which he publiſhed of all the emperors from the death of Alexander Severus (8). We may well rank Conſtantine himſelf amongſt the writers and men of learning who flouriſhed in his time; for many monuments of his application and ſtudy have reached our times, and are to be found in Euſebius, who has tranſmitted them to us. Of theſe, the chief, or at leaſt the moſt diffuſe and extenſive, is his oration ad ſanctorum cætum, or his diſcourſe addreſſed to the aſſembly of ſaints. Euſebius aſſures us, that this ſpeech, as well as his many laws and letters, were all compoſed by himſelf. His ſpeech, and ſeveral letters he wrote in Latin, and cauſed them to be afterwards tranſlated into Greek, though he muſt have been well acquainted with the Greek tongue too, having paſſed moſt of his time in the eaſt. Of his letters or edicts the following are ſtill extant in Euſebius: the edict of Milan in 313, in favour of the chriſtians; his letters to Anulinus, proconſul of Africa, for the eccleſiaſtic immunity, and ordering whatever had been taken from the churches to be reſtored; his letter to Cæcilianus, biſhop of Carthage, concerning the alms, which were by his orders to be diſtributed among the indigent chriſtians in Africa; his letter to Melchiades, biſhop of Rome in 313, touching the council of that city againſt the Donatiſts; that which he wrote in 314, to Chreſtus, biſhop of Syracuſe, concerning the council of Arles; his edict addreſſed to the inhabitants of Paleſtine, and the people of the eaſt, in 323, for the re-eſtabliſhing of the confeſſors; his letter to Euſebius the hiſtorian, concerning the building of churches; his edict to the people of the eaſt, exhorting them to embrace the chriſtian religion; his letter to Alexander and Arius, touching their diſputes in point of religion; his letter to the churches, concerning what had been decided in the council of Nice in 325, with reſpect to the celebration of Eaſter; the letter he wrote to Macarius for the building of the church of the reſurrection at Jeruſalem, and that to the biſhops of Paleſtine for the building of another at Mambre; three touching the promotion of Euſebius to the ſee of Antioch about the year 331, part of the edict which he addreſſed to the heretics; his letter to Sapor, king of Perſia, in behalf of the chriſtians; two to Euſebius, the one touching his treatiſe on Eaſter, the other requiring him to ſend him fifty copies of the ſcripture; his letter to the biſhops of the council of Tyre in 335, for the quieting of the troubles in the church. Beſides theſe letters or edicts in Euſebius (9), others have been tranſmitted to us by different authors, viz. five touching the Donatiſts,

(7) Liban. vit. p. 15. (8) Eunap. p. 40. Voſſ. ibid. c. 18. (9) Euſeb. hiſt. l. x. c. 5, 7. & Conſt. l. ii. c. 24, 25, 46, 48, 64. l. iii. c. 17, 20, 30, 32, 52, 60, 64. l. iv. c. 9, 13, 35, 42.

tiſts, written about the year 314 (10); one to Arius and his diſciples about the year 324, complaining of their obſtinacy (11); one to the church of Alexandria, upon the condemnation of Arius by the council of Nice; one to the whole church, commanding his books, and thoſe of his followers, to be burnt (12); one to the church of Nicomedia, on the baniſhment of the two Arian biſhops, Euſebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice (13); another on the ſame ſubject, to Theodotus, biſhop of Laodicea (14); one to Arius, inviting him to court (15); ſome lines of that which he wrote to Athanaſius, enjoining him to admit Arius to the communion of the faithful (16); one to the church of Alexandria, wherein he commends the conduct of Athanaſius (17); one to Athanaſius himſelf, condemning thoſe who had ſlandered him (18); one to Johannes Melecianus, congratulating him upon his being reconciled to the church (19); one to the Euſebians of the council of Tyre, inviting them to Conſtantinople (20). To theſe we may add the letter which he wrote to the poet Optatianus, thanking him for a poem which he had publiſhed in his commendation; and aſſuring him, that he had nothing more at heart than the encouraging of learned men. Beſides the authors of the Auguſtine hiſtory, of whom we have ſpoken already, ſeveral other authors flouriſhed under Conſtantine. St. Jerom extols among the reſt, the orator Attius Patera or Paterius, a native of Bayeux, and ſprung, according to Auſonius (21), from the antient Druids. He taught Rhetorick at Rome with great applauſe, about the end of Conſtantine's reign, and afterwards at Bourdeaux (22), ſince Auſonius ranks him among the profeſſors of that city. He was the father of the orator Delphidius (23), of whom hereafter; and Hedibias, to whom St. Jerom wrote his hundred and fiftieth letter, was deſcended from him. He was a pagan, as St. Jerom tells us in expreſs terms (24). The reader will find in Auſonius (25) ſeveral things relating to him, which it would be too tedious to inſert here. Suidas aſcribes ſeveral rhetorical pieces to one Onaſimus, a native of Cyprus or Sparta, who lived in the time of Conſtantine, and is ſtyled by Suidas both an hiſtorian and ſophiſt (26). At the ſame time flouriſhed Palladius, a native of Methone in Peloponneſus, who publiſhed a treatiſe on the feaſts of

(10) Cæcil. Optat. p. 280, 283, 285, 287. (11) Vide Baron. ad. ann. 319. (12) Socrat. l. i. c. 9. p. 30, 32. (13) Gelaſ. Cyzicen. acta Nic. concil. p. 217. (14) Idem, p. 224. (15) Socrat. l. i. c. 25. p. 61. (16) Ath. apol. p. 778, 779. (17) Idem, p. 785. (18) Idem, p. 787. (19) Idem, p. 803. (20) Vide Baron. ann. 325. (21) Auſon. de profeſſ. Burdigal. car. 4. p. 145. (22) Idem, car. 6. p. 150. Hier. epiſt. 150. p. 410. (23) Auſon. ibid. p. 145. (24) Hier. p. 140. (25) Auſon. ibid. p. 149. (26) Suid. o. v. p. 311.

of the Romans, and ſome other philological pieces (27). And this is all we know of theſe two writers, whom Voſſius ranks among the Greek hiſtorians (28). The reader will find in Photius (29) ſeveral grammatical obſervations copied by him from four books written in Iambic verſe by one Helladius, a native of Antinopolis or Biſantinopolis, as he ſtyled it, in Egypt. This work was intitled Chreſtomathia: he publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, was a pagan, and lived under Licinius and Galerius (30). Photius ſpeaks elſewhere of one Helladius, author of a very copious lexicon (31). In the time of Conſtantine flouriſhed the celebrated Platonic philoſopher Iamblichus: he was a native of Chalcis in Lower Syria, ſprung from a rich and noble family, and very famous among the pagans, as appears from Eunapius, who wrote his life (32). He ſtudied philoſophy firſt under one Anatolus or Anatolius, and afterwards under the celebrated Porphyrius. He had an incredible number of diſciples, taken with his probity, ſays Eunapius, and not with his eloquence; for he both ſpoke and wrote very improperly. From what Eunapius ſays of him, it is manifeſt, that he ſtudied magic with no leſs application than philoſophy (33). He died at Alexandria before the year 331, ſome time after he had put the laſt hand to the life of a philoſopher of that place, named Alypius, who was his cotemporary. This work has not reached our time, nor ought we regret the loſs of it; for Eunapius ſpeaks of it as a very mean performance (34). Several works of a philoſopher, named Iamblichus, are ſtill extant, and highly eſteemed by the beſt judges, but commonly aſcribed, not to the diſciple of Porphyrius, but to another Iamblichus, who lived at Apamea in Syria, forty or fifty years after the former, and was one of the emperor Julian's chief favourites, as appears from the ſeveral letters he wrote to him (35). Theſe two philoſophers bore the ſame name, lived in the ſame country, and had each of them a diſciple named Sopater; no wonder, therefore, that moſt writers have confounded them. A third philoſopher, of the ſame name, lived under the emperor M. Aurelius. Several works have reached our times, under the name of Iamblichus; but which of theſe three was the true author of them, we will not take upon us to determine: the works are, the hiſtory of the life and ſect of Pythagoras, with an exhortation to the ſtudy of philoſophy, containing an explication of the proverbs and maxims of that philoſopher (36); an explication of the arithmetic of Nicomachus; a treatiſe on mathematics in general; an anſwer to the letter of Porphyrius to Anebo, on the myſteries of the Egyptians; a collection of

(27) Idem, π. p. 405. (28) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. iv. c. 18. p. 486. (29) Phot. c. 279. (30) Idem, p. 1592. (31) Idem, c. 145. p. 317. (32) Eunap. c. 2. p. 23. (33) Idem ibid. (34) Idem, c. 3. p. 28. (35) Julian. epiſt. 40. & p. 186, &c. (36) Iam. vit. Pyth. p. 25.

of the tenets of the Pythagoreans; and a ſhort treatiſe on the ſun. The firſt of theſe works was tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed in 1598, by one Johannes Arcerius, a native of Friſia; but he is thought not to have taken the true meaning of the author in ſeveral paſſages, and, beſides, his ſtyle is both obſcure and improper. Samuel Tennulius publiſhed in 1668. Iamblichus's explication of the arithmetic of Nicomachus, promiſing at the ſame time to publiſh ſoon after his treatiſe on mathematics; but whether or no he was as good as his word, we cannot tell, not having ever heard of that work's being publiſhed. Iamblichus, in his anſwer to the letter of Porphyrius, endeavours, under the name of Abammon, to confute his arguments againſt the power of magic. Holſtenius deſigned to publiſh all the works of Iamblichus, together with obſervations; but he was prevented by death from executing his deſign. Iamblichus's life of Pythagoras was in great part copied from that of the ſame philoſopher, written by Porphyrius (37). St. Jerom tells us, that the philoſopher Iamblichus wrote copious comments on the precepts of Pythagoras, commonly called the golden maxims (38). The emperor Julian equals Iamblichus of Chalcis to Plato himſelf. Gothofredus is of opinion, that Gregorius and Hermogenes, or rather Hermogenianus, the authors of the two different, but like codes, flouriſhed under Conſtantine and his children. They both begin with the laws of Adrian, and ſeem to end with thoſe of Dioclefian, not caring, as is conjectured, to meddle with the laws of Conſtantine, by reaſon of the many changes that prince had introduced into the Roman juriſprudence (39). Tho' they were both pagans, yet they might have inſerted ſuch laws of Conſtantine as no ways related to religion. In compiling their reſpective works, they followed the order of time; which was afterwards obſerved in the codes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian. The codes of Gregorius and Hermogenianus are thought to be the moſt antient of all; and were both abridged by thoſe who abridged the Theodoſian code (40). Only ſome fragments of them now remain to be found in different books of juriſprudence. Gregorius is commonly believed to have been the moſt antient of the two. The ſtyle of Hermogenianus is very uncouth, and often obſcure. Publius Optatianus Porphyrius flouriſhed under Conſtantine, and is thought to have publiſhed the poem, which has reached us, about the middle of the year 326, on occaſion of the ſolemnity of the emperor's twentieth year, and the tenth of the two Cæſars, Criſpus and Conſtantine, his children. He had before that time inſcribed another poem to Conſtantine; which being well received by the prince, Optatianus returned him thanks by a letter, which is ſtill extant,

(37) Jonſ. l. iii. c. 16. p. 293, 294. (38) Hier. in Ruf. l. iii. c. 10. p. 246. (39) Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 185. (40) Idem, p. 184.

extant, for the kind reception he had given it; adding to the letter a ſecond poem, addreſſed likewiſe to Conſtantine. Theſe two poems have been long ſince loſt; but the letter, which the emperor wrote to him, thanking him for one of them, has reached our times. Conſtantine calls him in his letter his dearly beloved, and Optatianus ſtyles Conſtantine emperor of the whole earth; whence we may conclude it to have been written after the year 323. Not long after, Optatianus was, upon ſeveral charges brought againſt him, baniſhed. He owns ſome of them to have been true; but pretends not to have been guilty of the crime for which chiefly he was ſent into exile. He wrote the poem, which is ſtill extant, to beg of Conſtantine, that he would recal him from baniſhment, and allow him to ſee again his ſon and family. The poem is a panegyric on Conſtantine, filled with acroſtics, and other trifling conceits of that nature, which betray want of judgment and true taſte in the writer (41). St. Jerom aſſures us, that the emperor, pleaſed with this poem, recalled the author (42). Several epigrams in the anthology are aſcribed to the ſame author; and Fulgentius, the grammarian, quotes ſome of his verſes (43): Robanus Maurus and venerable Bede ſpeak of his poem as an elegant performance (44); but the modern critics, with a great deal of reaſon, deſpiſe all compoſitions, and difficiles nugas, as Martial ſtyles them, of that nature, agreeing therein with the antient Latin poets, whoſe writings ought to be our ſtandard. Some authors are of opinion, that ſeveral of the pieces which paſs under the name of Petronius Arbiter, were written by Optatianus. Sopater, the diſciple of Iamblichus, flouriſhed under Conſtantine, and, after the death of that philoſopher, became the head of the Platonic ſect that followed Plotinus. He was a native of Apamea in Syria, and both ſpoke and wrote with great elegance and propriety; whence he was ſtyled a ſophiſt, as well as a philoſopher (45). After the death of Iamblichus, not deigning to converſe with other philoſophers, ſays Eunapius his admirer, he repaired to the court of Conſtantine, to try whether he could prevent the downfal and utter ruin of the antient religion of the Romans. He gained, adds the ſame writer, a great aſcendant over the emperor, who frequently conferred with him, and yielded to him in public the moſt honourable place. But this we can hardly believe, upon the bare word of his panegyriſt Eunapius; for no other writer takes the leaſt notice of Sopater's great credit with Conſtantine. Sozomen tells us, that Conſtantine had recourſe to him to know in what manner he might atone for the death of his ſon Criſpus; and that both the philoſopher, and the pagan pontiffs, anſwered, that, in the religion of the Greeks, there was no atonement for

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(41) P. Opt. prol. c. 11. apud. Velſ. (42) Hier. ann. 329.
(43) Jonſ. l. iii. c. 15. p. 290. (44) Optat. prol. p. 2.
(45) Eunap. p. 23. Sozom. l. i. c. 5. p. 406. Suid. p. 781.

ſo heinous a crime (46). Hereupon he began to hearken to the chriſtians, ſays Zoſimus (47), who aſſured him, that the virtue of their baptiſm was capable of waſhing off any wickedneſs, however enormous. We can ſcarce believe, that the pagans owned there was no atonement in their religion for an emperor. Beſides, it is certain, that Conſtantine had hearkened to the chriſtians, and embraced their religion, before the death of Criſpus. While Sopater was with the emperor at Conſtantinople, there being great ſcarcity of proviſions in that city, by reaſon the veſſels that brought corn were detained by contrary winds, the people aſſembled in the theatre broke one day on a ſudden into bitter invectives againſt Sopater, as a magician, who ſtopt the favourable winds, and prevented the arrival of the ſo long expected veſſels. Hereupon Conſtantine abandoned him to the fury of the enraged populace, who being underhand ſtirred up by the prefect Ablavius, and other courtiers, jealous of his too great credit with the emperor, tore him in pieces. Thus is his death related by Eunapius (48); and from him Zoſimus copied what he wrote on this ſubject (49). It is ſurpriſing, that Conſtantine ſhould have treated in this manner, without the leaſt provocation, ſo great a favourite, as Eunapius, and after him Zoſimus, pretend Sopater to have been. Suidas writes, that Conſtantine put him to death, to give the world a ſignal inſtance of his hatred and averſion to paganiſm (50). Sopater left a treatiſe on providence, and on thoſe who had been undeſervedly happy or miſerable (51). Voſſius ſeems to confound Sopater of Apamea with another philoſopher of the ſame name, who was a native of Alexandria, and abridged the works of ſeveral hiſtorians and other authors. Theſe abridgments are greatly eſteemed by Photius, though interwoven with ſeveral fables. They were divided into twelve books (52). Julian ſpeaks of one Sopater of Apamea, who lived in his time (53), and conſequently muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the diſciple of Iamblichus. To the other writers, who flouriſhed under Conſtantine, we may add the two chriſtian poets Commodianus and Juvencus. The former wrote, according to Rigault, who publiſhed his work with thoſe of St. Cyprian in 1666, in the time of Sylveſter, biſhop of Rome; was a native of Gaza, or at leaſt bore the name of Gazeus; he was deſcended of pagan parents, but in reading the holy ſcripture, diſcovered and embraced the truth. He wrote a kind of poem, in hexameter verſe, commonly ſtyled inſtructions, but without any regard to quantities. It is divided into ſeveral articles, and the initial letters of each article make up its title. In this poem, if we may beſtow upon it that name,

(46) Sozom. l. i. c. 5, p. 406. (47) Zoſ. l. ii. p. 685. (48) Eunap. c. 4. p. 34, 37. (49) Zoſ. l. ii. p. 692. (50) Suid. s. p. 782. (51) Idem ibid. (52) Phot. c. 161 p. 344. (53) Julian. epiſt. 40, 53. p. 185, 186.

THE news of Conſtantine's death no ſooner reached the armies, than they all agreed to acknowledge no other emperors but the ſons of Conſtantine, whom they accordingly proclaimed emperors, as did, ſoon after, the ſenate of Rome, without taking the leaſt notice of their two couſins, Dalmatius Cæſar and Annibalianus king of Pontus, the two ſons of their uncle Conſtantius Dalmatius, tho' Conſtantine had, in the above-mentioned diviſion of the empire, allotted to each of them their ſhare. However, the three brothers did not, for what reaſon we are no-where told, take upon them the title of Auguſti till the ninth of September of this year 337, that is, near four months after the deceaſe of their father [a]. Soon after the ſoldiery, under colour of preventing diſturbances in the empire, flew to arms, and cut in pieces Julius Conſtantius, the deceaſed emperor's brother, Dalmatius Cæſar, Annibalianus king of Pontus, the patrician Optatus, who had, as is commonly ſuppoſed, married Anaſtatia, the late emperor's ſiſter, five of his nephews, among whom was the eldeſt ſon of Julius Conſtantius, the prefect

The armies acknowledge Conſtantine's three children.

But put Dalmatius and Annibalianus to death.

[a] Euſeb. vit. Conſt. l. iv. c. 68. p. 560.

name, he impugns the errors of the pagans, but ſeems not to have been yet well inſtructed himſelf in the truths of the chriſtian religion (54). Juvencus, frequently mentioned by St. Jerom, flouriſhed under Conſtantine: he was by birth a Spaniard, ſprung from an illuſtrious family, and not only a chriſtian, but in holy orders. However he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of poetry, and wrote a poem, compriſing the four goſpels in as many books. He kept cloſe to the text, chuſing rather to preſerve the truth of the hiſtory, than to diſplay his genius. This poem was compoſed when Conſtantine had ſettled both the church and empire in peace (55), that is, after the defeat of Licinius. Some of his verſes are quoted by the venerable Bede (56). The council of Rome held in the time of Gelaſius, biſhop of that city, approved of this work, ſtyling it a laborious and excellent performance (57). He wrote another poem on the order of the ſacraments, of which the abbot Tritenham (58) aſſures us he had ſeen and peruſed two books; but they have not reached our times. Crinitus aſcribes to him ſome hymns (59), of which no mention is made by any other writer.

(54) Comm. p. 23. c. 33. Gennad. c. 15. (55) Juvenc. l. iv. p. 657. ver. 1, 2. (56) Vide Labb. de ſcript. eccleſiaſt. (57) Concil. tom. iv. p, 1264. (58) Trit. de ſcript. eccleſ. p. 14. (59) Bib. pat. t. viii. p. 657.

prefect Ablavius, and moſt of the great Conſtantine's miniſters, ſuppoſing them attached to the intereſt of his nephews [b]. Thus was the numerous family of Conſtantine reduced at once to his three ſons, and two nephews Gallus and Julian, the ſons of Julius Conſtantius; of whom the former owed his life to a malady, from which no one believed he could recover; and the other to his infancy, he being then at moſt but ſeven years old [c]. Gregory of Nazianzus writes, that Julian was privately conveyed away, and concealed by one Marcus of Arethuſa, whom he afterwards put to a cruel death [d]. All authors agree, that neither young Conſtantine, nor Conſtans, had any hand in the maſſacre of the imperial family: as for Conſtantius, Eutropius and Socrates [f] write, that he rather permitted than commanded it. Julian [g], St. Jerom [h], and Zoſimus [i], tell us in plain terms, that he was the author of that cruel maſſacre; and St. Athanaſius openly reproaches him as the murderer of his uncles and couſins [k].

Their dominions divided among the three brothers.

The three brothers met in Pannonia in the beginning of the enſuing year 338, when Urſus and Polemius were conſuls, to divide among them the dominions of the two deceaſed princes, Dalmatius and Annibalianus; but all we know of this diviſion is, that Conſtantine had Thrace (for he is ſaid to have reigned at Conſtantinople) [l]; and Conſtans, Greece and Macedon; for Corinth and ſome places in Macedon are ſaid to have belonged to him [m]. Each of them kept the dominions allotted to them by Conſtantine in his life-time, that partition being confirmed by his laſt will, viz. Conſtantine, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; Conſtantius, Aſia, Syria, and Egypt; and Conſtans, Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Conſtantine ſeems to have yielded this very year Thrace to Conſtantius, and Conſtans Africa to Conſtantine. While Conſtantius was abſent in Pannonia, the Perſians, finding the frontiers unguarded, entered Meſopotamia, committing every-where dreadful ravages. At the ſame time, the Armenians revolted, drove out their king, who was a friend to the Romans, and joined the Perſians, who being thus ſtrengthened, laid ſiege to Niſibis; but, after having continued before it ſixty-three days, they were obliged to drop that enterprize, and retire. The preſervation

The Perſians invade the Roman dominions.

Raiſe the ſiege of Niſibis and retire.

[b] Euſeb. ibid. p. 541. Zoſ. l. 2. p. 692. Julian. epiſt. ad Athenieſ. p. 497, 498. [c] Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. Ammian. p. 298. [d] Nazian orat. 3. p 90. [e] Eutrop. p. 558. [f] Socrat. p. 115. [g] Julian. ad Athen. p. 497. [h] Hier. chron. . [i] Zoſ. p. 692. [k] Athan. ſolit. p. 856. [l] Chron. Alex. p. 670. [m] Liban. orat. 9. p. 212.

preſervation of that important place is aſcribed by Theodoret to the prayers of the holy biſhop James, during whoſe life and reſidence there, all the attempts of the enemy againſt it proved ineffectual [n]. Conſtantius, in the mean time, taking leave of his brothers, left Pannonia, and returned into the eaſt, where he aſſembled all his forces, with a deſign to relieve Niſibis; but finding the Perſians had retired of their own accord, he turned his arms againſt the Armenians, obliged them to receive again the king whom they had driven out, and drew over to his party the robbers of Arabia, no doubt the Saracens, who, by frequent inroads into the Perſian dominions, made a powerful diverſion, and greatly annoyed the enemy [o]. The war, however, continued during the whole time of his reign: many battles were fought, ſome gained by the Romans, and ſome by the Perſians: the cities of Meſopotamia were often taken and retaken; and that of Niſibis three times beſieged by the enemy, without their ever being able to reduce it. Ammianus Marcellinus obſerves, that the Romans gained great advantages when commanded by the emperor's lieutenants, but were conſtantly defeated when headed by the emperor in perſon [p]. The following year, 339, when Conſtantius was conſul, the ſecond time, with his brother Conſtans, ſeveral laws were enacted in the name of the three emperors; and among the reſt one forbidding, under no leſs a penalty than that of death, marriages between uncles and nieces, which had been allowed by a decree of the ſenate, iſſued in favour of the marriage of Claudius and the celebrated Agrippina. Notwithſtanding this decree, ſuch marriages were ever looked upon by the Romans as inceſtuous, but frequently practiſed by other nations, eſpecially the Phœnicians, to whom the law forbidding them, dated the thirty-firſt of March of this year, is addreſſed [q]. The next conſuls were Acyndinus and Proculus. This year, Conſtantine, diſſatisfied with the late partition of the provinces, after having ſolicited in vain his brother Conſtans to yield to him Italy, or at leaſt part of that country, raiſed a conſiderable army, and, under pretence of marching to the aſſiſtance of Conſtantius, who was at war with the Perſians, left Gaul, and, entering the dominions of Conſtans, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places. Hereupon Conſtans, who was then in Dacia, detached part of

Conſtantine invades the dominions of Conſtans and is killed.

[n] Theodor. in vit. patrum, c. 1. p. 770. [o] Liban. p. 122. Julian. orat. 1. p. 37. [p] Ammian. l. xx. p. 177. [q] Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 294.

of his forces againſt him, who, having drawn him into an ambuſcade near Aquileia, cut both him and his army in pieces. His body was thrown into the river Anſa, at a ſmall diſtance from Aquileia; but being afterwards diſcovered, it was ſent to Conſtantinople, and interred there near the tomb of his father [r]. Such was the end of the great Conſtantine's eldeſt ſon. He was born at Arles, as is commonly believed, on the ſeventh of Auguſt, 316, created Cæſar the firſt of March, 317, and ſaluted Auguſtus on the ninth of September, 337, ſo that he did not enjoy the imperial dignity three whole years. His panegyriſt paints him as a prince endowed with great accompliſhments both of body and mind; and adds, that he ſtudied the ſcriptures, and, to the utmoſt of his power, practiſed what they required [s]. But his invading his brother's dominions, without the leaſt provocation, can by no means be juſtified. He received and treated with great kindneſs the great Athanaſius, when he was baniſhed by his father into Gaul; which province he then governed [t]. By his death, Conſtans remained ſole maſter of the weſtern provinces, Conſtantius voluntarily yielding to him the whole ſhare of the deceaſed prince [u]. Conſtans, ſoon after the death of his brother, arrived at Aquileia, where he was on the ninth of April, and on the twenty-fifth of June at Milan [w]. All we find of Conſtantius this year is, that on the fifth of Auguſt he was at Beſſus in Thrace, and on the ninth of September at Antioch [x]. The next year, when Marcellinus and Probinus were conſuls, many cities in the eaſt were overturned by a violent and dreadful earthquake [y]; and the Franks in the weſt, having croſſed the Rhine, made an irruption into Gaul, committing every-where great ravages. Conſtans marched againſt them, and gave them battle; but as he gained no great advantage over them, the war was not ended till the enſuing year [z]. On occaſion of this war, Libanius ſpeaks much at length of the turbulent and reſtleſs temper of the Franks [a]. This year a law was enacted in the name of the two emperors, forbidding, under the ſevereſt penalties, all manner of idolatrous worſhip [b]. Firmicus Maternus writes, that Conſtans ordered ſeveral temples to be demoliſhed,

The Franks invade Gaul.

[r] Zonar. p. 11. Vict. epit. p. 544. Eutrop. p. 588. [s] Monodia, ſeu orat. in Conſtantin. junior. mort. p. 7—8—14. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Soz. l. iii. p. 499. Jul. orat. 2. p. 175. [w] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 97. chronol. p. 41. [x] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 42. [y] Socrat. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. Theophan. p. 30. [z] Socrat. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. [a] Liban. orat. 3. p. 138. [b] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 2.

moliſhed, and likewiſe the celebrated altar of Victory in the ſenate at Rome [c]. Conſtantius built this year, and fortified, the city of Amida upon the Tigris in Meſopotamia. Stephanus the geographer takes no notice of this city: however, it is certain, that it ſuſtained a long ſiege in the latter end of the preſent reign, and became afterwards the metropolis of Meſopotamia, properly ſo called, as Edeſſa was the metropolis of that part, which was known by the name of Oſrhoene. The Arabians, the preſent inhabitants, call it Hemit or Ameth, and the Turks Caramit [d]. The following year, Conſtantius entered upon his third, and Conſtans upon his ſecond, conſulſhip. The latter either conquered or appeaſed the Franks, to uſe the expreſſion of Idatius; and that warlike people ſubmitted to the princes of their own nation, whom he was pleaſed to appoint over them [e]. Conſtans, being thus diſengaged, paſſed over into Britain the following year, 343, when Placidus and Romulus were conſuls, to oppoſe the Scots, who made frequent inroads into the Roman dominions; but the ſilence of Libanius with reſpect to this expedition, is a manifeſt proof, that he performed no great exploits againſt that brave and gallant nation. He was at Boulogne on the twenty-fifth of January on his way to Britain, and returned to Treves on the thirtieth of June [f]. As for Conſtantius, he was, on the fifth of April, and the eleventh of May of the preceding year, at Antioch [g]; and this year, on the eighteenth of February, at Antioch, and on the twenty-ſeventh of June, and fourth of July, at Hierapolis in Euphrateſiana [h]. By a law enacted this year on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, and commonly aſcribed to him, the eccleſiaſtics and their domeſtics are exempted from all new impoſitions, and an entire immunity from all cuſtoms granted to ſuch of them as were by their poverty obliged to earn a livelihood by trading [i]. When the church acquired ſufficient wealth to ſupport her miniſters, they were forbidden by the canons to merchandiſe, or follow any trade. Theophanes tells us, that Conſtantius triumphed this year over the Perſians; for, as we obſerved above, he was at war with them during the whole time of his reign [k]; but he often triumphed, when

But are quieted by Conſtans.

[c] Firm. Mat. p. 57. [d] Vide Baudr. p. 35. [e] Idat. p. 85. Socrat. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. [f] Cod. Theodoſ. chronol. p. 44. [g] Idem, p. 43. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. l. viii. p. 32. [k] Theoph. p. 30.

he had been overcome, to conceal the ſhame of his defeat. The following year, when Leontius and Salluſtius were conſuls, is remarkable for a dreadful earthquake, which entirely ruined the city of Neocæſarea in Pontus, no one edifice having withſtood the violence of the ſhock, except the church, and the habitation of the biſhop, who was ſaved, with the clergy, and ſome other pious perſons, while the other inhabitants were all buried in the ruins [m]. Theophanes ſpeaks of a battle this year between the Romans and Perſians, in which the latter were defeated with great loſs [n]. The year enſuing, when Amentius and Albinus were conſuls, the city of Duras on the coaſt of Greece was ſwallowed up with all its inhabitants in an earthquake, and twelve cities in Campania overturned. The above-mentioned conſuls were ſucceeded by Conſtantius the fourth time, and Conſtans the third time, conſuls. The latter was at Ceſena in Italy on the twenty-third of May, at Milan on the twenty-firſt of June, from whence he paſſed into Macedon, and was at Theſſalonica on the ſixth of December; from Macedon he ſeems to have returned to Gaul; for he ſent from thence Athanaſius and Oſius to the council of Sardica, held the following year 347 [o]. As for Conſtantius, he was, on the ſeventh and twenty-ſixth of May, and the twenty-third of Auguſt, at Conſtantinople [p]. The law dated the twenty-ſixth of May, and addreſſed to the biſhops, confirms to them, and the inferior clergy, to their wives, children and domeſtics, ſeveral immunities and exemptions [q]. This year Conſtantius cauſed an harbour to be made at Seleucia, at an immenſe charge, for the convenience of the city of Antioch, which ſtood on the Orontes, at a ſmall diſtance from thence. This work coſt him, according to Libanius and the emperor Julian [r], incredible ſums, the mouth of the Orontes, where the port was made, being full of rocks and ſands. He likewiſe rebuilt the cities of Seleucia in Syria, and Antaradus in Phœnicia; whence the latter, in the acts of ſome councils, is called from him Conſtantia [s]. The ſame year, Sapor, king of Perſia, beſieged Niſibis a ſecond time; but was obliged to retire with diſgrace, after having continued before it three months, as we read

Neocæſarea ruined by an earthquake.

The port of Antioch at Seleucia.

Niſibis beſieged in vain by the Perſians the ſecond time.

[l] Liban. orat. 12. p. 309. [m] Greg. Nyſſ. in vit. Greg. Thaumat. [n] Theoph. p. 31. [o] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 46. Ath. apol. 1. p. 676. [p] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 46. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 10. p. 34. [r] Liban. orat. 13. p. 386. Julian. orat. 1, p. 74. [s] Theoph. p. 31. Baudr. p. 45.

read in St. Jerom, or ſeventy-eight days, as Theophanes will have it. The following year, when Rufinus and Euſebius were conſuls, the emperor Conſtantius pretended to have gained a conſiderable victory over the Perſians [n]: he was at Ancyra on the eighth of March, and at Hierapolis on the eleventh of May [o]. The next conſuls were Flavius Philippus, a great ſtickler for the doctrine of Arius, and Flavius Sallea or Salia, a zealous defender of the faith of the council of Nice. This year, Conſtans filled with indignation againſt the Arians, and aſhamed of the weakneſs of his brother, who ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon and deluded by thoſe ſubtle heretics, threatened to reſtore by force of arms the orthodox biſhops, whom he had baniſhed at their inſtigation, unleſs he recalled them of his own accord. Conſtantius was, either by fear, or the reaſons alledged by Conſtans in behalf of the exiled biſhops, prevailed upon to give his conſent to their return [p]. The ſame year, Conſtans ſent Macarius and Paulus, two officers of diſtinction, into Africa, with large ſums to be diſtributed among the poor of that province. They were likewiſe enjoined by that moſt religious prince, as he is ſtyled by a council [q], to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in reclaiming the Donatiſts, and re-uniting them to the church. Their endeavours were crowned with ſucceſs; for the moſt obſtinate and ſtubborn among theſe ſectaries being driven out of the province, the reſt yielded to reaſon, and were received again into the church; ſo that the chriſtians there enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till thoſe who were baniſhed were recalled by the emperor Julian [r]. But this year is chiefly remarkable for a great battle between the Perſians and Romans, fought in the neighbourhood of Singarus, a city of Meſopotamia. The Perſians had poſted themſelves there, and fortified their camp with a deep ditch and ramparts; on which, as well as on the neighbouring hills, they had placed an incredible number of archers: their army was very numerous, and compoſed almoſt of all the nations of the eaſt, Sapor their king being determined to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, and end, if poſſible, by a ſingle victory, ſo tedious and expenſive a war. He did not doubt but the Romans would attack him in his camp, and therefore had fortified it with extraordinary care, and placed bo-

The Donatiſts ſuppreſſed in Africa.

The battle of Singarus.

[n] Athan. ſolit. p. 819. [o] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p 46, 47. [p] Theodoret. vit. patrum, l. ii. c. 8. p. 13. [q] Concil. tom. ii. p. 713. [r] Philoſtorg. l. iii. c. 12. p. 45. Socrat. l. ii. c. 23. p. 107.

dies of archers on all the eminences which commanded the avenues leading to it. Accordingly the Romans, finding they could by no means entice the enemy into the open field, forced Conſtantius to lead them up to the very ramparts of their camp, which they attacked with a fury hardly to be expreſſed, and forced, in ſpite of the ſhowers of arrows that were diſcharged upon them from the eminences, and the vigorous reſiſtance they met with from thoſe in the camp. Great numbers of the Perſians were cut in pieces, and the reſt either put to flight, or taken priſoners: amongſt the latter was the king's ſon, whom the Romans are ſaid to have put to death, after having cauſed him to be publicly beaten with rods [s]. Thus the Romans made themſelves maſters of the enemy's camp, baggage, and treaſures: but while they were, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, quenching their drought with the freſh water, of which they found great plenty in the camp, the Perſian archers rallying, fell upon them unexpectedly, and ſnatched the victory, to uſe the expreſſion of Libanius [t], out of their hands. In this attack, which happened in the night-time, great havock was made of the Romans; but nevertheleſs the Perſians, as ſoon as day began to appear, withdrew beyond the Tigris, and broke down the bridges, which they had laid over that river, that the Romans might not purſue them [u]. The loſs was great on both ſides; but the Romans, by remaining maſters of the field, claimed the victory [w]. The following year, when Ulpius Limenius and Aconius Catulinus were conſuls, the city of Berytus was in great part overturned by an earthquake; which ſo frightened the inhabitants, that ſuch of them as had not yet embraced the chriſtian religion, crouded to the churches to be baptized: but the lives of ſuch converts, not inſtructed in the holy myſteries, and the duties of their profeſſion, did no great honour to the religion they pretended to embrace [x]. Conſtans, in the beginning of this year, was in Gaul [y]: there Athanaſius took leave of him, upon his ſetting out for his ſee in Egypt. From Gaul he paſſed into Illyricum, and was on the twenty-ſeventh of May at Sirmium [z]; whence he returned to Gaul before winter. As for Conſtantius, he was on the firſt of April at Antioch, and ſome time after at Edeſſa in Meſopotamia; whence he wrote

The Romans force the Perſian camp.

But ſuſtain a great loſs.

A dreadful earthquake at Berytus.

[s] Lib. p. 13. Eutrop. p. 588. Julian. p. 43. [t] Lib. p. 133. [u] Lib. ibid. Julian orat. 1. p. 45. [w] Ammian. p. 122. [x] Theoph. p. 32. Cedren. p. 299. [y] Athan. apol. 2. p. 774. [z] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 48.

wrote to Athanaſius, preſſing him to haſten his return to the eaſt. He was at Conſtantinople on the third of October [a]. The law enacted this year on the eleventh of April, exempting the eccleſiaſtics from all civil functions and employments, is commonly aſcribed to him.

THE following year 350, when Sergius and Nigrinianus were conſuls, is remarkable for many great events. The Perſians, notwithſtanding the loſs they had ſuſtained in 348, returned this year with a mighty army, an incredible number of elephants, and warlike engines of all kinds, and, after ravaging Meſopotamia, and taking ſeveral ſtrong holds there, ſat down before Niſibis the third time, and left nothing unattempted to reduce that important place. Conſtantius was then at a great diſtance, the diſturbances which happened this year in the weſt, requiring his preſence there. But the city was defended by Lucilianus, father-in-law to Jovian afterwards emperor, an officer of great courage and experience, and by the holy biſhop James, in whoſe prayers the garriſon and inhabitants confided more than in their own valour and arms [b]. The Perſians battered the walls for ſeveral days together, with the many engines which they had brought with them for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time endeavoured to undermine them; but all their efforts proving ineffectual, Sapor cauſed the river Mygdonus, flowing through the city, to be turned into a new chanel, hoping by that means to diſtreſs the inhabitants for want of water; but finding them ſufficiently ſupplied with wells and ſprings within the walls, he cauſed the courſe of the river to be ſtopped, and by that means laid the whole country round the town under water; inſomuch, that it ſeemed an iſland in the midſt of the ſea. His deſign was to overflow the town; but as it ſtood on a riſing ground, the waters did not quite reach the top of the walls. He therefore ordered them to be battered with all kinds of warlike engines from ſhips and boats, of which he aſſembled an incredible number for that purpoſe. This attack laſted ſeveral days; but proving in the end ineffectual, Sapor cauſed the river to be ſtopped above the city by a wall or mole of an extraordinary breadth and height; which being ſuddenly broken down, the waters ruſhed with ſuch violence againſt the wall of the city, that it was overturned, and laid level with the ground for the ſpace of an hundred cubits. Hereupon the enemy, believing themſelves now maſters of the

Niſibis beſieged a third time.

All the efforts of Sapor againſt it rendered ineffectual.

[a] Idem ibid. [b] Philoſtorg. l. iii. c. 23. Theodor.

place, advanced with loud ſhouts to the attack; but, to their great ſurprize, met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, the garriſon and inhabitants being encouraged and animated by their holy biſhop, that they were obliged to retire, after having loſt a great many men, horſes, and elephants, as the reader will find related at length by the emperor Julian [c]. Heaven itſelf ſeemed to eſpouſe the cauſe of the inhabitants of Niſibis; for the Perſians, during the attack, were ſo terrified with dreadful flaſhes of lightning, winds, and rain, that they were not in a condition either of defending themſelves, or offending the enemy [d]. They are ſaid to have loſt in this one attack above ten thouſand men [e]. Sapor did all that lay in his power to prevent the inhabitants from repairing the breach, annoying them with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, but to no effect; for the very next morning he ſaw, to his great ſurprize, a new wall raiſed, and the garriſon ready to receive him. He continued, however, the ſiege; but was, as often as he attacked the place, repulſed with great loſs. Beſides, his army was annoyed with ſwarms of ſmall flies; which entering the noſtrils of the horſes, and the trunks of the elephants, rendered them quite wild and ungovernable; inſomuch, that great numbers of the Perſians were by them troden under foot, and cruſhed to pieces. To theſe evils was added a dreadful famine, and ſoon after a plague, which made a terrible havock in the Perſian camp, and in the end obliged Sapor, deſpairing of ſucceſs, to raiſe the ſiege, after it had laſted near four months, and retire with the loſs of twenty thouſand men and upwards [f]. The many evils and calamities which afflicted the Perſians during this memorable ſiege, are aſcribed by Theodoret and Sozomen to the prayers of James, biſhop of the place. Be that as it will, Sapor was forced to abandon the enterprize, after having, in the tranſports of his rage, put ſome of his chief commanders to death, and all thoſe who had adviſed him to this war. He gave no further trouble to the Romans till the year 359, when the war was rekindled, as we ſhall relate in a more proper place. The hiſtory of the ſiege of Niſibis was written by Vologeſes biſhop of the place [g], who probably ſucceeded James in that ſee; but that work has not reached our times.

The vigorous reſiſtance of the garriſon and inhabitants.

The ſiege raiſed.

We ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of the diſturbances in the weſt, which encouraged the Perſians to invade the Roman

[c] Jul. orat. ii. p. 116. [d] Theoph. p. 33. [e] Idem ibid. & chron. Alexand. [f] Julian. Theophan. ibid. Theodor. p. 633. [g] Chron. Alex. p. 674.

Roman dominions, and lay ſiege to Niſibis. Magnentius, the ſon of one Magnus, a native of Germany, and commander of ſome troops appointed to guard the banks of the Rhine, finding Conſtans univerſally deſpiſed by the army, on account of his indolence and inactivity, reſolved to diſpatch him, and ſet up for himſelf. Accordingly, having imparted his deſign to Marcellinus, receiver of the revenues in Gaul, to Chreſtus, and ſome other officers, and gained them over to his intereſt, on the day appointed for the execution of the plot, Marcellinus, under pretence of celebrating his ſon's birth-day, invited Magnentius, and the chief officers of the army, to an entertainment, which laſted till the night was far ſpent, when Magnentius withdrew, and ſoon after returned in the imperial robes, and with all the enſigns of ſovereignty. Such of the company as were privy to the deſign, immediately ſaluted him with the title of Auguſtus. The reſt, who looked upon it at firſt as a jeſt, (and for ſuch it had paſſed, had the plot miſcarried) were eaſily prevailed upon, as they were heated with wine, to follow the example of the conſpirators; ſo that Magnentius was, by all who were preſent, acknowledged emperor. This happened in the city of Autun, on the eighteenth of January, while Sergius and Nigrinianus were conſuls, four years after the council of Sardica, and ten after the death of young Conſtantine [h]. The uſurper immediately ſeized on the imperial palace at Autun, and diſtributed among the populace what ſums he found there; which induced, not only the city, but the neighbouring country, to eſpouſe his cauſe. Their example was followed by a body of cavalry detached from the army in Illyricum, to reinforce that in Gaul. Magnentius, upon his firſt aſſuming the title of emperor, diſpatched one Gaïſo, a principal commander in the army, with orders to put Conſtans to death. The unhappy prince, being informed of what had paſſed, notwithſtanding Magnentius had ordered the gates of Autun to be kept ſhut a whole day, and placed guards on all the roads, had thrown off the imperial robes, and fled towards Spain. But Gaïſo, informed of the rout he had taken, followed him cloſe with a choſen body of troops, and overtaking him at Helena, a ſmall village at the foot of the Pyrenees, diſpatched him there with many wounds [i]. St. Chryſoſtom writes, that the unfortunate prince, finding it impoſſible to make his eſcape, firſt ſlew his children, and then himſelf

Magnentius revolts.

Conſtans murdered.

[h] Zoſ. p. 692. Zonar. p. 12. Jul. orat. ii. p. 106, 107. Hier. chron. [i] Zonar. p. 13. Zoſ. p. 693.

ſelf [k]. But this is not vouched by any antient hiſtorian; nay, we are no-where told, that he had any children. Such was the end of Conſtans, the great Conſtantine's youngeſt ſon, in the thirtieth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was created Cæſar on the twenty-fifth of December 333, and aſſumed the title of emperor on the ninth of September 337. He was a zealous defender of the chriſtian religion, and the orthodox faith, a declared enemy to the Arians, Donatiſts, and all ſectaries. He filled the churches with gifts and offerings, and had nothing ſo much at heart as the propagation of the goſpel, the aboliſhing of idolatry, and the unity of the church [l]. Thus Athanaſius, who never ſpeaks of him but with the greateſt reſpect and veneration, giving him conſtantly the title of Bleſſed. The ſame writer aſſures us, that he had received the ſacrament of baptiſm, and ſeems to rank him among the martyrs [m]. On the other hand, the pagan writers lay ſeveral things to his charge. Aurelius Victor writes, that after he had reigned ſome years with great applauſe, he abandoned himſelf to cruelty and avarice [n]. Libanius charges him with ſuffering one Eugenius, and his other favourites, to oppreſs the people, and fill their own coffers at their expence [o]. Victor the younger complains of his preferring to the moſt profitable employments ſuch as were able to lay down moſt money for them, without any regard to merit [p]. Eutropius likewiſe finds fault with his miniſters, and adds, that the many vices which began to appear in the prince, joined to the rapaciouſneſs of his miniſters, rendered him odious to the ſoldiery, and inſupportable to the people [q]. Zoſimus, an avowed enemy to all princes who profeſſed the chriſtian religion, ſpeaks of him as the moſt cruel and inhuman tyrant that ever wore and diſgraced a diadem, and paints him as one addicted to all manner of lewdneſs, and guilty of ſuch crimes as are moſt repugnant to nature [r]. Aurelius Victor [s] and Zonaras [t] ſeem to confirm this charge. But, had it been true, we cannot think the great Athanaſius, who could not be unacquainted with it, would have commended him on account of his piety, as he frequently does. Libanius, in an oration which he pronounced not long before his death, extols his continence and averſion to unlawful pleaſures; which would have been rather deriding

His character.

[k] Chryſ. in Phil. hom. 15. p. 143. [l] Athan. apol. i. p. 678, 679. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Aur. Vict. p. 527. [o] Liban. orat. iii. p. 212. [p] Vict. epit. p. 544. [q] Eutrop. p. 588. [r] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 692. [s] Aur. Vict. p. 527. [t] Zonar. p. 13.

deriding than commending him, had he been guilty of the above-mentioned crimes.

ZONARAS writes, that, before the death of Conſtans was publicly known, Magnentius ſent in his name for all the officers, whom he thought attached to the deceaſed prince's intereſt, and capable of defeating his own deſigns, and cauſed them to be murdered on the road [u]. But whether the death of Conſtans, and the uſurpation of Magnentius, could be ſo long kept concealed, we leave the reader to judge. Be that as it will, Magnentius, by the death of Conſtans, became maſter of all the countries beyond the Alps, and ſoon after of Italy, Sicily, and Africa [w]. To ſtrengthen his intereſt, he declared his brother Deſiderius, and Decentius, according to ſome, his other brother, according to others, only his couſin, Cæſars. The latter took alſo the names of Magnentius and Magnus, and is diſtinguiſhed on his medals with the uncommon title of Fortiſſimus, or moſt valiant [x]. The news of the death of Conſtans, and the revolt of Gaul, no ſooner reached Illyricum, than Veteranio, general of the foot in Pannonia, aſſumed the imperial robes, and cauſed himſelf to be ſaluted with the title of Auguſtus by the legions under his command. This happened at Sirmium, on the firſt of May, according to Idatius, or on the firſt of March, as we read in the chronicle of Alexandria. He was a native of Upper Mœſia, and ſtricken in years when he uſurped the ſovereignty; but ſo illiterate, that he then firſt learnt to read [y]. Aurelius Victor ſpeaks of him as a man of no parts [z]. But the emperor Julian writes, that he was no deſpicable man [a]; and Eutropius commends him on account of his probity and affability, and adds, that as he had ſerved in the army from his infancy, and had been always attended with ſucceſs, he was univerſally beloved by the ſoldiery [b]. It appears both from the chronicle of Alexandria [c] and from his medals [d], that he was a chriſtian [e]. Philoſtorgius [f] and Theophanes [g] write, that he was inveſted with the purple by Conſtantia, the eldeſt ſiſter of Conſtantius, and widow of Annibalianus, who claimed that right, as having been declared empreſs by her brother Conſtantine. The emperor Julian does not ſpeak of him as

The cruelty of Magnentius.

He declares Deſiderius and Decentius Cæſars.

Veteranio aſſumes the title of Auguſtus.

[u] Zonar. p. 13. [w] Julian. orat. i. p. 47. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 693. [x] Birag. p. 483, 485. [y] Zoſ p. 693. [z] Aur. Vict. p. 527. [a] Julian. p. 59. [b] Eutrop. p 588. [c] Chron. Alexand. p. 678. [d] Spanh. l. ii. p. 91. Birag. p. 486. [e] Chron. Alex. 676. [f] Philoſtorg. p. 22. [g] Theoph. p.

as an uſurper; and Zonaras tells us, that, in aſſuming the imperial dignity, he wrote to Conſtantius, aſſuring him, that he had nothing in view but to oppoſe the uſurper Magnentius; and that he ſhould always look upon himſelf rather as his lieutenant, than an emperor or ſovereign [h]. Philoſtorgius adds, that Conſtantius confirmed to him the title of emperor, and ſent him the diadem [i]. Beſides Magnentius and Veteranio, a third pretender to the empire, ſtarted up, viz. Flavius Popilius Nepotianus, the ſon of Eutropia, ſiſter to Conſtantine the Great; who, having aſſembled a company of gladiators and ſeveral others of deſperate fortunes, aſſumed the purple on the third of June, and in that attire preſented himſelf before the gates of Rome. The prefect Anicetus, who commanded there for Magnentius, ſallied out againſt him with a body of Romans, who were ſoon repulſed, and driven back into the city; which Nepotianus took not long after, and filled with blood and ſlaughter, putting to death among the reſt the prefect Anicetus. Magnentius was no ſooner informed of what had happened, than he ſent Marcellinus, his chief favourite and prime miniſter, againſt this new competitor. Nepotianus received him with great reſolution; whereupon a bloody battle enſued between the ſoldiers of Magnentius and the Romans who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Nepotianus; but the latter being betrayed by a ſenator, named Heraclitus, his men were put to flight, and he himſelf killed, after having enjoyed the ſovereignty twenty-eight days [k]. Marcellinus ordered his head to be carried on the point of a lance through the chief ſtreets of the city, put all thoſe to death who had declared for him, and, under pretence of preventing future diſturbances, commanded a general maſſacre of ſuch as were any-ways related to Conſtantine. On this occaſion many perſons of great diſtinction were inhumanly murdered, and among the reſt Eutropia, the mother of Nepotianus [l]. Soon after, Magnentius himſelf came to Rome, to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on the war againſt Conſtantius, who was making great preparations to attack him, and revenge the murder of his brother. The tyrant, during his ſtay at Rome, put many perſons of diſtinction to death, whom Marcellinus had ſpared, in order to ſeize their eſtates, and oppreſſed the reſt in a moſt tyrannical manner, obliging them, under pain of death, to contribute half what they

Nepotianus aſſumes the title of emperor, and ſeizes Rome.

He is ſlain.

Rome tyrannically oppreſſed by Magnentius.

[h] Zonar. p. 14. [i] Philoſtorg. p. 55. [k] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 693. Eutrop. p. 588. Aur. Vict. p. 527. Ammian. p. 316, 319.
[l] Themiſt. orat. iii. p. 43. Julian. orat. iii. p. 106, 107.

they were worth towards the expences of the approaching war. Having by this means raiſed great ſums, he aſſembled a mighty army, conſiſting of Romans, Germans, Gauls, Franks, Britons, Spaniards, &c. but at the ſame time dreading the uncertain iſſues of war, he diſpatched embaſſadors to Conſtantius, with offers of an accommodation *. That prince was then at Antioch, where, upon the firſt advice of his brother's death, he had cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged emperor of the weſt, and to ſupport that title, had aſſembled all the troops diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the eaſt, and a more powerful fleet, if the emperor Julian is to be credited, than that with which Xerxes formerly invaded Greece [m]. Theodoret writes, that Conſtantius, before he ſet out on his march to Europe, exhorted all his ſoldiers to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm, and diſmiſſed ſuch as refuſed to be baptized, declaring, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to expoſe to the dangers of a war perſons not initiated in the holy myſteries [n]. This ſeems to us ſomewhat ſtrange, ſince Conſtantius himſelf was not yet baptized. Be that as it will, Conſtantius ſet out from Antioch about the beginning of autumn, and paſſing through Conſtantinople, arrived at Heraclea, where he was met by deputies from Magnentius and Veteranio, who had agreed to ſupport each other, in caſe Conſtantius would not hearken to an accommodation. The terms propoſed by their deputies were, That they were ready to aſſiſt him with all their forces againſt the Perſians and other barbarians, and to acknowledge him as the firſt emperor, provided he ſuffered them to enjoy the ſame title. The deputies of Magnentius propoſed in his name a match between him and Conſtantia, or rather Conſtantina, the ſiſter of Conſtantius, and widow of Annibalianus, offering at the ſame time to Conſtantius the ſiſter of Magnentius [o]. We are told, that while Conſtantius was deliberating with himſelf whether or no he ſhould yield to theſe terms, and come to an agreement with the two pretended emperors, his father Conſtantine appeared to him in a dream the night following, and preſenting Conſtans to him, commanded him to revenge his death, and aſſured him of ſucceſs in ſo commendable an undertaking. Hereupon Conſtantius, reſolved to hearken to no terms, ordered the deputies, both of Magnentius and Veteranio, to be committed to cuſtody; and purſuing his march with

Conſtantius marches againſt him.

Conſtantius rejects the terms of an accommodation propoſed by Magnentius.

* Ammian. l. xvi. p. 64. Socrat. l. i. c. 32. p. 127. [m] Jul. orat. i. p. 77, 78. [n] Theodoret. l. iii. c. i. p. 638. [o] Zonar. p. 14. Themiſt. orat. iii. iv. p. 42. 56. Jul. orat. ii. p. 55

with incredible expedition, arrived at Sardica, before Veteranio knew of his departure from Heraclea. However, he aſſembled in haſte what troops he could, reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; which Conſtantius wiſely declined, offering to conclude a ſeparate treaty with Veteranio, that he might not have two enemies to contend with at once. Veteranio hearkened to the propoſal, and, being acknowledged emperor by Conſtantius, joined him with all his forces. The two princes, after the conjunction of their forces, mounted the tribunal together to harangue their troops. Conſtantius, who ſpoke the firſt, reminded the ſoldiers, in a very elegant and artful ſpeech, of their obligations to his father; of the bounties they had received at his hands; of the oaths of allegiance which they had taken to his ſons, &c. and concluded with exhorting them not to ſuffer the inhuman murder of his brother, the ſon of ſo great a prince, to paſs unrevenged: and declaring, that he only demanded what was in juſtice due to him, it being agreeable to all the laws of equity, that to a brother ſhould ſucceed a brother, and not a ſtranger, much leſs an open enemy to the whole imperial family [p]. Tho' this ſpeech was levelled againſt Magnentius alone, yet the ſoldiers, applying it to Veteranio, cried out aloud, That they acknowledged no other emperor but Conſtantius, pulled Veteranio down from the tribunal, and obliged him to quit the purple and diadem; who thereupon threw himſelf at Conſtantius's feet, and implored his mercy. The emperor received him with great kindneſs, embraced him, ſtyled him father, entertained him at his table, and afterwards ſent him to Pruſia in Bithynia, where he allowed him a maintenance ſuitable to his quality. This happened, according to ſome, at Sirmium, according to others, at Naiſſus, on the twenty-fifth of December 350. Veteranio ſpent the reſidue of his life, which was ſix years, in works of piety, in aſſiſting daily at the holy myſteries, in relieving the diſtreſſed, &c. without ever intermeddling with affairs of ſtate; nay, he is ſaid to have written frequently to Conſtantius, returning him thanks for having delivered him from the anxiety and cares attending the ſovereignty, and by that means procured him the happineſs he enjoyed [q].

Veteranio depoſed by the ſoldiery.

THE following year, Magnentius entered upon his firſt conſulſhip, and took Gaïſo for his collegue, rewarding him with that dignity for the murder of Conſtans; but as neither of

[p] Jul. orat. ii. p. 143. Zoſ. p. 694. Athan. ſolit. p. 844.
[q] Zonar. p. 14. Socrat. l. ii. c. 28. p. 120. Zoſ. p. 695.

of them was acknowledged in the countries ſubject to Conſtantius, the preſent year is in all the faſti dated thus, the year after the conſulate of Sergius and Nigrinianus [r]. Conſtantius, now maſter of all Illyricum, which was held by Veteranio, and of the army he commanded, conſiſting of an incredible number of foot and twenty thouſand horſe, reſolved to march againſt Magnentius, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would allow him to take the field, and attack the tyrant in his own dominions. In the mean time, upon advice that the Perſians were preparing to invade the eaſtern provinces, he married his ſiſter Conſtantina, the widow of Annibalianus, to Gallus his couſin-german, the ſon of his uncle Julius Conſtantius; created him Cæſar on the fifteenth of March; allotted him for his ſhare not only all the eaſt, but Thrace too and Conſtantinople; and ſent him to Antioch to oppoſe the Perſians, in caſe of an invaſion [s]. Philoſtorgius writes, that, before the two princes parted, they took a ſolemn oath in the preſence of Theophilus and the other biſhops then at court, to maintain an inviolable fidelity to each other [t]. The Perſians contented themſelves with only making ſome inroads into the Roman dominions; but were conſtantly repulſed by Gallus [u]. Theſe inroads and incurſions are the war mentioned by Philoſtorgius [w] and Theophanes [x], and ſaid to have been finiſhed with great glory by Gallus Cæſar. About the ſame time that Gallus was created Cæſar by Conſtantius, Magnentius, who was then at Milan, gave the ſame title, according to Zonaras, to his brother Decentius, whom he diſpatched into Gaul, to defend that country againſt the barbarians, who had invaded it; for Conſtantius had not only ſtirred up the Franks and Saxons to break into that province, by promiſing to relinquiſh to them all the places they ſhould reduce, but had ſent them large ſupplies of money and arms for that purpoſe [y]. The barbarians, upon this encouragement, invaded Gaul with a mighty army, overthrew Decentius in a pitched battle, committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the country in the deplorable condition in which Julian found it, as he himſelf relates at length, in the year 356 [z]. In the mean time, Magnentius, having aſſembled a numerous and formidable army, conſiſting chiefly of Gauls, Franks, and Saxons,

Gallus marries Conſtantina, and is created Cæſar.

The Franks and Saxons invade Gaul.

[r] Buch. cycl. 240. Socrat. l. ii. c. 29. p. 120. [s] Aur. Vict. p. 427. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 695. Ammian. l. xiv. p. 13. [t] Philoſtorg. l. iv. c. 1. p. 63. [u] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 7. 8. [w] Philoſtorg. p. 60. [x] Theoph. p. 34. [y] Liban. orat. xii. p. 269. [z] Jul. epiſt. ad Athen. p. 511. 512.

Saxons, left Italy, and croſſing the Alps that part it from Noricum, advanced into the plains of Pannonia, where Conſtantius, whoſe main ſtrength conſiſted in cavalry, was waiting for him. Magnentius, hearing that his competitor was encamped at a ſmall diſtance, diſpatched a meſſenger to him, inviting him into the extenſive plains of Sciſcia on the Save, to decide there which of them had the beſt title to the empire. Conſtantius accepted the challenge with great joy, and ordered his troops to file off towards Sciſcia; but as they marched in diſorder, they fell into an ambuſcade, and were put to flight with great ſlaughter [a]. Magnentius, puffed up with this ſucceſs, quickened his march towards Sciſcia, without hearkening to the terms propoſed to him by Philip in Conſtantius's name, who, dreading the evil conſequences of a civil war, offered to yield to him the prefecture of Gaul; that is, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and to acknowledge him emperor, upon condition that he relinquiſhed Italy. Philip being diſmiſſed, Magnentius attempted to paſs the Save in the neighbourhood of Sciſcia; but the garriſon ſallying out, and Conſtantius, who was at a ſmall diſtance, haſtening with a ſtrong detachment to ſupport them, Magnentius's men were put to flight, and great numbers of them cut in pieces. But the uſurper, notwithſtanding this defeat, ſent a few days after one Titianus, a Roman ſenator, with the character of embaſſador, to Conſtantius, adviſing him, if he tendered his life, to relinquiſh the empire, and paſs the reſidue of his days in retirement. To this haughty meſſage, and the bitter invectives uttered by Titianus againſt the great Conſtantine and his children, which Zoſimus himſelf ſtyles outrageous inſults [b], Conſtantius anſwered with great temper, That he did not doubt, but heaven would eſpouſe his cauſe, and revenge the blood of his brother on the author of his death [c]. While the two armies lay at a ſmall diſtance from each other, Sylvanus, of whom hereafter, abandoning Magnentius, fled over to Conſtantius, with a conſiderable body of cavalry under his command. Magnentius, no-ways diſheartened at his defection, attacked Sciſcia; and having taken it by aſſault, and levelled it with the ground, he laid waſte the whole country lying on the Save, and then ſat down before Sirmium, the metropolis of Illyricum; but not being able to reduce it, he removed from thence, and laid cloſe ſiege to Murſa; which obliged Conſtantius to quit his camp at Cibale, where his father

Magnentius rejects all terms of peace.

Sciſcia taken by Magnentius, and levelled with the ground.

[a] Zoſ. p. 695. Jul. orat. i. & ii. p. 64, 181. [b] Zoſ. p. 698. [c] Idem ibid. & Jul. orat. l. ii. p. 88, 181.

ther had formerly defeated Licinius, and haſten to the relief of the place. Magnentius, informed of his approach, placed four thouſand Gauls in a neighbouring wood, with orders to fall upon the enemy's rear, when they found both armies engaged. But Conſtantius, receiving timely notice of the ambuſcade, ſeized all the avenues leading to the wood, by which means the party was cut off [d]. After this, Conſtantius approached Murſa, and drew up his army in the adjoining plain along the Drave or Draw, on which Murſa ſtood, the river being on his right, and Magnentius's left. Both armies, thus ranged in battle-array, continued in the preſence of each other till the cloſe of the day, during which time Magnentius, though he profeſſed the chriſtian religion, is ſaid to have ſacrificed, by the advice of a magician, a virgin, and to have obliged his men to drink of her blood mixed with wine [e]. At length the ſignal was given, and the two armies advanced againſt each other with a fury hardly to be expreſſed. Magnentius's centre, according to the account of the emperor Julian [f], was, at the firſt onſet, put in diſorder by Conſtantius's left wing and cavalry; which Magnentius, who had drawn them up unſkilfully, as being altogether ignorant of the art of war, no ſooner obſerved, than he abandoned them, and betook himſelf to a ſhameful flight. His men, eſpecially the Gauls and barbarians, aſhamed to follow the example of their leader, though broken and in the utmoſt confuſion, often rallied in platoons, and, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the victorious army, ſtood their ground till the night was far ſpent, having no reſource but in victory, and being animated by their commanders, who were men of great valour and experience. Thus the emperor Julian. But Zoſimus [g] and Zonaras [h] write, that Magnentius did not retire till his army was entirely routed; and Eutropius, that he narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands. Zonaras adds, that, to avoid being taken, he turned his horſe looſe, adorned as he was with the imperial ornaments, that the enemy, imagining the rider to have been ſlain, might not purſue him [i]. As for the battle, Zonaras tells us, that fortune favoured ſometimes one ſide, and ſometimes the other [k]; and Zoſimus, that the victory was long doubtful; and that Conſtantius, grieved to ſee

The battle of Murſa.

Magnentius overthrown

[d] Jul. ibid. Ammian. l. xv. p. 44. Zonar. p. 15. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 698. [e] Zonar. p. 15. [f] Jul. orat. l. ii. p. 65, 106. [g] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 700. [h] Zonar. p. 15. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

ſee ſo much blood ſhed for a few provinces, ſent, even in the heat of the combat, deputies to Magnentius, with terms for an accommodation; but that the ſoldiers and officers of the tyrant, rejecting them with the utmoſt indignation, fought like men in deſpair, till the night was far ſpent, when they were at length put to flight by Conſtantius's cavalry, armed cap-á-pé, and purſued to their camp, which was taken and pillaged [l]. Some, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, made their eſcape; but the far greater part were either cut in pieces, or puſhed into the river and drowned [m]. Such was the iſſue of the memorable battle of Murſa, fought, according to the emperor Julian [n], about the end of Autumn; but, according to Idatius, on the twenty-eighth of September. Zonaras writes, that Magnentius loſt on this occaſion twenty-four thouſand men, and Conſtantius thirty thouſand; which we can hardly believe. However that be, it is certain, that the empire was greatly weakened by this blow, and that the battle of Murſa is generally reckoned by the antients one of the moſt dreadful calamities that ever happened to Rome [o]. Moſt of the officers on both ſides were killed, and among the reſt Menelaus, who commanded the Armenian archers under Conſtantius, and had ſignalized himſelf during the engagement in a very eminent manner. He was ſlain by Romulus the enemy's general, who being mortally wounded by him, would not retire till he had killed the perſon, who had given him the wound. We are told, that Menelaus was famous for his ſkill in archery; that he uſed to ſhoot three arrows at a time, which did execution in three different places; and that this greatly contributed to the victory [p]. Marcellinus, the chief author of this war, and all the evils attending it, ſignalized his courage in the battle, but was never afterwards heard of, nor could his body be found; whence he was believed to have been drowned in the river [q]. Though we are not told in expreſs terms by any writer, that Conſtantius was in perſon at the battle of Murſa, yet we can ſcarce believe what we read in Sulpicius Severus, viz. that not daring to appear in the field, he waited the iſſue of the combat in a neighbouring church [r]. As ſoon as it was day, (for the battle continued almoſt all night) the emperor, beholding from an adjoining eminence the plain covered, and the river choaked up, with dead bodies,

The battle of Murſa fatal to the empire.

[l] Zoſ. p. 699. [m] Jul. orat. i. ii. p. 67, 110. [n] Idem, orat. i. p. 69. [o] Vict. epit. Hier. chron. Eutrop. &c. [p] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 700. [q] Julian. orat. ii. p. 106. [r] Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 158.

dies, could not refrain from tears at so melancholy a sight, and being more grieved at the slaughter of so many men, than rejoiced at the victory, he ordered all the slain to be buried without distinction, and such as were wounded to be attended with care. At the same time, he caused a general pardon to be proclaimed for all those who had borne arms against him; those only were excepted who had been concerned in the death of his brother Constans [s]. Magnentius, abandoning Pannonia, fled with the remains of his shattered army into Italy, there to recruit his broken forces, and try the fortune of another battle [t]. Constantius did not pursue him, because the winter approached, says Julian [u], and likewise, without all doubt, because his army was greatly fatigued, weakened, and consequently not in a condition to undertake any new expedition.

An instance of Constantius's good nature.

Magnentius retires to Italy.

The following year, Decentius Cæsar and Paulus were acknowledged consuls at Rome, and Constantius the fifth time, with Gallus Cæsar, at Constantinople. Constantius passed the winter at Sirmium, as appears from the dates of several of his constitutions. By one dated the twenty-sixth of February of this year 352, and addressed to the prefect Rufinus, he granted to eunuchs the liberty of making testaments [w]; whence it is evident, that, till his time, they had been excluded from that privilege. Constantius was a great favourer of eunuchs, and entirely governed by them, and his other domestics [x]. Magnentius having, after the battle of Mursa, fortified the passes of the Alps, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend them, remained the whole winter at Aquileia, passing his time, if Julian is to be credited [y], in feasting and debaucheries, as if no danger threatened him. But Constantius, as soon as the season was proper for action, assembled his troops: and having, without the loss of one man, surprised and taken a castle on the Alps, in which Magnentius had left a strong garrison, advanced in order to force the rest. His sudden approach struck the tyrant with such terror, that he immediately abandoned Aquileia, and ordered the troops that guarded the other passes on the Alps to follow him. By this means Constantius, entering Italy without opposition, made himself master of Aquileia, and the neighbouring country. From thence he advanced to Pavia, where

Constantius passes the Julian Alps.

[s] Jul. or. i. ii. p. 69, 107. [t] Zos. l. ii. p. 700. Jul. orat. i. p. 69. [u] Jul. ibid. [w] Cod. Just. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5. p. 544. [x] Vide Baron. ann. 352. [y] Jul. ibid. p. 132.

where Magnentius gained a conſiderable advantage over him; which, however, did not prevent him from reducing the whole country bordering on the Po, Magnentius's men abandoning him in whole troops, and delivering to the enemy the places they garriſoned. This ſo diſheartened the tyrant, that in the end he left Italy, and retired with all his forces into Gaul [z]. Zoſimus writes, that he abandoned Italy, becauſe he found the city of Rome greatly attached to Conſtantius [a]; and Socrates, that before he withdrew into Gaul, he came to Rome, and there put a multitude of perſons of all ranks to death [b]. Conſtantius was maſter of Rome and Italy before the third of November; for we find a law bearing that date, addreſſed to the Roman people, wherein the emperor declares void ſome of the acts of Magnentius [c]. But, not ſatisfied with driving him from Italy, he ſent a powerful fleet to ſeize on Africa and Carthage; which immediately ſubmitted, as did ſoon after Sicily and Spain [d]. At the ſame time, ſeveral cities in Gaul revolted from the tyrant, and among the reſt Treves, the inhabitants of which important place ſhutting their gates againſt Decentius Cæſar, the tyrant's brother, declared for Conſtantius, and choſe one Pemenes to govern them in his name [e]. Magnentius, apprehending his affairs to be now in a deſperate condition, diſpatched to Conſtantius a ſenator, and after him ſome biſhops, to treat of a peace, offering to reſign the ſovereignty, upon condition that the emperor would grant him his life, and ſome honourable employment. But the emperor treated the ſenator as a ſpy, and diſmiſſed the biſhops, without deigning to return them any anſwer [f]. Hereupon Magnentius, perceiving there was no room left for pardon, recruited his army in the beſt manner he could, and diſpatched an aſſaſſin into the eaſt to murder Gallus Cæſar, hoping that his death would oblige the emperor to withdraw his forces from Gaul, and march in perſon to the defence of the eaſtern provinces, threatened by the Perſians. The aſſaſſin had already gained ſome of Gallus's guards; but the plot being diſcovered before it could be put in execution, they were all ſeized, and executed as traitors [g]. Some diſturbances however happened this year in the eaſt, raiſed, in all likelihood, and fomented by the emiſſaries of Magnentius;

Magnentius abandons Italy, and retires into Gaul.

Africa, Sicily and Spain declare for Conſtantius.

[z] Idem, or. ii. p. 133, 134. Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 457.
[a] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 700. [b] Socrat. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127. [c] Cod. Theodoſ. tit. 5. p. 408. [d] Jul. orat. i. ii. p. 73, 74, 137.
[e] Ammian. l. xv. p. 45. [f] Zonar. p. 15. [g] Idem, p. 15, 16.

Magnentius; for in Paleſtine the Jews took arms, and cutting the throats of the ſoldiers in the night, ſet up one Patricius for their prince; and over-running all Paleſtine, and the neighbouring places, committed every-where dreadful diſorders, exerting their cruelty chiefly upon the Samaritans. But Gallus, who was then at Antioch, marching againſt them upon the firſt news of their revolt, cut great numbers of them in pieces, without ſparing either their women or children, laid waſte their country, and burnt ſeveral of their cities; among the reſt Tiberias, Dioſpolis, and Diocæſarea. The laſt city he razed to the ground, and put all the Jews he found in it to the ſword, becauſe the revolt had begun there [h]. The Jews committed likewiſe ſome diſorders in Gaul, where they ſtabbed a man of great diſtinction, who, after having governed Egypt, had been ſent by Conſtantius into Gaul, and would, in all likelihood, had he not been thus ſuddenly taken off, prevailed upon the inhabitants to declare for Conſtantius. His tomb and epitaph were diſcovered many ages after in the village of Peyruis on the Durance [i]. Towards the cloſe of this, or the beginning of the following, year 353, Conſtantius married Euſebia, a native of Theſſalonica, the metropolis of Macedon, and the daughter of a conſular, and of a lady who is greatly commended for her chaſtity, and the extraordinary care ſhe took in educating her children after the death of her huſband [k]. She had two brothers, Euſebius and Hypatius, whom we ſhall ſee conſuls in 359. The emperor ſent for her out of Macedon, married her with great ſolemnity, loved her to the laſt more than he had done any of his other wives, (for he had had ſeveral) and, to perpetuate the memory of her name, made a new dioceſe, comprehending Bithynia, and ſome other provinces, to which he gave the name of Pietas, or Piety, the import of the Greek word Euſebia [l]. She is greatly commended by Ammianus [m], Zoſimus [n], and above all by Julian, who wrote her panegyric about the year 357 [o], for her beauty, virtue, obliging behaviour, ſkill in polite learning, prudence, &c. Julian was indebted to her both for his life, and the dignity of Cæſar [p]. She was no ſooner inveſted with power,

The Jews revolt; but are ſeverely puniſhed.

Conſtantius marries Euſebia.

Her character.

[h] Socrat. l. iv. c. 7. p. 545. Soz. l. ii. c. 33. p. 128. Hier. chron. [i] Spon. miſcel. antiq. p. 202. [k] Julian. orat. iii. p. 205. [l] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. Cang. Byzant. fam. p. 48. Julian. p. 206. Vict. epit. [m] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. [n] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 702. [o] Julian. orat. iii. p. 190. [p] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185.

than ſhe raiſed to the firſt employments all her relations, and the friends of her family [q]. On the other hand, Victor the younger charges her with not imitating the example of the empreſs Plotina, who adviſed her huſband Trajan to prefer the intereſt of his people to that of the exchequer [r]. Baronius ſpeaks of her as a profeſſed enemy to the catholic church, and a zealous favourer of the Arians, probably induced thereunto by what he had read in Athanaſius and Theodoret, of whom the former ſays in general terms, that the Arians were ſupported by the credit of women [s]; and the latter, that the empreſs having ſent money to Liberius, biſhop of Rome, to be diſtributed among the indigent chriſtians, he could not be prevailed upon to accept it, ſaying, Let the empreſs employ as her almoners her Arian biſhops, Auxentius and Epictetus [t]. Suidas tells us, that Leontius biſhop of Tripoli in Lydia, refuſing to wait upon the empreſs, becauſe ſhe had received other biſhops with great haughtineſs, ſhe ſent for him; but he, inſtead of complying immediately with her meſſage, acquainted her, that he thought himſelf obliged to avoid appearing before her, unleſs ſhe promiſed to receive him with that reſpect which was due to his character; that is, to deſcend from her throne, as ſoon as he appeared, to meet him near the door; to receive his bleſſing in an humble poſture; and ſtand till he had taken his place, and given her leave to ſit down. The empreſs, tranſported with rage, ſays the hiſtorian, at this anſwer, and ſwelled with pride, uttered, in the height of her fury, dreadful menaces againſt the biſhop; and complaining to Conſtantius of his unreaſonable pretenſions, endeavoured to inſpire him with her own rage. But the emperor, giving no ear to her complaints, commended the biſhop for thus maintaining his ſacred dignity and character, and deſired the empreſs to retire to her apartment till her anger was allayed [u]. Both Suidas and Philoſtorgius [w] beſtow mighty encomiums on Leontius, and paint him as a man of extraordinary merit; but to us he ſeems to have been, at leaſt, deſtitute of prudence and diſcretion. The prelates of the church ought not to flatter princes with a mean complaiſance; but neither are they allowed, in admoniſhing them of their faults, to be wanting to that reſpect which is due to their high ſtation. Euſebia proved barren; whence either out of jealouſy, or for

[q] Jul. ibid. p. 116, 117. [r] Vict. epit. p. 545. [s] Athan. ſolit. 813. [t] Theodoret. l. ii. c. 13. p. 609. [u] Suid. A. p. 20. [w] Philoſtorg. l. vii. c. 6. p. 504. Suid. ibid.

for ſome reaſons of ſtate unknown to us, ſhe obliged her ſiſter-in-law Helena, whom Julian had, by her intereſt, obtained in marriage of Conſtantius, to take a potion, which made her miſcarry as often as ſhe proved with child [x]. Julian married her about the end of the year 355, and this potion was given her, as Ammianus aſſures us, at Rome in 357. Before that time ſhe had been delivered in Gaul of a ſon, the only child ſhe could yet have; but he was diſpatched by the midwife, not without private orders from Euſebia, uneaſy at Julian's having any iſſue. Euſebia was ſtill living in the year 359, but dead ſome time before the end of the year 360 [y]. We are told, that ſhe died of a diſtemper occaſioned by her barrenneſs; and that her death was haſtened by a remedy with which unſkilful women pretended to remove it [z]. Conſtantius was this year, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ſixth of February and fifth of March at Sirmium; on the eighth of April at Sabaria in Pannonia; on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, the thirteenth of May, and the twenty-fourth of June, at Sirmium; on the third of November at Milan; and on the firſt of December again at Sirmium [a].

THE following year, when Conſtantius was conſul the ſixth time, and Gallus Cæſar the ſecond, the war againſt Magnentius was carried on with more vigour than ever, and happily ended by a third battle, ſays Julian [b], fought by the emperor's generals in the Cottian Alps, that is, in the Higher Dauphiné, near a caſtle called Mons Seleucus, or Mons Seleuci, which ſtood between Die and Gap, not far from the place where the preſent borough of Aſpres ſtands [c]. Magnentius's forces being in this battle likewiſe routed and broken, the tyrant took ſhelter in Lions; but the few ſoldiers who attended him, deſpairing now of any further ſucceſs, reſolved to purchaſe the emperor's favour by delivering up to him his rival, the author of the preſent calamitous war; and accordingly ſurrounded the houſe where he lodged, to prevent his eſcape. It was probably on this occaſion that Magnentius addreſſing himſelf to his men, they, inſtead of liſtening to him, cried out, with one voice, Long live Conſtantius Auguſtus. This at leaſt to us ſeems more probable than what

Magnentius defeated in Gaul.

[x] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 72. [y] Idem, l. xviii. p. 118. l. xxi. p. 185. [z] Zonar. p. 20. Chryſ. in Philip. hom. 5. p. 144. [a] Cod. Juſt. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5. p. 544. [b] Jul. orat. ii. p. 137. [c] Burdigal. itin. p. 39. Itin. Anton. p. 22. Baud. p. 493.

we read in Socrates [d] and Sozomen [e], viz. that Magnentius, endeavouring in a ſet ſpeech to encourage his men, whoſe ſpirits began to ſink under their ill fortune, they, forced by a ſuperior impulſe, inſtead of Long live Magnentius Auguſtus, cried out with one voice, Long live Conſtantius Auguſtus. From this miracle, add theſe two authors, Magnentius concluded, that his rival was favoured by heaven; and therefore, from that time forward, laying all other thoughts aſide, ſtudied only how to make his eſcape. The tyrant, well appriſed with the intention of his men, and thereupon tranſported with rage and deſpair, firſt ſlew with his own hand, his mother, his brother Deſiderius, whom he had created Cæſar, and ſuch of his relations and friends as were with him; and then, fixing his ſword in a wall, threw himſelf upon it, to avoid by that means a more ſhameful death, which he well deſerved, and had juſt reaſon to apprehend, if he fell alive into the hands of Conſtantius [f]. Such was the deſerved end of the tyrant and uſurper Magnentius, the firſt, ſay ſome writers, who brought a ſcandal upon chriſtianity, of which he made an outward profeſſion, by the murder of his lawful ſovereign. But we have ſhewn pretty plain in the reign of the emperor Philip, that he was the firſt chriſtian who imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign. All authors agree, that Magnentius died this year 353, about the middle of Auguſt, ſays Socrates, after he had held the ſupreme power three years, and near ſeven months, being, at the time of his death, about fifty years old. His head was, by the emperor's orders, cut off, and carried through moſt of the provinces of the empire [g]. His brother Decentius Cæſar, who was marching to his aſſiſtance, and had already reached Sens, hearing of his death, and finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy's forces, choſe rather to ſtrangle himſelf, than to fall alive into the emperor's hands. His death happened on the eighteenth of Auguſt [h]. On ſome of his medals he is ſtyled Auguſtus; and both on his, and thoſe of Magnentius, mention is made of a victory gained by the two Auguſti, and by Cæſar [i]. This victory is perhaps the advantage they gained over Conſtantius at Pavia, as we have related above; after which Magnentius probably gave Decentius the title of emperor.

He lays violent hands on himſelf.

Decentius Cæſar ſtrangles himſelf.

[d] Socrat. l. ii. c. 32. p. 127. [e] Soz. l. iv. c. 7. p. 544.
[f] Zonar. p. 16. Zoſ. l. ii. p. 701. Jul. orat. i. p. 73. Vict. epit.
[g] Vict. epit. p. 544. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 227. [h] Vict. ibid. Zoſ. p. 701. Socrat. p. 128. Zonar. p. 16. [i] Birag. p. 483–485.

emperor. Zonaras writes, that Deſiderius was not killed by Magnentius, but dangerouſly wounded; and that, upon his recovery, he yielded himſelf up to Conſtantius [k]. That author does not tell us what reception he met with; but Julian ſays in general terms, that Conſtantius, after the victory, ſheathed his ſword, and ſpared thoſe who were ſuſpected of the greateſt crimes, the tyrant's favourites and confidents, and ſuch as taking upon them to diſcharge his embaſſies, had abuſed their prince in a moſt outrageous manner. The writer means, no doubt, Titianus, of whoſe embaſſy to Conſtantius, and inſolent behaviour, we have ſpoken above; as does likewiſe Themiſtius, where he tells us, that the emperor having got into his power the perſon, with whoſe outrages he had been moſt affected, he not only forgave him, but requited his invectives with innumerable favours, the ſenſe of which kindneſs from the hands of a prince whom he had ſo inſolently abuſed, broke his heart [l]. Thus the panegyriſts. But hiſtorians do not ſpeak ſo favourably of Conſtantius; for Zoſimus tells us, that, not able to bear his good fortune, he grew proud, haughty, and imperious [m]; and Libanius, that thoſe who had ſerved under Magnentius, dreading the ſeverity of Conſtantius, and not daring to ſhew themſelves, turned public robbers, and infeſted the high-ways, till they were again taken into the ſervice by Julian [n]. Ammianus aſſures us, that the emperor ſpared none, who had, or were ſuſpected to have, rendered the uſurper any conſiderable ſervice; and that many officers, both civil and military, were under that pretence loaded with chains, and dragged to the tribunal of the emperor, who ſentenced them to death, or ſeized their eſtates, and confined them to deſert iſlands, upon the depoſition of their known enemies, or perſons altogether unworthy of credit; nay, frequently upon bare ſuſpicions, when no one appeared againſt them [o]. Many innocent perſons, ſays the ſame writer, were put to death, or baniſhed; among the latter he names one Gerontius, who had been honoured by Magnentius with the title of comes or count, and was therefore firſt racked, by Conſtantius's order, in a moſt inhuman manner, and then ſent into exile [p]. As the emperor gave ear to informations, informers multiplied without number; but the moſt miſchievous of that infamous tribe was one Paulus, a Spaniard, who had the character of ſecretary, and was nick-

Conſtantius's clemency extolled by the panegyriſts;

From whom hiſtorians differ

And give us ſeveral inſtances of his cruelty.

named

[k] Zon. p. 16. [l] Themiſt. orat. vi. p. 80. [m] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 701. [n] Liban. orat. xii. p. 285, 286. [o] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 9. [p] Idem ibid.

named Catena; that is, Chain, being remarkable for making accuſations ariſe from one another, and linking them together, as it were, in a chain. He was ſent into Britain, to bring from thence the tribunes and other officers, who had ſided with Magnentius; that is, who had obeyed the uſurper, when they were not in a condition to oppoſe him. He diſcharged this commiſſion with ſuch cruelty and injuſtice, that Martinus, a man of known integrity, and at that time vicar of the iſland, generouſly interpoſing in behalf of the innocent, declared, that, unleſs Paulus altered his meaſures, he would withdraw from his government, not being able to ſee the innocent thus tyrannically oppreſſed, and confounded with the guilty. This Paulus highly reſented, and even threatened to treat him as a traitor, and ſend him loaded with chains to the emperor. Hereupon Martinus drawing his ſword, attempted to kill the informer; but he, dexterouſly avoiding the puſh, received only a ſlight wound; and the brave Martinus buried his ſword in his own breaſt [q]. Notwithſtanding the odium which the death of ſo deſerving a man caſt upon the reign of Conſtantius, all thoſe, whom Paulus brought to him, were ſtripped of their eſtates, and either proſcribed, baniſhed, or put to death [r]. The name of Paulus is frequently mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, who relates ſeveral inſtances of his cruelty. Libanius likewiſe ſpeaks of one Ariſtophanes, whom that inhuman miniſter cauſed to be beaten with balls of lead till he was ready to expire [s]. The emperor was this year, on the ſixth of September, at Lions, as appears from a law bearing that date, which declares void all the public acts of the uſurper, and promiſes indemnity and pardon to all concerned in his revolt, excepting thoſe who were guilty of five crimes, which the laws puniſhed with death. Gothofredus endeavours to explain this law [t]. By another law of this year, the date of which is much diſputed, he granted many valuable privileges and exemptions to the clergy, to their wives, children and domeſtics [u]. From Lions the emperor removed to Arles, where he paſſed the winter, and ſolemnized with great pomp and rejoicings the end of the thirtieth year of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæſar; that is, from the eighth of November 323 [w]. Some modern writers pretend, that on occaſion

Paulus Catena, a noted informer, ſent into Britain.

His cruelty.

[q] Idem, p. 9, 10. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Liban. orat. ix. p. 214. [t] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 2. p. 270. [u] Cod. Theodo. tit. 6. p. 34, 35. [w] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 8, 9. Nor. dec. c. 1. p. 78, 79.

ſion of this ſolemnity was erected at Arles the obeliſk, which was not long ſince diſcovered there [x]. But this is a mere conjecture; for we have no poſitive proof even of its having been raiſed in honour of Conſtantius. Before the emperor left Arles, he ſummoned a council there, and on that occaſion gave many inſtances of his irreconcileable hatred to the orthodox, whom he had already begun to perſecute, and to the biſhops, who ſtood up in defence of the faith of the council of Nice, eſpecially to the great Athanaſius, and the holy biſhop Paulinus, who was driven from Treves, and ſent into exile [y]. Gaul was this year miſerably ravaged by the barbarians beyond the Rhine, and the diſbanded troops of Magnentius. At Rome the populace roſe on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and committed great diſorders. In Aſia the Iſaurian robbers over-ran Lycaonia and Pamphylia, and even laid ſiege to Seleucia, a great and populous city, and the capital of Iſauria. Count Caſtricius defended the place with three legions, ſays Ammianus; which ſhews, that the legions were not at this time near ſo numerous as formerly, but much the ſame with our regiments. Gallus Cæſar no ſooner received news of the ſiege of Seleucia, than he diſpatched Nibridius, count of the eaſt, to the relief of the place, who obliged the Iſaurians to abandon the enterprize, and take refuge in their inacceſſible mountains [z]. At the ſame time the Saracens committed dreadful ravages in Meſopotamia; and the Perſians, under the command of Nohadarus, attempted to ſurprize the city of Batne in the province of Anthemuſia on the Euphrates, on occaſion of a great fair which was annually held there for the vent of Indian and Chineſe commodities [a]. But the eaſtern provinces were not ſo much haraſſed by the barbarians as by Gallus himſelf, who commanded there with the title of Cæſar, and governed more like a tyrant and madman, than a prince. His unexpected advancement at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, his great quality, (for he was the nephew of Conſtantine, the couſin and brother-in-law of Conſtantius) ſome ſlight advantages obtained over the Jews, Perſians, and Iſaurians, and the flattering panegyrics of Libanius and others, pronounced before him, inſpired him with ſuch pride and arrogance, that he became altogether inſupportable, and abandoned himſelf to every act of violence and oppreſſion. He is even ſaid to have entertained thoughts of revolting from Conſtantius, and ſetting

Conſtantius perſecutes the orthodox.

The Iſaurians over-run ſeveral provinces.

The extravagant behaviour of Gallus.

[x] P. Pagi. p. 353. [y] Zonar. p. 16. [z] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 10 - 15. [a] Idem ibid.

ſetting up for himſelf [b]. He was naturally inclined to cruelty; and his wife Conſtantina, inſtead of ſoftening his ſavage temper, took pains to encourage him in his cruelty, and to exaſperate him againſt ſuch as did not yield to her the moſt ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, being puffed up beyond meaſure with the thought that ſhe was the daughter and ſiſter of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the wife of Cæſar. Ammianus ſtyles her the Megæra or fury of her ſex, and adds, that her cruelty was equal to her ambition [c]. Gallus, being thus egged on by his natural cruelty, and the reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit of his wife, broke out into all acts of violence imaginable. Some were murdered upon bare ſuſpicions; others deprived of their eſtates, and baniſhed. The prince entertained an incredible number of informers and ſpies, who, inſinuating themſelves into all companies, related to Gallus and his wife, and exaggerated, what they had heard of them; and the perſons thus accuſed were, without ſo much as being heard, hurried to execution, or privately diſpatched. Gallus himſelf, in order to make diſcoveries, uſed to walk the ſtreets in the night-time in diſguiſe, and to mix with the populace in public-houſes; but he did not long continue ſo ſhameful a practice, having been often known, by reaſon the ſtreets of Antioch, where he reſided, were illuminated the whole night with a great number of lights. His ſuſpicious and cruel temper being once diſcovered, ſuch as had private enemies laid hold of the prince's foible to gratify their own hatred, nothing being more eaſy than to deſtroy the moſt innocent perſons, and procure the confiſcation of their eſtates; for under Gallus it was one and the ſame thing to be accuſed or ſuſpected, and condemned. By this means all the cities and provinces were filled with blood and ſlaughter, and no man, ſays Ammianus, however free from guilt, was ſure to live or enjoy his eſtate a whole day. Among the many innocent perſons, whom Gallus unjuſtly deprived of their lives, liberty, or eſtates, authors particularly mention one Clematius, a nobleman of Alexandria, who refuſing to comply with the luſtful deſires of his wife's mother, ſhe turning her love into hatred, applied to Conſtantina, and preſenting her with a necklace of great value, obtained a warrant to Honoratus, count of the eaſt, to put him to death, which he did accordingly [d]. Thalaſſus, at that time prefect of the eaſt, was greatly concerned at the conduct of Gallus; and, had he been a man of prudence

His cruelty and ſuſpicious temper.

Thalaſſus's imprudent behaviour.

[b] Idem, p. 31. Socrat. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. Liban. vit. p. 34.
[c] Ammian. p. 2, 3. [d] Idem, p. 27.

dence and diſcretion, might have eaſily corrected it, and prevented many diſorders; but being himſelf of a haughty and imperious temper, inſtead of admoniſhing Gallus of his faults with the reſpect that was due to his rank, he oppoſed him with too much heat, and checked him with a great deal of roughneſs and ill-nature; and not ſatisfied with that, he informed the emperor of all his actions, exaggerating every thing to a great degree, not privately, but in public, with a deſign Gallus ſhould know he had done it; which, inſtead of reclaiming him, prompted him to ſtill greater exceſſes, that he might not ſeem to yield to his inferior [e].

THE following year, Conſtantius was conſul the ſeventh time, and Gallus the third. The emperor, having paſſed the winter at Arles, went early in the ſpring to Valence, with a deſign to march againſt Gondomadus and Vadomorus, two brothers, and both kings of the Alemans, who had made frequent inroads into that part of Gaul, which lay next to their territories. The rendezvous of the troops deſigned for this expedition was at Challon, on the Sône, where they began to mutiny for want of proviſions, the heavy rains that had fallen preventing the arrival of the corn that was expected from Aquitaine. Conſtantius was inclined to ſend to the mutinous army Rufinus, prefect of Gaul, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, to expoſe him to the fury of the incenſed ſoldiery, he being very powerful, and by the mother's ſide uncle to Gallus, on whoſe ruin the emperor had already reſolved. But Rufinus's friends at court prevailed upon the emperor to change his mind; and Euſebius, Conſtantius's great chamberlain, gained over the moſt mutinous and refractory by diſtributing money among them underhand. The emperor ſtaid ſome time at Valence, and there received certain advice of what Gallus had done; that is, as we conjecture, of the murder of Domitian, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon. The mutiny being appeaſed, and the expected convoys arriving ſoon after, the army marched chearfully towards Rauracum on the Rhine, a little above the preſent city of Baſle, where the emperor attempted to lay a bridge over that river; but the Germans from the other ſide of the Rhine plied the workmen ſo warmly with inceſſant ſhowers of darts and arrows, that the deſign was laid aſide as altogether impracticable. This reduced the emperor to great ſtreights: but while he was at a loſs what courſe to take, a perſon well acquainted with the country, ſhewed him a place where the river

Conſtantius marches againſt the Alemans.

Attempts in vain to lay a bridge over the Rhine.

[e] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 3. [f] Idem, p. 23.

river was fordable. They were, however, prevented from croſſing it, by the unexpected arrival of deputies from the enemy's camp to ſue for peace; which the emperor, by the advice of his council, and approbation of the army, readily granted, that he might be at leiſure to conſult what meaſures might be taken with reſpect to his couſin Gallus Cæſar, of whoſe extravagant conduct new complaints were daily laid before him. With this view he left Gaul, as ſoon as the treaty was concluded, and repaired to Milan [g]. He was on the twenty-ſecond of June at Ceſena in Romagna, and on the twenty-firſt of July at Ravenna; whence he went to Milan, the uſual place of his reſidence, and there paſſed the winter [h]. We ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of the affairs of the eaſt, and the ſtrange conduct of Gallus there, which gave juſt occaſion to the complaints of the people, and induced the emperor to reſolve upon his ruin. What happened there the preceding year, we have related above. In the beginning of the preſent year, great diſturbances were raiſed at Antioch, on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions. For Gallus commanding the magiſtrates to lower the prices, and they repreſenting, that this, inſtead of mitigating, would encreaſe the evil, he cauſed ſome of them to be publicly executed, and others to be dragged to priſon. But Honoratus, who was ſtill count of the eaſt, oppoſed this wild decree, and, in ſpite of Gallus, ſet the priſoners at liberty [i]. Some time after Gallus being to ſet out for Hierapolis, the people of Antioch beſeeching him to give orders before his departure for the conveying of corn to their city from other countries, he anſwered, that if they were not ſupplied, it was the fault of Theophilus, governor of Syria. This anſwer the people remembered, and the price of proviſions riſing, four or five mean perſons threw themſelves upon Theophilus in the circus; and the mob immediately riſing, they not only murdered him, but tranſported with rage, dragged his body about the ſtreets; a treatment which he no-ways deſerved, having diſcharged his employment with great mildneſs and integrity. They attempted to treat Eubulus, one of the chief men in the city, and his ſon, in the ſame manner; but they found means to eſcape the fury of the populace, who nevertheleſs burnt their houſes [k]. The death of Theophilus, thus abandoned by Gallus

Grants a peace to the Alemans.

Theophilus, governor of Syria, abandoned by Gallus to the rage of the populace

[g] Idem ibid. p. 23—25. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 52.
[i] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 25. Liban. vit. [k] Ammian. p. 16. Julian. p. 111. Liban. or. xiv. p. 399.

Gallus to the rage of the multitude, and his protecting one Serianus, who was univerſally hated by all good men, and had even aſpired at the empire, greatly prejudiced Conſtantius againſt him. The emperor, however, wrote ſeveral obliging letters to him; but at the ſame time, under various pretences, drew the flower of his troops into the weſt. About this time Thalaſſus, prefect of the eaſt, dying, Conſtantius named in his room one Domitian; and in giving him his inſtructions at his departure, told him among other things, he had been informed that Gallus was deſirous of coming to Italy, and paying him a viſit; adding, If you think it proper, you may conduct him to my preſence; but let it be done with all the duty and reſpect owing to his birth and ſtation. Domitian underſtood the emperor's meaning; but as he was the ſon of a tradeſman, he wanted politeneſs and addreſs to execute his tacit orders, agreeable to the prince's intention. For on his arrival at Antioch, he went directly to the houſe where the prefects lodged, without paying his reſpects to Cæſar, though he paſſed before his palace; and, under colour of being indiſpoſed, kept ſeveral days at home, informing himſelf of the conduct of Gallus, and ſending to the emperor an exaggerated account of all he heard. At length Gallus ſending him word that he ſhould be glad to ſee him, he went to court; and coming up to the prince, You muſt go, ſaid he abruptly, to Italy; for ſuch is the emperor's will and pleaſure; which, if you refuſe to comply with, I ſhall ſtop the neceſſary appointments for the maintenance of your houſhold. Having thus ſpoken, he withdrew without uttering a ſingle word more, or waiting the prince's anſwer, who called him back, and afterwards often ſent for him; but could never prevail upon him to appear again at court. Gallus, highly provoked, and not without reaſon, at the conduct of the prefect, ordered him to be put under arreſt. Montius, or, as others call him, Magnus, then quæſtor, foreſeeing the evil conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the execution of this order, thought himſelf obliged to prevent them, and with great frankneſs told Gallus, that he ought to pull down the ſtatues of Conſtantius before he thought of arreſting or putting to death a prefect [1]. Others ſay, that addreſſing himſelf to Gallus, he ſpoke the following words with an air of contempt; The emperor has not thought fit to truſt you with the power of creating a ſingle magiſtrate, and you talk of putting

The imprudent conduct of the prefect Domitian.

[1] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 16, 17. Zonar. p. 16.

putting a prefect to death [m]! Gallus, offended at the liberty which the quæſtor had taken, complained of it to his guards, who immediately ſeizing Montius, and faſtening cords to his feet, dragged him to the houſe of Domitian, whom they threw down ſtairs, and dragged with Montius through the chief ſtreets of Antioch, caſting, after many inſults, both their bodies into the river [n]. This bold attempt, in which Conſtantina is ſaid to have had a great ſhare, was followed by many other cruelties and murders, committed in all the provinces of the eaſt, at the inſtigation of Gallus and his wife Conſtantina, whoſe thirſt after blood was as great as that of her huſband. The reader will find in Ammianus Marcellinus [o], a detail of thoſe cruel and inhuman executions. It being diſcovered, that a purple garment was making privately at Tyre, the two Apollinares, father and ſon, the former governor of Phœnicia, and the latter ſon-in-law to the prefect Domitian, were by Gallus's orders arreſted, as if they aſpired at the ſovereignty, and, without any farther enquiry, condemned to baniſhment. But thoſe who conducted them, at ſome diſtance from Antioch, purſuant to their private orders, broke their thighs, and then put them to death [p]. Urſicinus, general of the horſe, was obliged to abandon the defence of Niſibis, and haſten to Antioch, to preſide at the enquiry which the emperor ordered to be made in this affair; but the other judges being named, and well inſtructed before-hand by Gallus and Conſtantina, he could not proceed as he would have otherwiſe done; for Ammianus Marcellinus, who ſerved under him, ſpeaks every-where of him as a man of an unblemiſhed character. As this commiſſion gave him an opportunity of diſcovering many things till then not known, he acquainted the emperor with the ſtate of affairs in the eaſt, and preſſed him to redreſs the many evils which afflicted thoſe provinces [q]. Beſides the informations the emperor received of Gallus's male-adminiſtration and cruelties, he was told, that, not ſatisfied with the dignity of Cæſar, he aſpired at the ſovereignty, and harboured evil deſigns againſt the emperor. This charge was believed by Socrates [r], and is not denied by Ammianus [s]. But other writers will have theſe to have been mere inventions of Dynamus and Picentius, two mean and infamous informers [t]. To whom Zoſimus adds the prefect

He and Montius murdered.

And many others.

Gallus accuſed of aſpiring at the ſovereignty.

[m] Philoſtorg. l. iii. p. 61. [n] Socr. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. Ammian. p. 17. Zon. p. 17. [o] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 18—23.
[p] Idem, p. 21, 22. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Socrat. l, ii. c. 34. p. 128. [s] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 1. [t] Zoſ. l. ii. p. 701,

fect Lampridius, a man of great ambition, and the eunuchs of the court, who had a great aſcendant over the emperor, eſpecially his chief chamberlain Euſebius. Conſtantius, giving credit to their accuſations, whether true or falſe, reſolved upon the ruin and death of Gallus, tho' his couſin-german and brother-in-law; but leſt he ſhould openly revolt, he carefully concealed his intention, and wrote a very friendly and obliging letter to Gallus, inviting him to Italy, that he might adviſe with him on certain affairs of great importance. At the ſame time, he wrote to Urſicinus, at that time magiſter equitum, or general of the horſe in the eaſt, to come with all ſpeed to Milan, in order to deliberate about the moſt proper meaſures that might be taken with reſpect to the Perſians, who were aſſembling their forces, as was pretended, with a deſign to invade Syria. This was likewiſe a pretext, which the emperor made uſe of to remove Urſicinus, leſt he ſhould raiſe diſturbances in the eaſt during the abſence of Galus. For the eunuchs and courtiers, dreading the merit and abilities of that worthy man and great warrior, filled the emperor's mind with ſuch fears and jealouſies, in order to compaſs his ruin. One Proſper, a comes or count, was ſent to ſucceed him, but only with the title and character of his deputy, to remove from him all apprehenſions of his being ſuſpected [u]. Urſicinus, on the receipt of the emperor's letter, ſet out immediately, accompanied by Ammianus the hiſtorian, and arrived at Milan much ſooner than he was expected, to the great joy of the emperor, who now thought of nothing but getting Gallus into his power. In order to this, beſides the above-mentioned letter to Gallus, he wrote ſeveral others to Conſtantina, expreſſing a great deſire to ſee her, and inviting her to court, with the moſt tender inſinuations imaginable; for he thought that the readieſt way to draw Gallus thither. They were both too ſenſible of their evil conduct not to apprehend the worſt from the emperor; however, Conſtantina, who was well acquainted with her brother's temper, hoped by her artful inſinuations to diſarm his rage; and, without any farther deliberation, ſet out on her journey, leaving Gallus at Antioch: but ſhe had ſcarce entered the province of Bithynia, when ſhe was ſeized with a fever at a place called Cœni Gallicani, of which ſhe died, leaving behind her one daughter, of whom no farther mention is made in hiſtory. Her body was carried to Rome, and buried on the Nomentan

Gallus and Urſicinus invited into Italy;

And likewiſe Conſtantina.

Conſtantina dies on her journey.

[u] Ammian. xiv. p. 26.

mentan way, where ſtood the church of the martyr Agnes, which ſhe had founded [w]. Her death threw Gallus into the utmoſt perplexity; as he had now loſt his only advocate with the emperor, he deſpaired of being able to appeaſe him; and therefore began to think of aſſuming the title of Auguſtus, which he had done, had he met with the leaſt encouragement; but moſt of his friends deſerting him on account of his inconſtant temper, and the reſt hating him for his cruelty, and dreading the power of Conſtantius, he was obliged to lay aſide all thoughts of openly revolting. In the mean time, the emperor, with frequent letters and repeated meſſages, importuned him to come with all ſpeed to court. Among the reſt, he ſent one Scudilo to him, a crafty inſinuating man, who, by giving him all imaginable aſſurances on the emperor's part, prevailed upon him to leave Antioch, and begin his journey to Italy. He ſtopt ſome time at Conſtantinople, where, like a man who apprehended no danger, he exhibited public ſhews, and diverted himſelf and the people with the circenſian ſports. This confident behaviour encreaſed the emperor's fears and jealouſies, who thereupon ordered all the garriſons to be removed out of the cities and towns through which he was to paſs, leſt he ſhould debauch them; and at the ſame time diſpatched ſeveral officers to him, who, under colour of attending him, were to keep a watchful eye over him; which they did with ſuch ſtrictneſs, that, though the Thebean legions encamped in Thrace, upon his arrival at Adrianople, ſent deputies to him, aſſuring him, that they were ready to ſtand by him, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, yet during the twelve days he ſtaid in that city, the deputies could never have an opportunity of ſpeaking with him. In the mean time, he received freſh letters from the emperor, requiring him to make what haſte he could, and public carriages were provided for his equipage; but the officers ſent to him by Conſtantius adviſing him to leave his court at Adrianople, he ſet out with a ſmall retinue for Milan, where the emperor then was; but upon his arrival at Petavium in Noricum, he was there met by Barbatio, who, entering the ſame evening the houſe where he lodged with a company of ſoldiers, ſtript him of all the enſigns of his dignity, and diſpatched one Apodemus with his purple ſhoes to the emperor, aſſuring him, in the mean time, by repeated oaths, that nothing elſe was intended by the emperor againſt him; but nevertheleſs, putting him into a cloſe litter, he hurried him away to Flanona, now

Gallus ſets out from Antioch.

Is carefully watched by the officers of Conſtantius.

Is arreſted at Petavium, and ſtript of the enſigns of his dignity

[w] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 27. Philoſtorg. p. 62.

now Fianone, in Dalmatia, not far from Pola, where Criſpus Cæſar, the ſon of Conſtantine, had been put to death twenty-eight years before. Thither the emperor ſent his two moſt inveterate enemies, Euſebius the eunuch and Pentades his ſecretary, to examine him about the death of the prefect Domitian, and others, to hear what plea he could make[x]. Julian[y] and Libanus[z] write, that he was condemned without ſo much as being heard; and truly a prince, who hears only with the ears of his favourites, may be ſaid not to hear at all. Gallus owned moſt of the crimes that were laid to his charge; but alledged, that they proceeded chiefly from the inſtigation and evil counſels of his wife Conſtantina. The emperor, provoked at this plea, which reflected in ſo high a meaſure on his ſiſter, and conſequently on himſelf, and egged on by the enemies of Gallus, perſuading him, that his ſafety depended upon the deſtruction of ſo dangerous a rival, reſolved to put an end to his own fears, and the other's life, and accordingly ſigned a warrant for his execution[a]. Some authors write, that the emperor, ſoon after, changing his mind, countermanded the execution; but that Euſebius, and the other enemies of Gallus, pretended that it came too late[b]. Be that as it will, it is certain that Gallus was beheaded, and atoned with his own blood for the blood of many innocent perſons, which he had ſhed. Thus fell Gallus Cæſar, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after having reigned near four years. His death was chiefly owing to his own tyrannical conduct, but in great meaſure to the malice of Euſebius, Scudilo, and Barbatio, his avowed enemies, who charged him with more crimes than he had really committed[c]. All thoſe who had been any-ways concerned with him in the death of the prefect Domitian, the quæſtor Montius, and his other crimes, felt the weight of the emperor's diſpleaſure. Multitudes of people of all ranks were brought out of the eaſt in chains to Aquileia, where they were tryed by Euſebius and one Arbora, men deſtitute of all mercy and compaſſion, and on that very account charged by Conſtantius with that commiſſion. Theſe mercileſs judges, without making any diſtinction between the guilty and innocent, ſentenced ſome to the rack, and after that to baniſhment, others to ſervile offices in the army, and great numbers to death, ſparing none but ſuch as could redeem

And put to death.

[x] Ammian. l. xxi. p 178. & l. xiv. p. 27.—29. [y] Julian. ad Athen. p. 500. [z] Liban. or. xii. p. 266. [a] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 29. & 31. [b] Idem. p. 30. [c] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 31.

deem themſelves with large ſums. Luſcus, the firſt magiſtrate of Antioch, was burnt alive. But Gorgonius, Gallus's great chamberlain, the moſt guilty of all, eſcaped by bribing his judges, and the eunuchs of the court. Julian, the brother of Gallus, though no-ways concerned in his crimes, was kept ſeven months under cloſe confinement, and would have been put to death, had he not been ſaved by the favour of the empreſs Euſebia [d]. By the death of Gallus, the Roman empire became united under one prince, after it had continued divided for the ſpace of near ſeventy years, that is, from the year 285, or 286, when Diocleſian took Maximian for his colleague; for ever ſince that time there had been either ſeveral emperors, or one Cæſar. Ammianus obſerves, that Conſtantius, ſwelled with pride upon ſeeing himſelf ſole maſter of the empire, aſſumed the title of eternal, ſtyled himſelf lord of the univerſe, and gave ear to the flatteries of his ambitious and inſinuating courtiers [e]. As for Urſicinus, general of the horſe in the eaſt, of whom we have ſpoken above, he was accuſed of having put Gallus upon all the wrong meaſures he had taken, in order to render him obnoxious to the people, and make the empire fall to his own children. But Ammianus, his faithful friend and inſeparable companion, aſſures us, that his only crime was the umbrage which the eunuchs, and other courtiers, took at his great power and extraordinary abilities. However, after the death of Gallus, it was reſolved in a council, which was held privately in the emperor's apartment, that the following night he ſhould be conveyed out of the city, and executed without any farther trial. But the emperor changing his mind, Urſicinus eſcaped, and Conſtantius was ſoon after obliged to have recourſe to the valour and addreſs of ſo brave and experienced a commander, as we ſhall ſee anon [d].

The next conſuls were Arbetio and Lollianus. During their adminiſtration, the emperor enacted two remarkable laws; the one addreſſed to Voluſianus, vicar of Rome, and dated the thirtieth of April, forbidding the marriage of a brother or ſiſter-in-law, and declaring the children born of ſuch a marriage illegitimate: the other dated the twenty-third of September, and addreſſed to one Severus, ordaining biſhops to be judged by biſhops, and not by the civil magiſtrates [e]. In the

[d] Idem. l. xiv. p. 18. l. xv. p. 34. Julian. ad Athen. p. 501.
[e] Ammian. l. xv. p. 32. 33. [d] Idem, l. xiv. p. 26. 33, 34.
[e] Cod. Theodoſ. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296. & l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 12. p. 37.

he beginning of this year, Conſtantius ſummoned a council of biſhops at Milan, and baniſhed Liberius, biſhop of Rome, into Thrace, becauſe he would not conſent to the ſentence paſſed by the council againſt the great Athanaſius [f]. Before the emperor left Milan, Africanus, governor of Pannonia Secunda, was brought priſoner to that city, with ſeveral others, who, after being tortured in a moſt cruel manner, were thrown into priſon, becauſe they had at an entertainment expreſſed themſelves with great freedom on matters of ſtate; whence it was concluded, that they were carrying on ſome plot, and that Africanus aſpired at the ſovereignty. A tribune, by name Marinus, who was preſent at this entertainment, choſe rather to lay violent hands on himſelf at Aquileia, than to endure the torture [g]. Ammianus, who relates this, does not tell us in this place what became of Africanus and the other priſoners; but ſeems elſewhere [h] to inſinuate, that they were all put to death. The emperor ſoon after left Milan to march againſt the Germans, who made frequent inroads into the empire towards the Brigantine lake, now the lake of Conſtance. The emperor himſelf remained in the plains of the country now belonging to the Griſons in the neighbourhood of the preſent city of Coira, and detached Arbetio with the flower of the army againſt the enemy. Arbetio fell into an ambuſcade, and loſt great numbers of his men; but this loſs was ſoon retrieved by the valour of Arintheus, who became famous under the emperor Valens, and of two other officers, who falling upon the Germans, without waiting the orders of their general, put them to flight, and obliged them to abandon the Roman territories. The emperor, ſatisfied with this, returned to Milan, and there took up his winter-quarters [i]. From Milan, he wrote a long letter to the ſenate of Conſtantinople in commendation of the philoſopher Themiſtius, whom he had created ſenator of that city. Themiſtius anſwered this letter ſoon after by a panegyric on Conſtantius, wherein he endeavours to prove, that he was the greateſt philoſopher in the whole empire [k]. The emperor's letter and the oration of Themiſtius are ſtill extant [l].

Africanus and ſeveral others cruelly tortured upon bare ſuſpicions.

The Germans defeated.

The tranquillity which Conſtantius enjoyed at this time was ſoon interrupted by the apprehenſion of a pretended conſpiracy, which produced a true one. Sylvanus, the ſon of Bonitus, a leading man among the Franks, commanded in Gaul, and

Sylvanus falſely accuſed of aſpiring at the empire.

[f] Hilar. or. in Conſt. [g] Ammian. l. xv. p. 34—36. [h] Idem. l. xvi. p. 67. [i] Idem, l. xv. p. 36, 37. [k] Themiſt. or. Conſ. p. 18. & or. ii. p. 24—40. [l] Idem ibid.

and had performed there great exploits againſt the barbarians. He owed his preferment to the artifices of rival courtiers, eſpecially of Arbetio, the conſul of this year, who, jealous of his extraordinary merit, had propoſed him to the emperor as the beſt qualified perſon in the empire for driving the barbarians out of Gaul, and reſtoring that province, diſtreſſed by their frequent inroads, to its former condition. And truly Sylvanus well deſerved the character which Arbetio gave him; but the conſul's main deſign in commending him, and extolling his military talents, was to remove him from the emperor's preſence, in order to compaſs his ruin, which he did in the following manner: One Dynames, keeper of the emperor's mules, leaving Gaul, begged of Sylvanus letters of recommendation to his friends at court; which being granted, the traitor eraſed all but the ſubſcription; and having inſerted directions to the friends of Sylvanus for the carrying on of a conſpiracy, delivered the letters to the prefect Lampridius, who being privy, as was ſuppoſed, to this wicked contrivance, ſhewed them to the emperor. Hereupon orders were immediately iſſued for the apprehending of ſuch perſons as were named in the letters. As there were at that time great numbers of Franks of diſtinction at court, they all interpoſed in favour of their country-man; among the reſt, Malaricus, their chief, well appriſed that the whole was mere calumny, offered to go into Gaul, and bring the ſuppoſed criminal before the emperor; adding, that if perſons, whom Sylvanus miſtruſted, ſhould be ſent for that purpoſe, he might be prompted by fear, to attempt what he was falſly accuſed of having already attempted. But Conſtantius, without hearkening to the juſt and reaſonable propoſal of Malaricus, was perſuaded by Arbetio to name Apodemus, a declared enemy to all men of probity, to enquire into this affair. He immediately ſet out for Gaul; but inſtead of preſenting to Sylvanus as ſoon as he arrived, purſuant to his inſtructions, the emperor's letter commanding him to repair forthwith to court, he ſeized on his eſtate, and cauſed his friends in Gaul to be apprehended and put to the torture. This comeing to the ears of Sylvanus, who was then at Cologn, and too well acquainted with the emperor's ſuſpicious temper, and the aſcendant his enemies at court had over him, to ſuffer himſelf to be arreſted, he reſolved at firſt to take ſhelter among the Franks his countrymen; but being perſuaded by his friends not to truſt a people ſo remarkable for their fickleneſs and treachery, he determined for his own preſervation,

to

to do what otherwiſe he would never have thought of; and accordingly aſſumed the purple, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command [l]. Some of his coins have reached us, on which he bears the title of Auguſtus, and the prænomen of Flavius, common, ſince Conſtantine's time, to ſuch as had none of their own, eſpecially foreigners [m]. While theſe things paſſed in Gaul, Dynames, to ſtrengthen his accuſation againſt Sylvanus, forged a letter in the name of that general, and of Malaricus, to a tribune, deſiring him to get every thing ready, without explaining himſelf further. The tribune, being at a loſs about the meaning of it, ſent it to Malaricus, who, knowing it to be forged, complained aloud of the treachery, and, with the other Franks, demanded vengeance on thoſe who were by ſuch malicious contrivances endeavouring to prejudice the emperor againſt thoſe of their nation. This occaſioned an enquiry, and unravelled the whole ſcene of iniquity. The emperor, well appriſed of the innocence of Sylvanus and the malice of his accuſers, depoſed the prefect Lampridius, and even ordered him, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to be put to the torture, on which ſome of them owned the whole to be a mere calumny. They were, however, in the end all abſolved, ſo great was the power of their faction at court; and Dynames was even preferred to the government of Hetruria. As Sylvanus was declared innocent, they were all greatly ſurpriſed by the arrival of a meſſenger from Gaul, diſpatched to acquaint the emperor, that Sylvanus had actually aſſumed the title of emperor. The meſſenger arrived at Milan about the cloſe of the evening, and the emperor, thunder-ſtruck at the unexpected tidings, ſummoned a council the ſame night, the reſult of which was, that Urſicinus, of whom we have ſpoken above, ſhould be ſent forthwith into Gaul, the courtiers, who dreaded Urſicinus no leſs than Sylvanus, hoping by that means to get rid of one whom they hated, and perhaps of both. Urſicinus made what haſte he could to reach Cologn, that Sylvanus, ſuppoſing his revolt not to be yet known at court, might the more readily comply with the emperor's injunctions. For Urſicinus was charged with letters from the emperor to Sylvanus, confirming him in his poſt of general, enjoining him to repair to court, and in the mean time deliver up the command of the army to Urſicinus. But Urſicinus, notwithſtanding the haſte he made,

Is forced to aſſume it in his own defence.

He is declared innocent.

Urſicinus ſent againſt him.

[l] Ammian. p. 39, 76. Julian. ad Athen. p. 503. & or. ii. p. 183. [m] Goltz. p. 131.

came too late, the news of Sylvanus's revolt being known at court having got to Cologn before him; which obliged him to change his meaſures, and pretend, that he had deſerted Conſtantius, and was come to ſhare with Sylvanus his ſucceſſes or misfortunes, waiting in the mean time a favourable opportunity of diſpatching him. This was a dangerous expedient, and altogether unworthy of that greatneſs of ſoul which Ammianus ſo much admires in his hero. Sylvanus received him with extraordinary demonſtrations of kindneſs, freely opened all his thoughts to him, adviſed with him about the meaſures that were to be taken for their mutual ſecurity, and repoſed in him an entire confidence; which gave Urſicinus an opportunity of gaining over ſome of his guards with large promiſes, who early one morning forced unexpectedly the gates of the palace, and entering ſword in hand, met Sylvanus, while he was attempting to make his eſcape, and take ſanctuary in a neighbouring church, and cut him in pieces, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor only twenty-eight days [n]. Thus fell one of the braveſt and moſt deſerving officers of the empire, whom the crafty malice of jealous courtiers, and the credulity of the emperor, had obliged in his own defence to aſſume the purple. He had ſerved under Magnentius; but deſerting him with a numerous body of cavalry under his command before the battle of Murſa, had ever after diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars of Conſtantius, who, in regard of his eminent ſervices, had raiſed him to the poſt of magiſter peditum, or general of the foot. But no merit or ſervices, however great, are a ſufficient antidote againſt the poiſonous tongues of artful and inſinuating courtiers, when they have once gained the confidence, and engroſſed the favour, of a jealous, weak, and timorous prince. Conſtantius expreſſed an extraordinary joy at the news of Sylvanus's death; but though he owned, that he had nothing more to fear, yet he proceeded with great rigour againſt ſuch as had been any-ways concerned in his revolt. Pemenes, who had defended Treves againſt Decentius, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were condemned and executed. The courtiers were for putting all the friends of Sylvanus to death, without diſtinction; but were therein oppoſed by the emperor, alledging that friendſhip ought not to be puniſhed as a crime; nay, he ordered the effects and eſtate of the unhappy Sylvanus to be reſerved for his ſon, who was then very young, and had been left by his father as an hoſtage at court, perceiving,

Sylvanus ſlain by the treachery of Urſicinus.

[n] Ammian. l. xv. p 38—42. Zonar. p. 17.

ceiving, when it was too late, that the malice of his enemies, and not his ambition, had prompted, and in a manner forced, him to revolt [o].

The empire in great danger.

THE barbarians, whom the brave Sylvanus had driven out of Gaul, that is, the Franks, Alemans, and Saxons, no ſooner heard the news of his death, than they broke into that province with greater fury than ever, and took and pillaged above forty cities, and among the reſt Cologn, which they levelled with the ground [p]. At the ſame time, the Quadi and Sarmatians, entering Pannonia, laid all waſte before them [q]; and the Perſians over-ran without oppoſition Meſopotamia and Armenia, Proſper, who had ſucceeded Urſicinus, and the prefect Mauſonianus, being more intent upon pillaging than defending the countries committed to their care [r]. Conſtantius, appriſed of the danger that threatened the empire, but not thinking it adviſeable to ſtir out of Italy himſelf, after various conſultations, reſolved in the end to raiſe his couſin Julian, the brother of Gallus, to the dignity of Cæſar. This deſign was oppoſed by all the ſycophants at court, who, extolling the emperor's prudence, conduct, and courage, told him, that he was capable of ſuſtaining the burden of the empire alone, inſinuating at the ſame time, that it was no-ways ſafe for him to raiſe Julian to that high ſtation. But the empreſs Euſebia, interpoſing in favour of Julian, prevailed upon her huſband to purſue his intentions. The emperor therefore, being returned to Milan before the thirty-firſt of October from a ſhort progreſs, ordered Julian to quit his philoſophical cloak, and gave him an apartment in the palace; and on the ſixth of November having aſſembled the army, he aſcended the tribunal, and placing Julian on his right hand, he acquainted the ſoldiers with his deſign of dignifying his couſin with the title and authority of Cæſar, and aſked their conſent. The army with one voice approved of his reſolution; whereupon the emperor cloathed him with a purple robe, ſaluted him with the title of Cæſar, and of moſt loving brother; appointed him governor of Gaul, and, in committing that province to his care, told him, that he placed him over a ſtout army, not doubting but upon occaſion he would ſignalize at their head his own courage, and be witneſs of theirs. This ceremony and ſpeech were followed by loud acclamations, and great encomiums beſtowed

Julian created Cæſar.

by

[o] Ammian. p. 44. & Julian. or. i. & ii. p. 89, 183, 184.
[p] Ammian. l. xv. p. 47. [q] Zoſ. p. 702. [r] Ammian ibid. p. 57.

by the whole army on the emperor and the new Cæſar. A few days after Conſtantius gave him his ſiſter Helena in marriage; and this new favour and mark of diſtinction was likewiſe owing to Euſebia, who, beſides many other things of great value, preſented the young prince on this occaſion with a large and well-choſen library [s]. But at the ſame time his whole houſe was changed, the emperor pretending thereby to do him honour; but his real deſign was to remove all in whom he had any confidence: guards were placed at his apartment, not ſo much to defend as to watch him; all his letters were opened before they came to his hands, inſomuch, that he thought it adviſeable to deſire his beſt friends to forbear viſiting him, leſt they ſhould expoſe themſelves or him to danger [t]. Before he ſet out for Gaul, the emperor gave him inſtructions under his own hand, regulating his whole conduct, even the expences of his table, as if he had been a child, ſays Ammianus [u], ſent to ſchool. At the ſame time, he greatly reſtrained and curtailed his authority, enjoining the generals who ſerved under him, to watch his actions with no leſs care than thoſe of the enemy, and inveſting one Marcellus with the command of the army, who was ſent to ſucceed Urſicinus, though the latter was ordered to continue in Gaul till the war was ended, with the title of general, but without any command, the emperor being ſtill in ſome degree prejudiced againſt him [w]. Julian was, above all, ſtrictly enjoined not to give any largeſſes to the army; and authors obſerve that Conſtantius himſelf, contrary to cuſtom, gave none upon his promotion [x]. Several writers tell us, that the emperor ſent Julian into Gaul on purpoſe to deſtroy him [y]. But what others write ſeems to us more probable, viz. that he treated him thus on account of his youth, and want of experience, and to deprive him of all means of revolting, and ſetting up for himſelf. Julian ſet out from Milan on the firſt of December, the emperor himſelf accompanying him as far as Pavia, from whence he purſued his journey to the Alps, attended only by three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers. On his arrival at Turin, he was firſt acquainted with the loſs of Cologn, which had been kept concealed from the emperor. He arrived at Vienne before the end of the year, and was received

He marries Helena, the emperor's ſiſter.

His power gives the emperor jealouſy.

He is ſent into Gaul.

[s] Ammian. p. 47—49. Zoſ. l. iii. p. 709. Julian, ad Athen. p. 274. Socr. l. ii. c. 34. [t] Julian. ad. Athen. p. 509. [u] Ammian. l. xx. p. 168. [w] Idem, l. xvi. p 60. [x] Idem, l. xxii. p. 206. [y] Eunap. c. 5. p. 76. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. Sozom. l. v. c. 2. p. 596.

ceived by the people of that city and the neighbourhood, with extraordinary marks of joy [z]. While he was entering the city, an old woman, who had been long blind, cried out, if Ammianus is to be credited, that he would one day reſtore the temples of the gods [a].

THE following year, 356, Conſtantius took upon him his eighth conſulſhip, and choſe Julian for his collegue. The latter paſſed the winter at Vienne, deliberating about the operations of the enſuing campaign. During his ſtay there, he received intelligence, that the city of Autun was beſieged by the barbarians, but defended with great bravery by the veterans, who had repulſed the enemy when they were already ſcaling the walls, which had encouraged the other troops to make a vigorous ſally. However Julian, having aſſembled what forces he could, marched to the relief of the place; but finding the ſiege raiſed, from Autun he went in purſuit of the barbarians to Auxerre, croſſing with no ſmall danger thick woods, and from Auxerre to Troies. On his march he found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies; but he put them to flight with a handful of men, killed great numbers of them, and took ſome priſoners. From Troies he haſtened to Rheims, where the main body of the army, commanded by Marcellus, waited his arrival. Leaving Rheims, he took his rout towards Decempagi, now Dieuze, on the Seille in Lorrain, with a deſign to fall upon the Germans, who were buſied in ravaging that country. But the enemy, taking advantage of a dark and wet night, attacked his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the reſt of the army, alarmed at the ſudden noiſe, turned back to their aſſiſtance. The Germans themſelves were defeated a few days after, though not with great loſs, in the neighbourhood of Brocromagus, now Brumt, in Alſace, between Straſbourg and Haguenau [b]. This ſmall victory opened him a way to Cologn, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and entered, after it had been ten months in their hands. The barbarians had neglected to fortify it; but Julian ordered the antient fortifications to be with all ſpeed repaired, and the houſes rebuilt [c]. Libanius adds, that he re-eſtabliſhed another great city in that country, perhaps Tongres or Treves, which had been often attacked by the barbarians, and was reduced

Autun beſieged by the barbarians; who raiſe the ſiege.

Cologn retaken by Julian, and rebuilt.

[z] Ammian. l. xv. p. 50. Liban. or. xii. p. 270. [a] Ammian. l. xv. p. 50. [b] Idem. p. 59. Liban. or. ix. p. 237. & or. xii. p. 271. [c] Ammian. p. 40. Julian. p. 512.

duced to a miſerable condition. During his ſtay at Cologn, one of the kings of the Franks, dreading his arms, ſent deputies to him to ſue for a peace; but Julian granted him only a ſhort truce. Having repaired the city and fortifications of Cologn, he removed to Baſle to ſupport the emperor, who was making war upon the Germans in Rhætia, and to prevent their eſcaping from him into Gaul. He continued there till winter, when he retired to the city of Sens, and there took up his quarters [d]. This campaign proved, according to the account which Ammianus gives us of it, very glorious for Julian. But the many advantages which he is ſaid to have gained, muſt either have been leſs conſiderable than they are repreſented by that writer, or counter-balanced by equal loſſes, ſince Julian himſelf writes, that his firſt campaign proved unſucceſsful, and that during this ſummer he performed nothing worthy of notice *. Beſides, we ſhall ſee him next winter beſieged in Sens by the barbarians, and obliged to fly before them, which he himſelf owns [e]; but Ammianus has paſſed it over in ſilence. Libanius ſays, that the greateſt victory he gained this year was over himſelf, in reſtraining his courage, and bearing with patience the evil offices of thoſe about him, who, inſtead of ſeconding his great deſigns, made it their whole buſineſs to thwart them, in compliance with their private inſtructions, and to humour the jealous temper of Conſtantius [f]. The ſame writer adds, ſpeaking, we ſuppoſe, like an orator, that Julian was allowed not to act, but only to ſhew himſelf [g]. As for Conſtantius, it appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, that he did not ſtir from Milan till after the eleventh of April [h], and then took a progreſs into Illyricum [i]. He was returned to Milan on the twenty-ninth of October, as appears from a law bearing that date, which confirms to the clergy of the city of Rome all their privileges [k]. He left Milan ſoon after to make war upon the Germans, who had for their kings the two brothers Gondomadus and Vadomarus. He paſſed the Rhine, entered their dominions on the ſide of Rhætia, and meeting with no oppoſition, laid waſte their country far and wide. This obliged them to ſue for peace, which the emperor readily granted, and then returned to Milan, the uſual place

Authors diſagree about his firſt campaign.

Conſtantius obliges the Germans to ſue for peace.

[d] Ammian. p. 61, 72. * Julian. ad Athen. p. 510. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Liban. or. ix. p. 237. [g] Idem, or. xii. p. 271. [h] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 55. [i] Athanaſ. ſolit. p. 841. [k] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 13. p. 39.

place of his reſidence [l]. While the emperor was abroad on this expedition, the empreſs Euſebia viſited the city of Rome, and was received there by the ſenate, who went out to meet her, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. During her ſtay in that metropolis, ſhe gave great largeſſes to the people, and upon her departure made rich preſents to the heads of the tribes [m]. The ſame year, Conſtantius, exerting his zeal for the doctrine of Arius, drove Athanaſius from his ſee at Alexandria; and put Georgius, an Arian in his room. He likewiſe baniſhed the orthodox biſhops, Hilarius of Poitiers, and Rhodanes of Toulouſe. But as for Athanaſius, he perſecuted him even beyond the limits of the empire, writing letters againſt him to the princes of Auximus in Ethiopia, where he imagined the perſecuted biſhop had taken ſhelter. The ſame year, the emperor enacted two remarkable laws, the one, dated the twentieth of February, condemning thoſe to death who ſhould for the future ſacrifice, or pay any manner of worſhip, to idols [n]; the other, dated the eighth of March, declaring the effects of condemned perſons, except in caſes of magic or treaſon, to belong to their children and relations within the third degree [o]. But this law the emperor himſelf revoked in two years after [p].

Forbids, upon pain of death the worſhipping of idols.

THE next conſuls were, Conſtantius the ninth time, and Julian the ſecond. The latter had taken up his winter-quarters at Sens, as we have related above, and had kept with him but a ſmall number of troops, the reſt being diſperſed about the country for the convenience of their quarters in a province ſo often ravaged and laid waſte. The barbarians, appriſed of this, came in great numbers, and laid ſiege to the place, hoping to take Julian himſelf priſoner. But he, with the few forces he had, made ſo vigorous a defence, that the enemy, deſpairing of ever being able to reduce the town, drew off their forces, and retired, after they had lain a whole month before it. All this while Marcellus, the commander in chief, never ſtirred to reſcue Julian, or relieve the place, though he was quartered in the neighbourhood [q]. Ammianus tells us, that for this neglect he was by the emperor deprived of his command, and confined to Sardica, the place of his nativity [r]. But Julian ſays only, that Conſtantius began to

Julian beſieged in Sens.

[l] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 77, &c. Julian. or. iii. p. 240. [m] Julian. or. iii. p. 240, 241. [n] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 6. p 266. [o] Ibid l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 2. p. 329. [p] Ibid. leg. 4. p. 331. [q] Julian. p. 510. Ammian. p. 61. [r] Ammian. ibid. p. 64, 66.

to ſuſpect him, and look upon him as unequal to the command with which he was inveſted [s]. Libanius writes, that he dreaded the barbarians, oppreſſed the ſubjects of the empire, treated Julian himſelf with great haughtineſs, thwarted all his deſigns, and upon his removal repaired to Milan to diſcredit him with the emperor. But Julian, well acquainted with the malice of the one, and the jealouſy and credulity of the other, ſent the eunuch Eutherius, his great chamberlain, to anſwer ſuch things as might be alledged againſt him; which he did ſo effectually, that the emperor remained fully ſatisfied with the conduct of Julian [t]. Ammian beſtows great encomiums upon this eunuch. Not long after Conſtantius declared Julian commander in chief of all the forces in Gaul, being perſuaded to it either by the empreſs, or the eunuch Eutherius, or probably by both [u]. At the ſame time he appointed Severus, an officer of great experience, and of a quite different temper from Marcellus, to command under him. Upon his arrival in Gaul, Julian, who received him with great joy, raiſed new troops, and ſupplied them with arms, which he luckily found in an old arſenal [w]. This year Conſtantius ſentenced to death a great many perſons convicted of having conſulted the magicians, and publiſhed a law forbidding, on pain of death, any one to have recourſe to the augurs, aruſpices, or any other diviners whatſoever [x]. By another law, dated the fourth of December, he condemned all magicians to be devoured by the wild beaſts [y]. This year, the emperor took a progreſs to Rome, which he had never yet ſeen, with the empreſs Euſebia, and his ſiſter Helena, the wife of Julian. He entered the metropolis of the empire on the twenty-eighth of April, in a gilt chariot, adorned with an incredible number of precious ſtones, being attended by the ſenate, and the whole noblity, who came out in their robes and richeſt apparel to meet him. The reader will find a very particular account of his triumphal entry in Ammianus, who deſcribes it at length [z]. He was wonderfully taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the place, with the multitude of the people, with the loftineſs of the buildings; but chiefly admired the temple of Jupiter Tarpeius, the public baths, the amphitheatre, Pompey's theatre, and the ſquare of Trajan. He is ſaid to have complained of fame, far exceeding truth

He is created commander in chief of all the forces in Gaul.

Conſtantius takes a progreſs to Rome.

Is taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the city.

[s] Julian. p. 511. [t] Ammian. p. 64, 65. [u] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 703. Ammian. l. xvi. p. 72. [w] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 704. [x] Cod. Theodoſ. ix. tit. 16. l. iv. p. 119. [y] Ibid. leg. p. 121, 122. [z] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 71, &c.

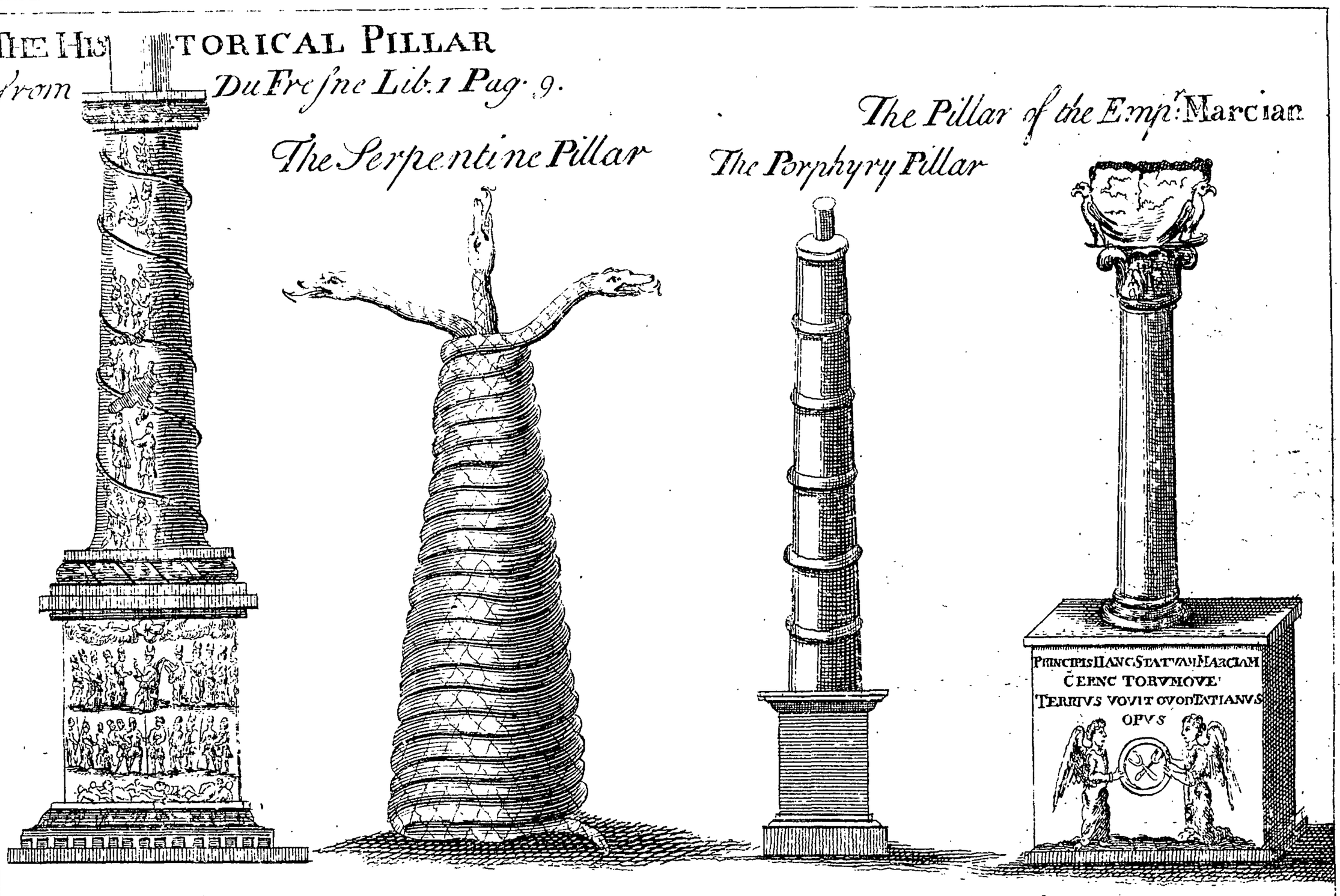
THE HISTORICAL PILLAR

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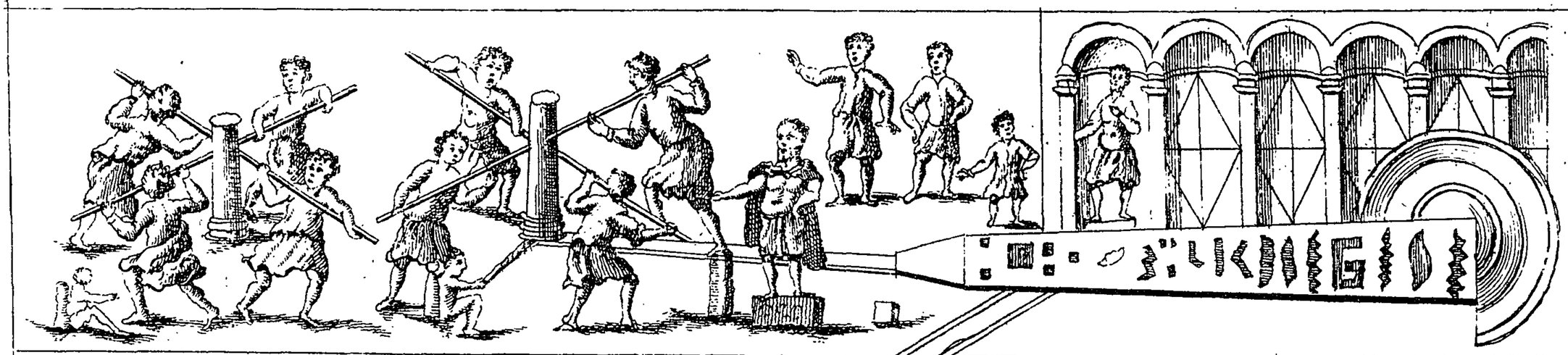
The Serpentine Pillar

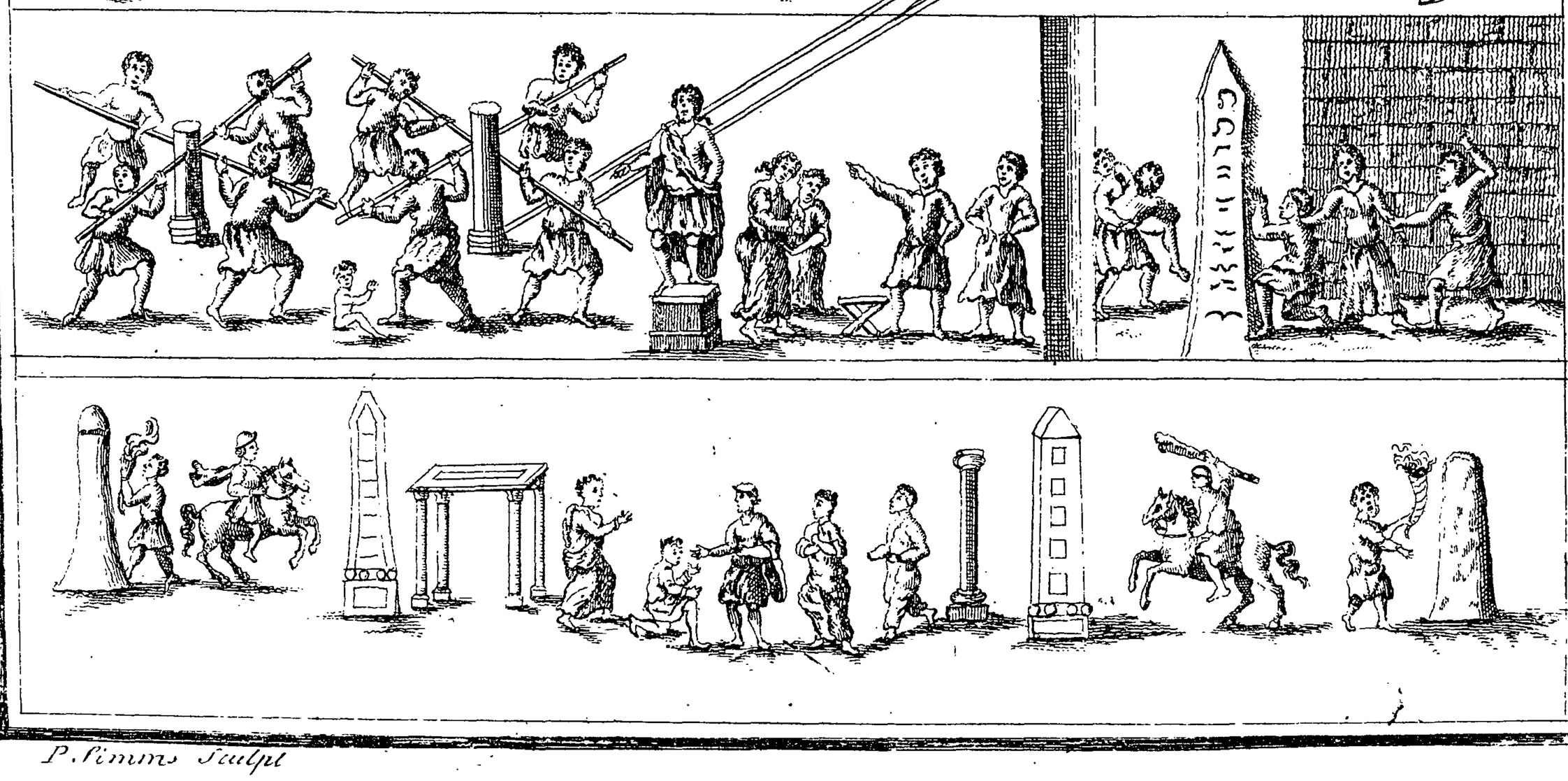
The Porphyry Pillar

The Pillar of the Emp.r Marcian



The Hippodrom *with the* Thebean Obelisk *and* Engines *by which it was erected*

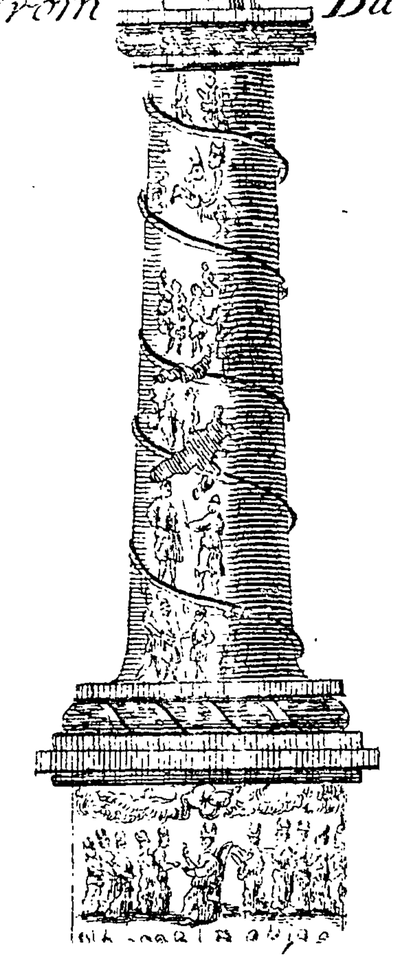




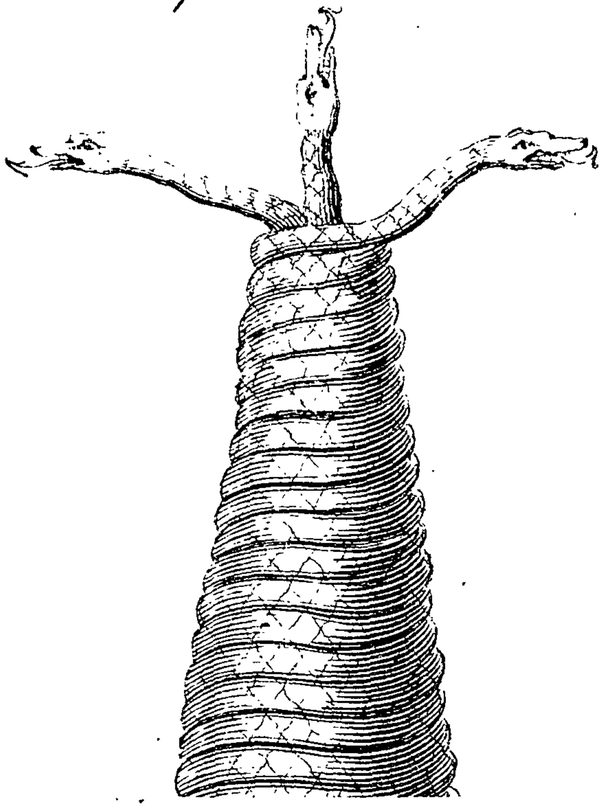
P. Simms Sculpt

THE HISTORICAL PILLAR

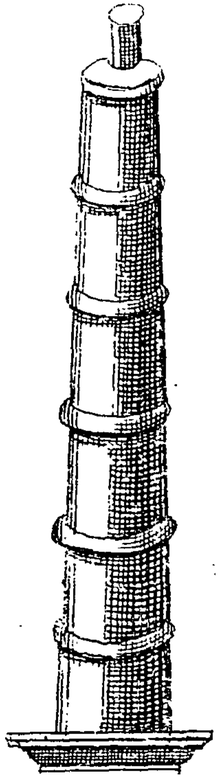
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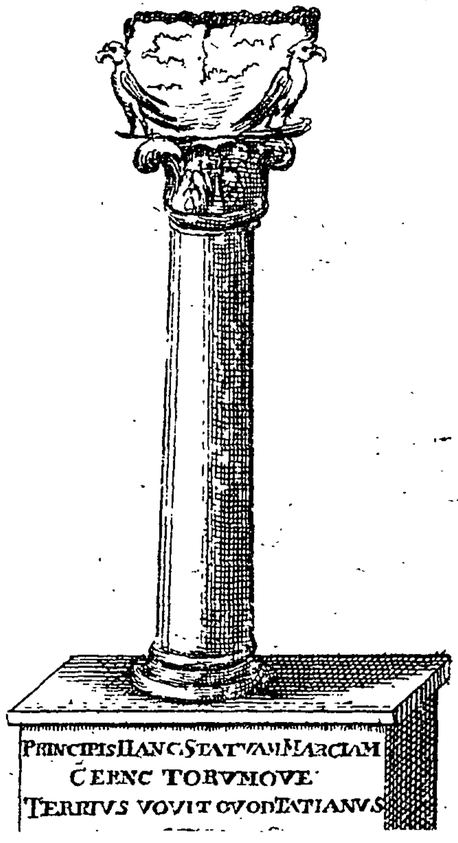
The Serpentine Pillar



The Porphyry Pillar



The Pillar of the Emp.r Marcian



truth in other things, but coming ſhort of it in what related to Rome. He harangued both the people and the ſenate, the former from the roſtra, and the latter in the ſenate-houſe. He is thought to have celebrated in that great metropolis the thirty-fifth year of his reign, reckoning from 323, when he was created Cæſar; and it was perhaps on occaſion of that ſolemnity that he ordered public ſports to be exhibited, not only in Rome, but in all the other cities of Italy [a]. During his ſtay at Rome, he was preſented with golden crowns of an extraordinary weight by ſeveral cities, and among the reſt by the city of Conſtantinople, which had appointed Themiſtius to preſent it; but he falling ſick, the diſcourſe, which he had compoſed for the occaſion, was ſent to the emperor, who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he ordered a ſtatue to be erected in honour of the orator; which prompted him to write a ſecond diſcourſe or panegyric [b]. The emperor, deſiring to add ſomething of his own to the ornaments of the city, gave orders for the conveying of an obeliſk thither, which had been removed by his father Conſtantine from Heliopolis in Egypt with that deſign, and had been carried as far as Alexandria. But, that prince dying in the mean time, it ſtill remained there. Conſtantius therefore ordered it to be brought to Rome, where it was with much difficulty ſet up in the Circus Maximus about the beginning of the following year [c]. This is the obeliſk which was erected in Rome in the pontificate of Sextus V [d]. Conſtantius would not enter the place, where the ſenate aſſembled, till the antient altar of Victory was removed from thence, leſt he ſhould defile his eyes, ſays St. Ambroſe [e], with the unhallowed ſight of an altar conſecrated to the infernal ſpirits. He was greatly taken with the pleaſures and diverſions of Rome, ſays Ammianus [f]; but was ſoon obliged to abandon them, upon intelligence that the Suevians had entered Rhætia, the Quadians Valeria, and the Sarmatians Lower Pannonia and Upper Mœſia. He therefore left Rome on the twenty-ninth of May, after he had been there about a month, and was at Milan, if no miſtake has crept into the code, on the third of June, and likewiſe on the thirteenth of July [g]; whence we may conclude, that the barbarians withdrew of their own accord. While Conſtantius was at Milan, he received letters from

He returns to Milan.

[a] Ammian. ibid. [b] Themiſt. or. iv. p. 53—57. [c] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 92. [d] Baron. ann. 357. [e] Ambroſ. rel. ſym. p. 196. [f] Ammian. p. 72. [g] Cod. Theodoſ. chr. p. 56, 57.

from Muſonianus, prefect of the eaſt, informing him, that Sapor, king of Perſia, was engaged on the moſt remote frontiers of his kingdom in a mighty war with the Chionitæ and other people; that he had ſuffered great loſſes, and conſequently would, in all likelihood, hearken to a treaty of peace and amity with the Romans, which Muſonianus had taken care to propoſe to Tamſapor, the Perſian general on the frontiers of Meſopotamia, who had written on that ſubject to his maſter. Theſe negotiations came to nothing, as will appear anon. However, the emperor ſent for Urſicinus, who was ſtill in Gaul, in order to adviſe with him about the moſt proper method of dealing with the Perſians. In the mean time, Conſtantius, leaving Milan about the middle of July, went to Trent, and from thence into Illyricum, viſited the frontiers of the empire towards the Danube, and conferred with the chiefs of the Quadians and other neighbouring nations, who aſſured him of their friendſhip. Urſicinus found him at Sirmium, and was, after ſeveral conferences, ſent by him into the eaſt, with the character of general, and the ſame power with which he had been inveſted before his diſgrace [h]. The emperor was at Milan on the fourth and ſixth of December; but returned to Sirmium before the eighteenth of December [i], and, according to Ammianus [k], paſſed the winter there.

Urſicinus recalled from Gaul, and ſent into the eaſt.

To return to Gaul: The emperor, reſolved by all means to put an end to the dreadful devaſtations committed there chiefly by the Alemans, wrote to Julian, to march with all his forces againſt them, and at the ſame time ſent Barbatio, who had been created general of the foot in the room of Sylvanus, out of Italy, with a body of twenty-five or thirty thouſand men, in order to ſurpriſe and encloſe the enemy between the two armies. Barbatio was generally eſteemed a good officer [l]; but all his bravery conſiſted, according to Ammianus [m], only in words. He had betrayed Gallus, under whom he ſerved, and ſtudied how to check the progreſs of Julian; who no ſooner heard of his arrival at Baſle, than he took the field, having with him only thirteen thouſand men: but the Leti, a German nation, paſſing between the two armies, advanced as far as Lions, with a deſign to ſurpriſe and pillage that wealthy city. As they met with a warmer reception from the inhabitants than they expected, they gave

Barbatio ſent into Gaul.

The Germans attack Lions in vain, and are cut in pieces by Julian.

[h] Ammian. ibid. p. 72. Julian. ad Athen. p. 513. [i] Cod. Theod. p. 57. [k] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 103. [l] Liban. orat. xii. p. 272. [m] Ammian. p. 73.

gave over all thoughts of taking the place, and contented themſelves with ravaging the country all round it. Julian, upon the firſt notice of what had happened, detached ſtrong parties to guard the paſſes, through which he knew they muſt return; by this means they were all cut off, except thoſe who marched near the camp of Barbatio, who was ſo far from cutting off their retreat, that he complained by a letter to Conſtantius of ſome officers for attempting it, who thereupon ordered them to be caſhiered. One of theſe was Valentinian, afterwards emperor [n]. The other barbarians either fortified themſelves in the countries which they had ſeized, ſtopping up all the avenues with huge trees, or took ſhelter in the iſlands formed by the Rhine. Julian reſolved, firſt to attack the latter, and with this view ſent to demand ſome boats of Barbatio, who, inſtead of complying with his juſt requeſt, immediately burnt all his boats, as he did on another occaſion the proviſions which had been ſent for both armies, after he had plentifully ſupplied his own. It is uncertain whether he behaved thus out of pique to Julian, or in compliance with private inſtructions from the emperor to thwart all his enterprizes [o]. Be that as it will, Julian, not in the leaſt ruffled or diſheartened at the unaccountable conduct of Barbatio, perſuaded ſome of the moſt reſolute among his men to wade over to one of the iſlands, where they killed all the Germans who had taken ſhelter there; and ſeizing their boats, purſued the ſlaughter in ſeveral other iſlands, till the enemy, abandoning them all, retired with their wives, and what booty they could carry, to their reſpective countries [p]. After this, he undertook the rebuilding of the Tres-tabernæ, a fort near Straſbourgh in Alſace, now known by the name of Saverne, which the enemy had demoliſhed. As it was ſo ſituated as to curb the nations beyond the Rhine, and prevent their irruptions into Gaul, Julian not only repaired the antient fortifications, but added new works to them, ſtored the place with proviſions for a whole year, and left a numerous garriſon in it, to keep the neighbouring country in awe [q]. While Julian was buſied in this work, Barbatio was employed in laying a bridge of boats over the Rhine: but the enemy, appriſed of this, threw a great number of huge trees into the river, which, being carried by the ſtream againſt the boats, ſunk ſeveral of them, and parted the reſt. Barbatio, ſeeing his work ruined

Barbatio endeavours to thwart his deſigns.

Julian rebuilds Saverne.

Barbatio put to flight by the barbarians.

[n] Idem. ibid. Liban. orat. xii p. 273.
[o] Idem. p. 73, 74.
[p] Idem ibid. & Julian p. 512. Liban. p. 273.
[q]

ed, thought it adviſeable to retire; but the enemy falling unexpectedly upon him in his retreat, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took moſt of his baggage, laid waſte the neighbouring country, and returned in triumph, loaded with booty. Hereupon Barbatio, putting his troops into winter-quarters, as if the campaign had been over, though it was then but harveſt-time, returned to court, to make war there upon Julian with his calumnies and ill offices [r]. The barbarians, elated with this ſucceſs, aſſembled in great numbers, under the banners of Chnodomarius, a prince of great renown among them, and of ſix other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Straſbourgh. Being informed there by a deſerter, that Julian had only thirteen thouſand men with him, Chnodomarius ſent him an haughty and menacing meſſage, commanding him to abandon forthwith the country which the Germans had conquered by their courage and valour [s]. Libanius adds, that the meſſenger produced to him the letters of Conſtantius, promiſing to relinquiſh to them what countries or cities they ſhould ſeize in Gaul [t]. By ſuch promiſes Conſtantius is ſuppoſed to have ſtirred them up againſt the tyrant Magnentius. But Julian, paying no regard to them, detained the meſſenger as a ſpy, and purſued the works he had begun at Saverne, till he recived intelligence, that the enemy were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, leaving Saverne, he marched directly againſt them. When he was about half way, he halted, with a deſign to reſt his men, and put off the battle to the next day; but both officers and ſoldiers demanding to be led without delay againſt the enemy, he purſued his march, and found the Germans who had been informed of his approach, ready to receive him. They were thirty-five thouſand ſtrong, headed by ſeven kings, ten princes, and many other lords of great diſtinction. Both armies engaged with great reſolution and intrepidity, and the victory continued long doubtful; the Roman cavalry even gave way, nor could Julian, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to rally and return to the charge: but the vigorous reſiſtance made by the foot ſo diſheartened the enemy, that, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuoſity; which the Romans perceiving, they made a laſt effort; and charging the barbarians, already quite ſpent, put them to flight, and purſued them

Julian marches againſt them.

The battle of Argentoratum or Straſbourg.

[r] Ammian, p. 75. [s] Idem, l. xvi. p. 75, 76. [t] Liban. orat. xii. p. 269.

them with great ſlaughter. Great numbers of them threw themſelves into the Rhine, which was in their rear, and were drowned. Chnodomarius himſelf was taken in a wood, and preſented to Julian in ſight of the whole army, who thereupon ſaluted him with the title of Auguſtus; which he rejected with great indignation, telling his ſoldiers, That the glory of the action was chiefly owing to Conſtantius, under whoſe auſpices they had fought [u]. He loſt in the battle only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the Germans ſix, or, as others will have it, eight, thouſand men were killed in the field; but a great number of dead bodies were ſeen floating on the river [w]. Zoſimus writes, that ſixty thouſand of the enemy were killed on the ſpot, and an equal number drowned; but he muſt have been miſled by bad memoirs, which make us queſtion the truth of what he adds, viz. that, after the battle, Julian obliged ſix hundred of his horſemen, who had fled, to appear before the whole army in the apparel of women [x]. The battle of Straſbourgh is famous in hiſtory. Julian himſelf ſtyles it a ſucceſsful action, which reſtored Gaul to its antient liberty [y]. Mamertinus ſays, that, by this ſingle battle, the war was ended, and Germany ruined. It is at leaſt certain, that the barbarians were entirely driven out of Gaul. This memorable battle was fought in the plains near Straſbourgh, when the corn was ripe, and the moon in the laſt quarter [z]. Julian aſcribed the whole glory of it to Conſtantius, and immediately ſent his royal captive Chnodomarius to him, whom he had treated with great reſpect, looking upon him as an inſtance of the inſtability of all human grandeur. Conſtantius ſent him to Rome, where he died ſoon after a natural death [a]. This victory was greatly leſſened by the ſycophants at court, and all the other actions of Julian turned into ridicule; which, however, was leſs prejudicial to him, than if they had extolled and magnified his exploits to a ſuſpicious, weak, and timorous prince. Conſtantius was not aſhamed to aſcribe the whole glory of this great action to himſelf, as appears from an edict publiſhed about this time, wherein he ſpeaks of himſelf as if he had fought at the head of his army, without ſo much as mentioning the name of Julian [c].

The Germans entirely defeated.

Conſtantius aſſumes to himſelf the whole glory of this action.

[u] Ammian. p. 84, 85. Liban. orat. x. p. 237. Julian. ad Athen. p. 512. [w] Ammian. ibid. [x] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 704. [y] Ammian. l. xx. p. 160. [z] Panegyr. xi. p. 223. [a] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 78. [b] Idem, l. xvii. p. 103. [c] Idem, l. xvi. p. 86.

Aurelius Victor, who wrote about the latter end of his reign, ſpeaks in the ſame ſtrain [d]; and Themiſtius, in magnifying his victories over the Germans, and the valour with which he delivered Gaul from their inroads, and reſtrained them within their antient limits, quotes the letters which the emperor himſelf had ſent to the ſenate of Conſtantinople [e]. Julian's firſt care, after the battle, was to cauſe all the dead to be buried, without diſtinction of friend or enemy. Having performed this pious office, he returned to Saverne, to finiſh the works begun there, and then advanced with all his army to Mayence, where he built a bridge over the river, and entered Germany, having with much-ado prevailed upon his army to follow him. The Germans, alarmed at the boldneſs of the young general, ſent deputies to ſue for peace, and almoſt at the ſame time others to threaten him and his army with immediate deſtruction, if they did not forthwith retire; but the brave commander, deſpiſing their menaces, continued ravaging their country till after the equinox; and then the ſnow preventing him from advancing farther, he began to repair the fort of Trajan, which ſome take to be the caſtle of Cromburgh, about three or four leagues from Francfort. This undertaking alarmed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that they ſent new deputies to ſue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms; but a truce was granted them for ten months, upon their promiſing to ſtore with proviſions the fort which was building in their country, in order to curb and awe them [f]. After this, he returned to Gaul with a great number of captives; but being informed on his march, that ſome Franks, having ravaged the country about Rheims during his abſence, had ſhut themſelves up in two caſtles on the Meuſe, he marched againſt them, and obliged them to ſurrender, after they had defended themſelves with great bravery for the ſpace of fifty-four days; that is, the greateſt part of December and all February. The priſoners were all ſent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops. Julian, having thus ended this long and glorious campaign, put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in Paris, which we find about this time firſt mentioned in hiſtory. It was then only a caſtle ſituated on the iſland formed by the Seyne, which is now but a very ſmall part of that great metropolis [g]. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the third

Julian obliges ſome Franks to ſurrender, and ſends them to the emperor.

[d] Aur. Vict. p. 528. [e] Themiſt. or. p. 57. [f] Ammian. p. 68. Liban. orat. xii. p. 277. [g] Ammian. p. 240. in fol

third of July, commanding the effects of thoſe to be confiſcated, who ſhould renounce the Chriſtian to embrace the Jewiſh religion; by another, he obliges all ſenators to reſide at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, many of them having retired from that metropolis, and ſettled in Achaia, Macedon, and the other provinces of Illyricum, on account of the great expences attending that dignity at Rome. By a third, addreſſed to Felix biſhop of Rome, he exempts all merchandizing eccleſiaſtics, their wives, children, and domeſtics, from every impoſition, whether ordinary or extraordinary, ſuppoſing the gains they made to be applied by them to the relief of the poor. Some laws of Conſtantius.

THE next conſuls were Cerealis, uncle to Gallus Caſar on the mother's ſide, and Datianus, who, though of a mean deſcent, bore the title of comes in 349, and was afterwards raiſed to the rank of a patrician [h]. We have obſerved above, that the Perſian general Tamſapor had been perſuaded by Muſonianus, prefect of the eaſt, to write to his maſter about renewing the antient treaties with the Romans; but as Sapor had not only concluded a peace with the Chionitæ, but entered into an alliance with them before Tamſapor's letters came to his hands, in anſwer to the propoſals tranſmitted to him by that general, he wrote a haughty letter to Conſtantius, which he ſent by one Narſes, with preſents for the emperor. The contents of the letter were, that he might lawfully inſiſt upon the emperor's yielding to him all the countries beyond the river Strymon in Macedon; but leſt his demands ſhould ſeem unreaſonable, he would be ſatisfied with Armenia and Meſopotamia, which with the utmoſt injuſtice had been taken from his grandfather Narſes. He added, that, unleſs they were reſtored, he was determined to do himſelf juſtice, and try whether he could recover them by force of arms. In this latter Sapor ſtyled himſelf king of kings, brother of the ſun and moon, &c. Narſes, who was charged to deliver it to the emperor, arrived at Antioch about the end of the preceding year, where Themiſtius ſaw him; and, after having reſted ſome time there, purſued his journey to Conſtantinople, which he entered with great pomp on the twenty-third of February of the preſent year 358. From Conſtantinople he repaired to Sirmium, where the emperor then was, and, in a public audience, preſented to him Sapor's letter, wrapped up in a piece of white ſilk. Conſtantius, without entering into any negotiation with him, wrote back to Embaſſies from Sapor to Conſtantius, and from Conſtantius to Sapor.

[h] Philoſtorg. l. viii. c. 8. p. 113. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 8.

Sapor, that as he had maintained the Roman dominions in their full extent while he was poſſeſſed only of the eaſt, he could not ſuffer them to be curtailed now that he was maſter of the whole empire. He added, that he was ready and deſirous to conclude a peace with the Perſian monarch, provided it were upon honourable terms. With this letter he diſmiſſed Narſes; but a few days after ſent a ſolemn embaſſy into Perſia, with letters and preſents for the king, being deſirous at leaſt to put off the war till he had ſecured the northern provinces againſt the incurſions of the barbarians, that he might employ all the forces of the empire againſt ſo powerful and formidable an enemy. The Roman embaſſadors found Sapor at Cteſiphon; but not being able to prevail upon him to abate any thing of his demands, they returned about the twenty-fourth of Auguſt. Count Lucillianus and Procopius, who uſurped the ſovereignty in the reign of Valens, were ſent to the Perſian court ſoon after, to amuſe that warlike prince with new propoſals; but he, inſtead of hearkening to them, kept the embaſſadors ſome time under cloſe confinement, threatening to treat them as ſpies, but in the end diſmiſſed them unhurt [i]. While the emperor reſided at Sirmium, the Quadi and Sarmatians broke into Pannonia and Mœſia; and the Juthunges, a German nation, into Rhætia. The latter were defeated and driven back by Barbatio; but the emperor marched in perſon againſt the former ſoon after the vernal equinox; and having croſſed the Danube on a bridge of boats, laid waſte the territories of the Sarmatians, who thereupon came in great numbers, with the Quadi, pretending to ſue for peace; but their true deſign was to ſurpriſe the Romans, who, ſuſpecting it, fell upon them ſword in hand, and cut them all to a man in pieces. This obliged the reſt to ſue for peace in good earneſt; which they obtained, upon their ſetting at liberty the priſoners they had taken, and delivering up hoſtages [k]. The emperor then marched againſt the Limigantes, that is, thoſe ſlaves, who, in 334, had driven the Sarmatians out of their country, and ſeized it for themſelves, as we have related elſewhere. They too had made frequent inroads into the Roman territories; but, upon the approach of the army, came in great numbers to meet the emperor, pretending to ſubmit; but prepared to fall upon him unexpectedly, if an opportunity offered. The emperor

The Quadi and Sarmatians overcome by Conſtantius.

[i] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. & l. xvii. p. 94. Themiſt. orat. iv. p. 57. Zonar. p. 17. Petr. legat. p. 28. [k] Ammian. l. xvii. p. 103, 104.

emperor, obſerving their ſurly looks, and diſtruſting them, aſcended his tribunal, attended by the chief officers of the army, and his guards, in order to acquaint them with his pleaſure. While he was ſpeaking to them, his troops, purſuant to their private orders, inſenſibly ſurrounded them on all ſides. When the emperor had done, the Limigantes, diſſatisfied with the conditions he had offered them, laid their hands on their ſwords; which being obſerved by the Romans, who watched all their motions, they fell upon them at once, and began the ſlaughter. The Limigantes, finding it impoſſible to make their eſcape, made with great fury towards the tribunal; but were repulſed by the guards forming themſelves into the ſhape of a wedge, and all to a man cut in pieces, not one of them deigning to aſk quarter. After this, the Romans entering their country on one ſide, and the Sarmatians, their antient maſters, with the Taïfales, on the other, and deſtroying all with fire and ſword, they were obliged in the end to comply with the only condition the emperor offered them, which was, to quit their country, and remove to a more diſtant place, that they might not be tempted to infeſt the empire anew. Conſtantius reſtored the country to the Sarmatians, its antient owners, twenty-four years after they had been driven from it; appointed one of their nation, by name Zizais, to rule over them with the title of king, and declared them a free people[l]. For theſe exploits the army ſaluted Conſtantius with the ſurname of Sarmaticus, who ſoon after, that is, about the end of October, returned to Sirmium, which he entered in triumph, and put his troops into winter-quarters[m].

The Limigantes driven out by him, and the country reſtored to the Sarmatians.

In the mean time, Julian, having ſpent the firſt months of this year at Paris, in regulating the taxes paid by the province, ſo as to find the neceſſary ſupplies, without laying any new burdens on the people, already quite drained and exhauſted, took the field as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, with a deſign to conquer the Franks, before the truce which he had granted to the Alemans was expired. The Franks were at this time divided into ſeveral tribes or clans; but the moſt powerful among them was that of the Salii, who, being driven by the Saxons, according to Zoſimus[n], from the lands they poſſeſſed in Germany, had ſettled in Batavia; that is, in the iſlands formed by the ſeveral branches of the Rhine, and in Toxandria, which country began, according to the

[l] Idem, p. 106—112. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 707.

beſt modern geographers, about a league from Maſtricht, and extended about twenty-five leagues along the Meuſe, where ſtand at preſent the cities of Boiſleduc, Breda, and Antwerp [o]. Againſt theſe Franks Julian marched firſt, and was already arrived at Tongres, when he met their deputies on their journey to Paris, where they ſuppoſed they ſhould find him. They had been ſent to beg he would ſuffer them to remain as friends in the country which they poſſeſſed. Julian, upon ſome difficulties which he ſtarted, ſent them back for more particular inſtructions. They imagined, that he deſigned to wait their return at Tongres; but they were no ſooner gone, than he followed them; and having entered their country, and obliged them to ſubmit, he allotted them lands in Gaul, and incorporated great numbers of them into his cavalry [p]. He then marched againſt the Chamavi, another nation of Franks, who had ſettled in Gaul; and having overcome them in battle, and taken many of them priſoners, he obliged them to retire beyond the Rhine; whence they ſent deputies to ſue for peace, which he granted them upon ſuch terms as he thought fit to preſcribe. Having thus reduced the Salii and Chamavi, he rebuilt three forts on the Meuſe, which the barbarians had demoliſhed; but wanting proviſions, in a country ſo often ravaged by the enemy, to ſtore them, to ſupply his army, and to maintain the many captives, whom he had obliged the enemy to ſet at liberty, he ordered ſix or eight hundred veſſels, as we read in Zoſimus, to be built in Britain, for the conveying of corn from thence into Gaul. Julian continued in the country of the Chamavi, till the truce he had granted to the Alemans was expired; and then laying a bridge of boats over the Rhine, he entered their country, putting all to fire and ſword. Hereupon two of their kings, Suomarius and Hortarius, came in perſon to him, and obtained a peace, upon their promiſing to ſet at liberty all the captives they had taken, to ſupply a certain quantity of corn when required, and to furniſh wood, iron, and carriages for the repairing of the cities which they had ruined. The priſoners, whom he reſcued out of the hands of the barbarians during this campaign, amounted to twenty thouſand and upwards [q]. The campaign being thus ended, he put his troops into winter-quarters; but we are not told where he took up his own. This year, on the twenty-fourth of

Julian overcomes the Salii,

And the Chamavi.

He obliges the Alemans to ſue for peace.

[o] Notit. Gall. p. 558. [p] Ammian. p. 99. Julian. ad Athen. p. 514. [q] Jul. ibid. Ammian. p. 102. Liban. orat. xii. p. 280. Zoſ. p. 70.

of Auguſt, about ſix in the morning, a moſt dreadful earthquake was felt in Aſia, Pontus, and Macedon, which greatly damaged an hundred and fifty cities, and utterly ruined that of Nicomedia, where it was ſo ſudden and violent, that all the houſes were overturned at once, and the inhabitants to a man buried in the ruins. This calamity is deſcribed at length by Ammianus [r], by Gregory of Nyſſa [s], Ephrem of Edeſſa, who wrote an elegy on that ſubject [t], and Libanius, who bemoaned in an oration the deſtruction of a city, which he ſtyles the fifth of the empire for greatneſs, and inferior to none in beauty [u]. When Julian paſſed that way in 362, he could not refrain his tears, in comparing the condition it was in then, with that in which he had formerly ſeen it [w]. Ariſtenetus, who reſided there in quality of vicar; Cecrops biſhop of the place, and another biſhop, periſhed with the reſt; but not in the church, nor with many biſhops, as the pagans gave out, to inſult the chriſtians [x]. The church, which was a magnificent ſtructure, and had been built by Conſtantine about the year 330, underwent the ſame fate with the other edifices [y]. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the thirteenth of July, and addreſſed to Taurus prefect of Italy, declaring all magicians, aſtrologers, augurs, aruſpices, and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to mankind; and ſuch of them as ſhould be found in the prince's court, guilty of treaſon, as giving the world occaſion to believe, that he ſuffers or countenances them. By the ſame law he orders the latter, whether diſcovered in his own palace, or in that of Julian, to be put to the rack, if they deny the charge, and ſpecifies the various kinds of tortures which he will have them to undergo, without any regard to their rank or quality [z]. Authors think, that, by this law, the emperor meant to drive theſe impoſtors from the court of Julian, who was ſuſpected of privately favouring them, and giving credit to their predictions [a].

Nicomedia overturned by an earthquake.

A law againſt magicians, augurs, &c.

The following year 359, the two brothers Euſebius and Hypatius were conſuls, being raiſed to that dignity by the empreſs Euſebia their ſiſter [b]. Ammianus begins his hiſtory of this year with the exploits of Julian in Gaul, where he was buſied in erecting magazines, in viſiting the cities which had

[r] Ammian. p. 97. [s] Greg. Nyſſ. p. 75. [t] Marc. chron. p. 66. [u] Liban. orat. viii. p. 203. [w] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 219. [x] Soz. l. iv. c. 16. p. 559 [y] Philoſt. l. iv. c. 1. p. 70. [z] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 6. p. 124, 125. [a] Vide. Baron. ad ann. 358. [b] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 113.

had ſuffered moſt by the inroads of the barbarians, and giving proper orders for the rebuilding of their walls, and repairing their fortifications. After this, he aſſembled all his forces at Mentz, and paſſing the Rhine on a bridge of boats, entered Germany, and advanced as far as a place or country called Pallas, where the territories of the Alemans and Burgundians ended, pillaging and laying waſte their country far and wide.

Julian obliges ſeveral German nations to ſue for peace.

There he was met by two kings, Macrianus and Hariobaudus, who were brothers, come in perſon to ſubmit to Julian, who granted them a peace, as he did ſoon after to three other kings, Urias, Urſicinus, and Veſtralpus, upon their promiſing to deliver up all the priſoners they had taken, and to furniſh a certain quantity of corn when required. After this, Julian left Germany, and, as the ſeaſon was already far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters, and retired himſelf to Paris [c]. To return to Conſtantius: That prince, having intercepted a letter to Barbatio from his wife Aſſyria, giving him ſome hopes of being raiſed one day to the ſovereignty, ordered them both to be executed. Many innocent perſons were involved in their ruin, and put to death, as privy to their deſigns.

Barbatio and ſeveral others executed.

A tribune, by name Valentine, was ſeveral times racked in a moſt inhuman manner; but, as he conſtantly denied the charge, the emperor, convinced in the end of his innocence, to make him ſome amends, gave him the command of the troops in Illyricum [d]. Before the end of the winter, the emperor received intelligence, that the Limigantes, quitting the country in which they had been placed by him the preceding year, were advancing towards the borders of the empire.

The treachery of the Limigantes.

Hereupon, leaving Sirmium early in the ſpring, he haſtened to the banks of the Danube, to prevent them from croſſing that river, and invading Pannonia. Upon his arrival he ſent deputies to them, deſiring to know what had induced them to abandon the country which had been allotted to them. The Limigantes anſwered in appearance with the greateſt ſubmiſſion imaginable, that they were willing to live as true ſubjects of the empire, in what part ſoever the emperor ſhould think fit to place them; but that the country, which they had abandoned, was altogether uninhabitable, as they were ready to demonſtrate, if the emperor would give them leave to croſs the river, and lay their complaints before him. Conſtantius, pleaſed with their propoſal, granted them their requeſt, and received them in the neighbourhood

[c] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 113. & l. xx. p. 154. [d] Idem, l. xviii. p. 118.

neighbourhood of Acumincum, which moſt geographers take to be the preſent town of Kamanez on the Danube, near Peterwaradin, in the territory of Sirmium. But while he was aſcending his tribunal, they unexpectedly fell upon his guards ſword in hand, and would have killed the emperor himſelf, had he not with much-ado ſaved himſelf by flight. Several of his guards were ſlain; but in the mean time the reſt of the troops, taking the alarm, flew to arms, ſurrounded the Limigantes, and cut them all to a man in pieces [e]. Conſtantius then returned to Sirmium, where he was on the twenty-ſecond of May, this year the eve of Pentecoſt; but ſoon after ſet out from thence for Conſtantinople, for he was on the eighteenth of June at Singidunum in Mœſia [f]. He paſſed the remaining part of this year at Conſtantinople, ready to march, upon the firſt advice, againſt the Perſians. During his ſtay in that metropolis, he diſtinguiſhed it with a prefect or governor; an honour till this time peculiar to Rome. The firſt prefect of Conſtantinople was one Honoratus, inveſted with that dignity on the eleventh of December, according to Idatius, or of September, as we read in the chronicle of Alexander. He had before been prefect of Gaul [g]. This year the emperor diſpatched into the eaſt the ſecretary Paulus Catena, famous for his cruelty, to proſecute ſeveral perſons accuſed of having conſulted the oracle of an idol named Beſa in the city of Abydus, on the moſt diſtant borders of Egypt. Modeſtus, then count of the eaſt, and afterwards prefect, was appointed to judge the criminals, Hermogenes, who had ſucceeded Muſonianus in the office of prefect, being thought unfit for that commiſſion, on account of his mild and compaſſionate temper. Modeſtus eſtabliſhed his tribunal at Scythopolis in Paleſtine, whither perſons of both ſexes, and of every rank and condition, were daily dragged in crowds from all parts, and either confined to dungeons, or torn to pieces in a moſt cruel an barbarous manner on the rack, or publicly executed. Ammianus gives us a moſt frightful idea of this, as we may call it, inquiſition; but at the ſame time owns, that ſeveral perſons were cleared, and others puniſhed with far leſs ſeverity than was expected [h]. Parnaſus, who had been governor of Egypt, was condemned to loſe his head, for having conſulted an aſtrologer, by means of one Ariſtophanes; but Modeſtus ſoftened the rigour of that ſentence, and only ſent him

They are all cut off.

Several perſons condemned for conſulting an oracle.

[e] Idem, ibid. [f] Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 59. [g] Idem ibid. Socrat. l. ii. c 37. p. 139. Soz. l. iv. c. 23. Chron. Alex. p. 682. [h] Ammian. l. xix. p. 150, 151.

him into baniſhment; as he did Simplicius the ſon of Philippus, who had been prefect, and conſul in 348, though accuſed of aſpiring at the empire. The latter was only baniſhed from his own country; nor would Modeſtus ſuffer him to be racked, though he had poſitive orders for it from the emperor. As for Ariſtophanes, he was, by the order of Paulus, whom he had provoked with his freedom of ſpeech, beaten with balls of lead faſtened to cords, till he was ready to expire; when Modeſtus, pitying him, ordered the executioner to forbear, and ſent Ariſtophanes into baniſhment. Demetrius, ſurnamed Cythras, a philoſopher, ſtriken in years, being convicted of having ſacrificed to the idols, was tortured with great cruelty for many hours; but afterwards ſuffered by Modeſtus to return to Alexandria his native city. Parnaſus and the reſt, excepting Ariſtophanes, who had been baniſhed on this occaſion, were recalled three years after, and pardoned [i].

The Perſians begin hoſtilities.

IN the mean while, Sapor, king of Perſia, was encouraged and preſſed to begin hoſtilities by an officer of Conſtantius, named Antoninus, who, finding his affairs ruined at home, had fled to the court of Perſia, hoping to make his fortune there, and brought with him an exact account of the ſtate of the empire and all its forces. At the ſame time, Euſebius the eunuch, who had been long contriving the ruin of Urſicinus, as the only perſon who was independent of him and ſcorned his ſupport, perſuaded the emperor to remove him, as a perſon not to be truſted, from the command of the troops in the eaſt, and to appoint in his room Sabinianus, a decrepit old man, poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, but every way unfit for that employment. This change was no ſooner known at the Perſian court, than Antoninus, who was well acquainted with the character of Sabinianus, preſſed Sapor anew to begin the war without delay, adviſing him to march ſtrait to the Euphrates, without loſing time in beſieging towns, to croſs that river, and enter Syria, which he might eaſily reduce, while defended by ſo unfit a commander. The Perſian, approving the ſcheme, began to aſſemble his troops from all quarters, in order to put it in execution. This alarmed Conſtantius, who immediately ordered Urſicinus to haſten back into Syria, with the character of general of the foot, in the room of Barbatio lately beheaded; but without any authority, or even troops under his command. This too was a malicious contrivance of Euſebius and the other eunuchs, that;

[i] Idem, p. 152.

that, if the mighty deſigns of the Perſians were defeated, Sabinianus might have the honour of it; but if they were attended with ſucceſs, Urſicinus might bear the whole blame. That brave commander had no ſooner reached Syria, than he was informed, that the enemy's vanguard had already paſſed the Tigris. Upon this intelligence he haſtened into Meſopotamia, to give the neceſſary Orders there, in caſe the enemy ſhould attack the city of Niſibis. From Niſibis he flew to Amida, another city in the ſame country; and, though he travelled in the night-time, he narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands, whoſe parties were ſpread all over the country. From Amida he ſent Ammianus Marcellinus, the hiſtorian, to reconnoitre the enemy, who, upon his return, informed him, that to him they ſeemed at leaſt an hundred thouſand ſtrong; that they had already paſſed Nineve in the province of Adiabene, and were arrived at the bridge of the Anzabas, a river in Aſſyria. Hereupon Urſicinus diſpatched orders to Caſſianus, duke of Meſopotamia, and to Euphronius, governor of the province, to warn the inhabitants to withdraw with their effects into places of ſafety; to abandon Carrhæ, which was an open city; and to ſet fire to the forage, and likewiſe to the corn, though already ripe, that the enemy might find no ſubſiſtence, either for themſelves or their horſes, between the Tigris and the Euphrates. At the ſame time he took care to fortify the banks of the Euphrates with forts and paliſades, ſupplying the former with warlike engines of all kinds. Theſe wiſe precautions having obliged Sapor to lay aſide his deſign of marching ſtrait to the Euphrates, he turned to the left, and took his rout, purſuant to the advice of Antoninus, by the foot of the mountains which part Meſopotamia from Armenia, not doubting but he ſhould find there plenty of forage, and the Euphrates fordable nearer its head. Urſicinus, appriſed of his deſign, immediately left Amida, to give the neceſſary orders on that ſide likewiſe; but being ſurrounded by one of the enemy's parties, he narrowly eſcaped falling into their hands. Ammianus Marcellinus, the hiſtorian, was purſued as far as Amida; which place was inveſted a few days after by Sapor's whole army, in which ſerved ſeveral princes of different nations, and among the reſt the king of Albania, and Grumbates, king of the Chionitæ, a prince renowned for his valour and conqueſts. The Perſian took on his march to Amida two Roman forts, Reman and Buſan, the ſoldiers who garriſoned them, opening the gates to him upon the firſt ſummons, though they were both places of great ſtrength, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country

Urſicinus enters Meſopotamia.

Wiſe precautions taken by Urſicinus.

Sapor takes two Roman forts.

try had retired to them with all their effects. In both the forts Sapor found ſome virgins, conſecrated, to uſe the expreſſion of Ammianus, to the worſhip of God, according to the diſcipline of the chriſtians, and was ſo far from offering them any injury, that, on the contrary, he enjoined his ſoldiers not to interrupt or diſturb them in their uſual exerciſes of piety, hoping, by that gentle treatment, to remove the prejudice, which his former cruelties had begotten in the minds of the neighbouring people [k]. He appeared before Amida, not with a deſign to beſiege the place, but only to ſound the diſpoſition of the garriſon; and, in caſe they refuſed to ſubmit, to purſue his march into Syria, agreeable to the plan ſuggeſted by Antoninus. But the Romans having diſcharged againſt him, as he approached the walls to ſhew himſelf in all his pomp and majeſty, a ſhower of darts, arrows, and javelins, one of which pierced his royal robes, and another laid the ſon of Grumbates, a youth of great expectation, dead at his father's feet, he was ſo tranſported with rage, that, laying aſide his former ſcheme, he reſolved at all adventures to revenge the affront offered to himſelf and the death of the young prince, with the utter deſtruction of the city, and a general maſſacre of all its inhabitants. The reader will find a very particular and diſtinct account of this memorable ſiege in Ammianus, who was ſhut up in the town, and an eye-witneſs of all that paſſed both within and without the walls. Never was place aſſaulted with more fury, nor defended with more vigor, reſolution, and intrepidity; but in the end moſt of the garriſon being killed, and thoſe who ſurvived quite ſpent with labour and watching, the walls being in ſeveral places levelled with the ground, and the ditches filled up with dead bodies, the Perſians made a laſt effort, and entered the town ſword in hand, after having lain ſeventy-five days before it, and loſt, during that time, thirty thouſand men and upwards. The city was razed, the chief officers crucified, and the reſt, with the ſoldiers and inhabitants, either put to the ſword, or carried into captivity, except our hiſtorian, and two or three more, who, in the dead of the night, eſcaped through a poſtern not obſerved by the enemy. As for Sapor, the ſummer being already far ſpent, and his army greatly fatigued, he thought it adviſeable to return to his dominions, having but little to brag of this expedition, which coſt him the lives of ſo many men, and prevented him from purſuing the advantageous deſigns ſuggeſted to him by Antoninus [l]. Sabinianus

He lays ſiege to Amida.

Which, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, is taken, and razed.

[k] Idem, l. xviii. p. 124—132. [l] Idem, p. 144—146.

nianus was buſied, during the whole time of the ſiege, in exerciſing his men near Edeſſa [m]. Urſicinus was continually preſſing him to take the field, and haraſs, at leaſt, the enemy, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys; which he might have eaſily done, and by that means diverted them from purſuing the ſiege with ſo much vigor, and perhaps obliged them to raiſe it. But Sabinianus returned no other anſwer, than that his inſtructions were not to expoſe the army to any danger. He is ſuppoſed to have had likewiſe private inſtructions from Euſebius, the favourite eunuch, his patron, to give Urſicinus no opportunity of performing any thing that might redound to his honour [n]. Thus was that great officer obliged to continue inactive, and ſee, with the utmoſt regret, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in the eaſt reduced, and ſo many brave men fall unrevenged. Ammianus, after his eſcape from Amida, found him at Miletene in the Leſſer Armenia, on his way to Antioch, whither he followed him ſoon after. From Antioch Urſicinus repaired to court, where he was, to his great ſurprize, charged with the loſs of Amida, and all the wrong ſteps taken during that unhappy campaign. Arbetio and Florentius, two of Euſebius's creatures, were appointed by the emperor to enquire into his conduct, and examine by whoſe fault Amida was loſt. Theſe two judges, however partial and corrupt, could not lay the blame on Urſicinus; but, on the other hand, not caring, through fear of offending Euſebius, to expoſe Sabinianus, ended their enquiries, without clearing, as they were in juſtice bound to do, the former, or condemning the latter. Urſicinus, highly provoked at ſuch proceedings, appealed to the emperor, who, he ſaid, would not fail to puniſh with due ſeverity the authors, whoever they were, of the late miſcarriages. In the tranſport of his paſſion, he let drop the following unguarded expreſſion, viz. That the emperor himſelf, though he marched into Meſopotamia the next ſpring at the head of his army, would not be able to protect that country, ſo long as he was thus governed by eunuchs. This being carried immediately to the emperor, as it generally happens in courts, with malicious aggravations, Conſtantius, without any further enquiry, ordered that brave and loyal officer to retire to his native country, after having deveſted him of his employment, and given it to one Agilo a German, who, in 354, had been tribunus ſtabuli, which anſwers our maſter

Urſicinus accuſed at court, but found innocent.

He is diſgraced.

[m] Idem, p. 127. [n] Idem ibid. & l. xix. p. 126.

maſter of the horſe [o]. Thus was this weak and deluded prince induced to deprive himſelf, and the empire, which lay at ſtake, at ſo critical a conjuncture, of the ſkill, counſels, and experience of the beſt officer of the age, to gratify the avarice, ambition, and revenge of a wicked courtier, ſacrificing to his private ends the public intereſt, and the welfare and glory both of his prince and country.

The Perſians make themſelves maſters of ſeveral places in Meſopotamia.

THE following year, Conſtantius being conſul the tenth time, and Julian the third, Sapor, entering Meſopotamia early in the ſpring, took by aſſault Singara, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, and carried both the garriſon and inhabitants into captivity. Then leaving Niſibis, where great part of the Roman army lay encamped, on the left, he took his rout towards Bezabde, called alſo Phœnicia, a ſtrong town on the Tigris. After ſeveral attacks, in which great numbers fell on both ſides, the biſhop of the place went out to exhort the king to withdraw, and put an end to ſo deſtructive a war; but Sapor, without returning him any anſwer, purſued the ſiege, made himſelf maſter of the place, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and reduced the reſt, with the biſhop and all his clergy, to ſlavery. Some ſuſpected the biſhop, named, as we are told [p], Heliodorus, of ſecretly favouring the Perſians; but Ammianus clears him of this charge [q]. Sapor did not demoliſh Bezabde, as he had done Singara; but repaired the fortifications, and leaving a garriſon in it, led his army againſt Virta, or Birtha, on the moſt diſtant borders of Meſopotamia; but not being able to reduce it, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attacks, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired to his own dominions, without engaging in any other enterprize this campaign. While Sapor was thus, by degrees, reducing Meſopotamia, Conſtantius was ſtill at Conſtantinople, raiſing new troops, and ſoliciting the Goths and other barbarians to join him. At length he left that Metropolis, when the ſpring was already far advanced, and ſet out for Syria. Upon his arrival at Cæſarea in Cappadocia, he was met by deputies ſent to him by Julian, who had been declared emperor at Paris, as we ſhall relate anon. He was thunder-ſtruck with this news, and long in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould march againſt Julian or Sapor; but was in the end perſuaded to purſue his march into the eaſt. Leaving therefore Cappadocia, he advanced to Miletene in the Leſſer Armenia, paſſed the Euphrates at Samoſata in Syria, and arrived at Edeſſa in Meſopotamia, where

Conſtantius marches into Meſopotamia.

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[o] Idem, p. 144, 145, & l. xiv. p. 24. [p] Menæa, 9 Ap. p. 76. [q] Ammian. l. xx. p. 165.

he was obliged to wait the coming of his troops, and the warlike engines, till after the autumnal equinox, when he purſued his march to Amida, which he could not behold, buried, as it was, in its ruins, without ſhedding many tears. From Amida he continued his rout to Bezabde, with a deſign to retake that place; but being in ſeveral aſſaults repulſed by the Perſian garriſon, he reſolved to reduce it by famine, which he might have done, the Perſian army being long before diſperſed, and, according to cuſtom, returned to their reſpective homes, had not the heavy rains and ſevere weather obliged him to drop the enterprize and retire to Antioch, which he did not reach before the end of the year; for, on the ſeventeenth of December, he was at Hierapolis in Euphrateſiana.

The Scots and Picts break into the Roman territories.

We ſhall now return to Julian, whom we left the preceding year in his quarters at Paris, where he was informed in the beginning of the winter, that the Picts and Caledonians, about this time firſt diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the name of Scoti or Scots, had broken into the Roman province, and committed dreadful ravages there. Upon this intelligence, he ſent his lieutenant Lupicinus, who had ſucceeded Severus in that poſt, with ſome troops into Britain. Lupicinus ſet ſail from Boulogne in the depth of winter, and in a few days reached London, where he landed his forces. But of this expedition we find no farther account in hiſtory: and indeed Lupicinus, tho' he was an officer of great bravery and experience in war, had not time to perform any remarkable exploits, being recalled ſoon after, as we ſhall relate anon. In the mean while, Conſtantius, wholly intent upon aſſembling a mighty army for his intended expedition againſt the Perſians, ſent Decentius, one of his ſecretaries, into Gaul, to bring from thence all the Batavians and other auxiliaries, with three hundred men choſen out of each corps ſerving under Julian, that is, the flower of that prince's army. The emperor's orders were not addreſſed to Julian, to whom he only wrote, warning him not to oppoſe them; but to his lieutenant Lupicinus, and to Gentinus, or, as others call him, Sintula, his tribunus ſtabuli, or maſter of the horſe. Moſt writers are of opinion, that the emperor took this reſolution, rather with a deſign to weaken Julian, than to ſtrengthen himſelf; for he began to be jealous of that prince's glory, and apprehenſive

The emperor ſends for part of Julian's army.

[r] Cod. Theodoſ. p. 60. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 185. & l. xx. p. 170—177. [s] Idem, l. xx. p. 154.

ſive of his power. The common report was, that the emperor was induced to take this ſtep by private letters from Florentius, at that time prefect of Gaul, and in his heart a great enemy to Julian [s]. Be that as it will, Julian found himſelf reduced, by the above-mentioned order, to the unhappy dilemma, either of falling a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the emperor, if he refuſed to comply with it; or periſhing by the arms of barbarians, if he obeyed it, being well appriſed that they unmindful of their promiſes and treaties, would be tempted to break into Gaul, as ſoon as they ſaw that province deſtitute of troops to defend it. In this dangerous ſituation, he reſolved, without heſitating a ſingle moment, to obey, but at the ſame time to abdicate the dignity of Cæſar, that he might not be charged with the loſs of Gaul. He thought himſelf, however, bound to acquaint Decentius, that the auxiliaries raiſed in Gaul and Germany had entered into the ſervice, upon condition of their not being obliged to paſs the Alps; and that the violation of this article, always inſiſted upon by the people beyond the Rhine, might prevent their lifting themſelves for the future. But Decentius giving no ear to his juſt remonſtrances, he ſubmitted to the emperor's will without reply. As Lupicinus, to whom the emperor's orders were addreſſed, was abſent in Britain, Decentius himſelf choſe all the beſt men out of each corps, not excepting Julian's own guards; which was no ſooner done, than Julian wrote to their reſpective commanders, enjoining them to quit their winter-quarters, and begin their march without delay. This order threw all Gaul into the utmoſt confuſion; nothing was heard but complaints, outcries, and lamentations, as if the barbarians had already entered the province: ſeveral libels againſt Conſtantius, and in commendation of Julian, were privately handed about, and diſperſed among the ſoldiery. Ammianus mentions one, in which the ſoldiers complained of their being baniſhed to the moſt remote parts of the earth, while their wives, children and relations were carried into captivity by the barbarians. To obviate this complaint, Julian ordered them to carry their families with them, ſupplying them with public carriages for that purpoſe. When the troops were ready to depart, Julian adviſed Decentius not to ſuffer them to approach Paris, where he ſtill was in winter-quarters; but Decentius, fearing they might mutiny, if they left Gaul without ſeeing their general, led

Julian complies with the emperor's orders.

[s] Idem, p. 157, 158.

led them thither to take their leave of him, which proved a very injudicious ſtep. Julian received them in a moſt obliging manner, and encouraged them chearfully to ſubmit to the emperor's commands, who would not fail to reward their valour. But on the other hand, the people conjured them not to abandon a country which they had defended with ſo much glory; and the ſoldiers ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to comply with their requeſt. Hereupon Julian, aſcending the tribunal, told them, that it was not by any means lawful for them to deliberate about a thing already decided by the emperor; and upon that ſubject made a long diſcourſe, which the ſoldiers heard with attention, and withdrew in ſilence. After this, Julian invited the chief officers to dinner, entertaining them with no leſs tenderneſs than magnificence, and deſiring them, when they took leave of him to let him know in what he could be ſerviceable to them. The officers, greatly concerned to part with ſo obliging a commander, and to quit their country, returned in the utmoſt affliction to their quarters [t]. However, they continued all quiet till about ſun-ſet, when the ſoldiers, ſtirred up, according to Zoſimus [u], by libels diſperſed under-hand among them by their officers, flew all at once to arms, and haſtening to the palace, ſurrounded it, and with a tumultuous noiſe proclaimed Julian emperor [w]. Julian calls all the gods to witneſs, that he had not the leaſt knowledge of this deſign, nor the leaſt ſuſpicion of its being on foot, but was withdrawn with his wife, when he firſt heard himſelf ſaluted with the title of Auguſtus [x]. Libanius too aſſures us, that the deſign was not premeditated, but ſudden [y]. Julian, ſhewing himſelf highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the ſoldiery, ordered all the gates of the palace to be kept ſhut; inſomuch, that the ſoldiers, eager to ſee him, were obliged to wait till the next morning. In the mean time, he invoked his gods, entreating them to reveal to him their will by ſome prodigy; and they commanded him, as we are told, to comply with the deſires of the ſoldiery. Ammianus writes, that Julian told his friends in confidence, that a ſpectre appeared to him that very night, repreſenting the genius of the empire, as it was painted in thoſe days, and diſappeared, after having uttered theſe words, I am come to ſtay with you, but only for a ſhort time [z]. Eunapius aſſures us, that before he ac-

The ſoldiers unwilling to leave him.

They proclaim him emperor.

[t] Idem, p. 169. Liban. or. xii. p. 283. Julian. ad Athen. p. 518, 519. [u] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 710. [w] Ammian. l. xix p. 159. Lib or. xii. p. 284. [x] Julian. or. xii p. 284. [y] Liban. or. x p. 241. [z] Ammian. p. 162.

cepted the ſovereignty, he performed certain ceremonies in private with a pagan pontiff, whom he had ſome time before ſecretly ſent for out of Greece [a]; which, in the language of that writer, imports, that he had recourſe to magic. As ſoon as day appeared, the ſoldiers breaking down the gates of the palace, obliged Julian to ſhew himſelf, and ſaluted him anew with the title of Auguſtus, which he continued to reject, reminding them of their duty, and promiſing to prevail upon the emperor to countermand the orders which had given occaſion to their complaints, mutiny, and revolt. But all was to no purpoſe; nay, the ſoldiers well appriſed that Conſtantius, notwithſtanding all his promiſes, would in the end treat them as rebels, threatened Julian with immediate death, if he perſiſted any longer in declining the honour they intended to confer upon him. To theſe menaces he yielded, and was thereupon lifted up by the ſoldiers on ſhields, and ſhewn to the multitude, who, with loud acclamations, proclaimed him emperor, while an officer, by name Maurus, placed upon his head his golden collar, enriched with precious ſtones, inſtead of a diadem. When this ceremony was over, Julian, to animate his ſoldiers, promiſed them five pieces of gold and a pound weight of ſilver a man [b]. After this, he ſhut himſelf up in the palace, diſpleaſed and uneaſy at what had happened; which gave occaſion to the report of his having been murdered. This alarmed the ſoldiery, who immediately flew to the palace, where, to their great ſatisfaction, they found him, not only ſafe, but clad in the imperial robes [c]. Libanius writes, that the eunuch, his chamberlain, had in reality been bribed to murder him [d]; and Julian himſelf, that money had been diſtributed among the ſoldiery to debauch them [e]. However that be, the ſoldiers, imagining he had been in danger, preſſed him to put all the friends of Conſtantius to death, who had oppoſed his promotion; but he reſolutely declared, that he would not by any means ſuffer the leaſt injury to be offered to them; nay, he generouſly forgave the eunuch, who had attempted to take away his life [f]. Some troops had already begun their march towards the eaſt, but they were no ſooner informed of what had paſſed at Paris, than they returned with their leader Sintula, and joined the reſt. Julian having aſſembled them all in a neighbouring plain, appeared

Julian rejects the title.

But is forced to accept of it.

His generoſity.

[a] Eunap. c. 5. p. 76. [b] Ammian. p. 160. Lib. or. v. p. 179. Zoſ. p. 711. Zonar. p. 18. [c] Julian. ibid. p. 522. Ammian. p. 160. [d] Liban. or. xii. p. 285. [e] Julian. ibid. [f] Idem, p. 522. & Lib. p. 285.

peared at their head with all the badges of majesty; and ascending the tribunal, in a very elegant and lively speech commended their valour, put them in mind of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, encouraged them to defend and protect a prince, whom they themselves had raised, and ended with assuring them, that he was determined to rule with justice and moderation, and to prefer such only as were men of merit, without suffering himself to be biassed by the recommendations of any person whatsoever [g]. Such is the account which Julian himself, and after him Libanius, Ammianus, and Zosimus, his admirers, or rather adorers, give us of his promotion to the imperial dignity. But on the other hand, the christian writers, namely Gregory of Nazianzus [h], Philostorgius [i], Theodoret [k], and Sozomen [l], seem to have thought him privy to the design of the soldiery; nay, Zonaras tells us in plain terms, that either prompted by ambition, or apprehending in the end the doom of his brother Gallus, he gained under-hand the officers, who by his private directions stirred up the soldiers to threaten him as they did, that, to the eyes of the world, he might seem to have accepted the sovereignty to save his life [m]. The former writers betray, no doubt, a great partiality for Julian, and the latter an equal prejudice against him. We shall therefore, in describing his reign and actions, impartially relate, unbiassed as we are by any favour or prejudice, what we find in writers of both parties, leaving the reader to judge which of them deserves most credit. All authors agree, that Julian was raised to the imperial dignity in the year 360, but as to the day, we are quite at a loss: but as the troops were, at the time of his promotion, still in their winter-quarters, it must have happened in the month of May or April. He had no sooner accepted the imperial title, than Decentius hastened back into the east, whither he was soon followed by the prefect Florentius, who, conscious to himself of his conduct towards Julian, and dreading his resentment, was in such haste to get out of Gaul, that he left his whole family behind him; but Julian not only gave them leave to follow him, but ordered them to be supplied for that purpose with public carriages. Lupicinus, Julian's lieutenant, an officer of great experience, courage, and address, was capable of embroiling matters; but as he was still in

His speech to the soldiery.

Disagreement among authors about the manner of his promotion.

Decentius and Florentius retire from Gaul.

[g] Ammian. l. xx. p. 161, 162. Julian. Liban. Zos. ibid. [h] Greg. Naz. p. 58, 67. [i] Philostorg. l. vi. c. 5. p. 84 [k] Theodor. l. ii. c. 28. p. 636. [l] Sozomen. p. 18. [m] Zonar. p. 18.

Britain, Julian, by ordering all the veſſels on the coaſt to be ſtopped, prevented his receiving intelligence of what had paſſed; ſo that upon his landing at Boulogne to execute the emperor's orders, addreſſed to him, as we have related above, he was arreſted by an officer ſent thither for that purpoſe, but treated by Julian with the utmoſt humanity and good-nature [n]. And now Julian, well appriſed that the emperor would be alarmed, and highly provoked, at what had happened, in order to appeaſe his wrath, and allay his fears, wrote an obliging letter to him, which he ſent by two of his chief officers, Pentadius and Eutherius. In the letter he acquainted him with what had happened, begged he would ſuffer him to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept, promiſed to obey him, even in that ſtation, with the ſame readineſs and alacrity as if he were a private perſon, offered to ſend him ſome troops, and even to leave him the nomination of the prefect; but at the ſame time he reſerved to himſelf the creating of the other officers, and remonſtrated with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, that Gaul was ſo far from being able to ſpare any of its natives, that, on the contrary, it ſtood in need of aſſiſtance from other provinces. Julian not only wrote himſelf, but perſuaded the whole army to write to the emperor, earneſtly entreating him to confirm what they had done, and to agree with Julian, who had obliged them to take an oath not to raiſe any diſturbances, if Conſtantius ſuffered him to continue in Gaul with the title of Auguſtus [o]. Julian, in his letter, contented himſelf with the title of Cæſar [p]; and he himſelf aſſures us, that, in writing to the emperor, he never aſſumed any other [q]. But to this public letter, as we may ſtyle it, he added a private one, highly injurious and abuſive, as we read in Ammianus, who tells us, that though it had been communicated to him, yet he ſhould have thought it indecent and unbecoming to inſert it in his hiſtory [r]. The deputies from Julian met the emperor at Cæſarea in Cappadocia, who, upon his firſt reading the letter, was ſo tranſported with rage, that he drove them from his preſence, and was ſome time in ſuſpenſe, as we have ſaid, whether he ſhould proceed in his expedition againſt the Perſians, or turn his arms againſt his new rival; but upon mature deliberation, cooler counſels prevailed, and Conſtantius, diſmiſſing the deputies without any anſwer, diſpatched

Lupicinus arreſted, but treated with humanity.

Julian ſends deputies, and writes to the emperor.

[n] Ammian. p. 171. Julian. ad Athen. p. 515. [o] Ammian. l. xx. p. 167. Julian. p. 518. Zonar. p. 18. [p] Zonar. ibid. [q] Julian. ibid. p. 523. [r] Ammian. ibid. p. 169.

ed Leonas, his quæſtor, into Gaul, with a letter to Julian, acquainting him, that he could not by any means approve of his uſurpation, and exhorting him, as he tendered his own ſafety, and that of his friends, to be ſatisfied with the title of Cæſar, which he ſtill allowed him to enjoy, but diſapproved and annulled whatever elſe had been done. Leonas ſoon reached Paris, where he was kindly received by Julian, to whom he delivered the emperor's letter the day after his arrival. Julian received it ſitting on his tribunal, in the preſence of the ſoldiery and people, whom he had aſſembled for that purpoſe, and cauſed it to be read aloud. When he underſtood, that the emperor would not by any means allow him the title of Auguſtus, addreſſing himſelf to Leonas, he told him, that he was willing to lay down that title, provided the ſoldiery conſented to it; but otherwiſe could not, without betraying them, and expoſing them to the reſentment of Conſtantius. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the whole aſſembly confirmed to him with repeated acclamations the title they had given him, declaring, that they were determined to ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood. Julian wrote to the emperor by Leonas, acquainting him with the diſpoſition of the people and ſoldiery, and telling him, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to abandon them to his reſentment. Several meſſages and embaſſies paſſed between Conſtantius and Julian; the former inſiſting upon his abdicating the ſovereignty, and the latter declining, under various pretences, to relinquiſh the authority with which he had been inveſted by the ſoldiery and people, but at the ſame time aſſuring the emperor of his good intentions and zeal for his ſervice [s].

Conſtantius refuſes to acknowledge him emperor.

Julian's conduct on this occaſion.

In the mean time, the emperor being wholly taken up with the Perſian war in the eaſt, Julian, to keep his army in action, and maintain the reputation he had acquired, paſſed the Rhine at Triceſima, which ſome take to be Cleves, others Kellen, in that neighbourhood; and falling ſuddenly upon the Atthuarii, the inhabitants of the preſent countries of Cleves and Munſter, who had made frequent inroads into Gaul, laid waſte their territory, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſubmit to ſuch laws as he thought fit to impoſe upon them. In this expedition he ſpent three months, and then repaſſing the Rhine, he viſited all the forts on that river as far as Baſle, recovered ſome places that were ſtill held by the enemy, fortified them,

Julian overcomes the Atthuarii.

[s] Idem, p. 170. Lib. or. xii. p. 286. Zon. p. 19.

and, as the year was already far spent, retired by the way of Besançon, which he describes in a letter [t], to Vienne, where he took up his winter-quarters. About this time died his wife Helena, the sister of Constantius, and her body was sent to Rome, to be there interred near that of her sister Constantina [u]. She is styled on most of her medals Flavia Julia Helena, and on some bears the title of Augusta [w], which we suppose her to have taken after the promotion of her husband. This year, on Monday the twenty-eighth of August, happened a great eclipse of the sun, which began at half an hour past four in the morning, and lasted above two hours [x]. Ammianus takes notice of it in his history [y].

His wife Helena dies

THE next consuls were Flavius Taurus, prefect of Italy, who had presided the year before at the famous council of Rimini, and Florentius, prefect of Gaul, who had fled from that province upon the promotion of Julian. This year Julian, finding Constantius would not hearken to any terms, began to prepare for war, being incited to it also by his magicians, who assured him of success, and encouraged by several dreams, in one of which he is said to have known, that Constantius was near his end, nay, that he was to die about the month of November [z]. He still made an outward profession of the christian religion, says Ammianus [a], to gain the christians to his party, though he had long since renounced that in his heart, and embraced the religion of the antient Romans; nay, the better to impose on them, on the feast of the Epiphany, which was celebrated with extraordinary solemnity in the church, he publicly assisted at divine service, and offered up with the rest his solemn prayers [b]; which expression of Ammianus some understand of his receiving the eucharist. Zonaras writes, that this happened on the feast of our Saviour's nativity, which was then celebrated by the Greeks on the sixth of January; and adds, that Julian by this hypocrisy hoped to secure the soldiers to his party, who were for the most part christians [c]. When he had made the necessary preparations for war, and was ready to march into Italy, and thence into the east, against Constantius, if he persisted in refusing him the title of emperor, advice was brought him, that the Alemans, and among the rest the subjects of Vadomarius,

Julian's hypocrisy.

[t] Julian. epist. xxxviii. p. 180. [u] Ammian. l. xx. p. 172. & l. xxi. p. 178. [w] Byzan. famil. p. 41. [x] Petav. doctr. temp. l. xi. c. 45. p. 373. [y] Ammian. l. 20. p. 155. [z] Liban. or. xii p. 286. Ammian. ibid. p. 179. [a] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 180. [b] Idem, p. 181. [c] Zonar. p. 19.

marius, whoſe country lay near Baſle, had broken into Gaul, on the ſide of Rhœtia, and committed dreadful ravages there. Vadomarius pretended to have the greateſt reſpect imaginable for Julian, and to be much concerned for the hoſtilities committed by his countrymen; but, in the mean time, Julian, having intercepted a letter from him to Conſtantius, filled with bitter invectives againſt himſelf, found means to have him arreſted at a banquet, and baniſhed him into Spain [d]. He had already ſent Libano, one of his commanders, with a ſtrong detachment againſt the Alemans; but he being killed, and his men put to the rout near Sanctio, now Seckingen, in the neighbourhood of Baſle, Julian advanced in perſon againſt them, paſſed the Rhine, and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to reſtore the booty they had taken, and ſue for peace; which he granted them upon his own terms [e]. Libanius aſſures us, that Conſtantius had, by letters and large ſums, tranſmitted to the heads of the German nations, ſtirred them up, and encouraged them to invade Gaul, in order to divert Julian from forming other ſchemes [f]. This, ſays Ammian, was the common report [g], and Julian pretended to have in his cuſtody the very letters, and to ſhew both them, and others, which the emperor was ſuppoſed to have written to the barbarians in the time of Magnentius, animating them to invade Gaul [s]; which greatly eſtranged from him the minds of the people. However, Ammianus does not take upon him to affirm it, but only ſays, that it was a flying report [t]. In the mean time, Conſtantius having ordered magazines to be formed at Briancon in Dauphiny, at Bregentz on the lake of Conſtance, and at ſeveral other places on the Alps, Julian concluded from thence, that he was bent upon war; and reſolving to be before-hand with him, he threw off the maſk, and obliged his ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to him, which they all did very readily, except Nebridius, who had ſucceeded Florentius in the prefecture of Gaul. That officer frankly declared, that he would not, upon any conſideration whatſoever, take an oath, which obliged him to draw his ſword againſt his lawful ſovereign. Upon this, Julian ſuffered him to retire unmoleſted into Hetruria [u]. The loyal, generous, and diſintereſted conduct of this officer deſerved a better name than that of effeminacy, with which Libanius

He reduces the Alemans; And grants them a peace.

He obliges his ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himſelf.

[d] Ammian. ibid. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Liban. or. v. p. 180. [g] Ammian. ibid. [s] Julian. ad Athen. p. 524. [t] Ammian. ibid. [u] Idem, p. 183.

banius has been pleaſed to ſtigmatize it [w]. In his room, Julian appointed one Germanicus to diſcharge the functions of the prefect. As his thus obliging the ſoldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himſelf was openly revolting from Conſtantius, he wrote to ſeveral cities and among the reſt to Athens, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, acquainting them with the motives that had prompted him to take that ſtep, being well appriſed, ſays Libanius, that good princes are willing to ſubmit their actions to the judgment of the whole world, whereas tyrants dread the leaſt ſcrutiny [x]. Of all theſe letters, or rather apologies, only that has reached our times which he wrote to the Athenians, and a few lines of a letter which he wrote to the inhabitants of Corinth, when he was already maſter of great part of the empire. In theſe he pretends to have been animated by his gods to make war upon Conſtantius, and by them aſſured of ſucceſs [y]. And now Julian, finding he could depend upon the fidelity of his army, and reſolved to purſue his deſigns with vigour, ſent part of his forces into Pannonia under the conduct of Nevita, Jovinus, and Jovius, ordering them to take different routs, that they might ſeem the more numerous, and ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, while he, leaving Baſle, marched through woods and by-ways into Illyricum. Nevita, Jovinus, and Jovius, had with them about twenty thouſand men, but Julian himſelf only three thouſand. They were all to meet at Sirmium, the place of the general rendezvous. Upon the firſt news of Julian's march, Taurus, prefect of Italy, and Florentius, whom Conſtantius had lately appointed prefect of Illyricum, abandoning their provinces betook themſelves to flight, and haſtened to the emperor to acquaint him with the motions of Julian. As they were both conſuls this year, Julian ordered them, if Zoſimus is to be credited [z], to be ſtigmatized in all the public acts with the name of the runaway conſuls. By their flight, Julian became maſter of Italy without ſtriking a blow, and likewiſe of Sicily, whither he ſent ſome troops, with orders to keep themſelves in readineſs to paſs over into Africa. The different parties, led by Julian and the three above-mentioned commanders, purſued their march with ſuch expedition, that in ten or eleven days time they all arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirmium, which Julian entered in triumph; Lucilianus, who commanded there for Conſtantius, having been ſurpriſed the night before, and taken priſoner by one of Julian's

He writes to ſeveral cities

He ſets out on his march

[w] Liban, p. 287. [x] Liban. or. xii. p. 288. [y] Julian. ep. xiii. p. 129. Naz. or. ix p. 68. [z] Zoſ. p. 712.

Julian's parties. He ſtaid but two days at Sirmium, being eager to make himſelf maſter of the important paſs of Sucida-va, dividing Illyricum from Thrace, which he did without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; and having left a ſtrong garriſon there under the command of Nevita, he turned back to Naiſſus, where he ſeems to have continued, till news was brought him of the death of Conſtantius, aſſembling troops from all quarters, in order to reinforce his army before he entered Thrace. During his ſtay there, he raiſed Aurelius Victor, the hiſtorian, to the government of Pannonia Secunda, and wrote to the Roman ſenate a letter filled with bitter invectives againſt Conſtantius, which was ill received by the people, and is highly diſapproved of by Ammianus himſelf [a]. While Julian lay at Naiſſus, without the leaſt apprehenſion of an enemy at his back, two of Conſtantius's legions, and a cohort of archers, who had been ordered into Gaul, ſurpriſed on their march the city of Aquileia, and defended it with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that Julian could not by any means reduce it: they were commanded by one Nigrinus, who held out till two months after the emperor's death, and was even then with much ado prevailed upon to ſubmit to Julian [b].

Makes himſelf maſter of Illyricum.

But cannot reduce Aquileia.

In the mean time, Conſtantius, being returned from Meſopotamia to Antioch in the latter end of the preceding year, as we have related above, married in that city, with great ſolemnity, Maxima Fauſtina, Euſebia being dead ſome time before. Of the parentage and qualities of this new empreſs, no mention is made by the antients. All we know of her is, that ſome time after the death of Conſtantius ſhe was delivered of a daughter, named Flavia Maxima Conſtantia, who was afterwards married to the emperor Gratian [c]. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor ſpent the remaining part of the winter in preparing for his intended expedition againſt the Perſians, being reſolved to end that war, or at leaſt to ſecure the empire on that ſide, before he marched into the weſt againſt Julian. In the mean time, Sapor, having aſſembled a mighty army, took the field, and advanced to the banks of the Tigris, with a deſign to croſs that river, and purſue his march ſtrait to the Euphrates. This Conſtantius no ſooner underſtood, than he left Antioch; and, croſſing the Euphrates, advanced as far as Edeſſa, whence he ſent

The emperor marries Fauſtina.

[a] Ammian. p. 190. Lib. or. xi. p. 254. Zoſ. p. 122. [b] Ammian p. 191—195. [c] Idem, l. xxi. p. 185. Cange Byz. fam. p. 48.

ſent part of his army under the command of Arbetio and Agilo, to the banks of the Tigris, with expreſs orders to ſpare the troops, and not expoſe them wantonly to dangers. About this time the emperor received certain intelligence, that Julian had already made himſelf maſter of Illyricum, and the important paſs ſeparating that country from Thrace. He was

The Perſians retire.

thunderſtruck with this news; but the very next day, an expreſs arrived from his generals on the banks of the Tigris, aſſuring him, that Sapor, frightened by unlucky omens, was marched back to his own dominions with his whole army. Conſtantius, overjoyed at theſe tidings, immediately left Meſopotamia, and returned to Antioch, with a deſign to march without delay againſt Julian, being encouraged thereunto by his army, who declared with one voice, that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in ſo good and honourable a cauſe. In the mean time, he diſpatched Arbetio with a ſtrong detachment to the ſtreights of Sucidava, where Julian was aſſembling his forces in order to invade Thrace, and followed him in perſon with the reſt of his army about the latter end of the autumn. Upon his arrival at Tarſus in Cilicia, he was ſeized with a feveriſh diſtemper, occaſioned chiefly by the uneaſineſs and perplexity of his mind; but believing he might get the better of it by motion and exerciſe, he purſued his march to Mopſucrene, on the borders of Cilicia, at the foot of mount Taurus, where, by the violence of his diſtemper, which encreaſed daily, he was obliged to ſtop. In that place, all remedies proving ineffectual, he died on the third of November, being then in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created Cæſar, but only the twenty-fifth ſince the death of his father [d]. It was commonly ſaid, and believed at leaſt by the chriſtians, that Julian had, with the promiſe of a great reward, ſeduced one of his courtiers, whom they do not name, to adminiſter him poiſon, of which he died [e]. Be that as it will, Julian no ſooner received the news of his death, than he left Illyricum, and on the eleventh of December arrived at Conſtantinople, whither he cauſed the corſe of the deceaſed prince to be brought by Jovian, afterwards emperor, and ordered it to be interred with the uſual ſolemnity in the church of the Apoſtles [f]. Julian himſelf aſſiſted at the ceremony in his purple robes, but without the other badges

The emperor marches againſt Julian, but dies at Mopſucrene.

[d] Ammian. p. 196. Zon. p. 19. Socr. l. ii. c. 47. [e] Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 68. [f] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 205. Socr. l. iii. c. i. p. 168. Panegyr. xi. p. 213.

badges of his dignity [g]. Gregory Nazianzen writes, that at the point of death Conſtantius betrayed great concern chiefly for three things; which were, his having murdered his neareſt relations, his having raiſed Julian to the dignity of Cæſar, and his having perſecuted, at the inſtigation of the Arians, the orthodox chriſtians [h]. On the other hand, Ammianus tells us, that he was ſaid to have named Julian for his ſucceſſor. We can ſcarce believe, that he repented his having perſecuted the church, though Gregory Nazianzen and, after him, Theodoret [i] affirm it, ſince Athanaſius aſſures us, that he held the impious tenets of the Arians to his laſt breath, and received baptiſm a little before he expired at the hands of the biſhop Euzoius, a moſt obſtinate Arian [k]. Socrates writes, that he was baptized by Euzoius at Antioch before he ſet out for Cilicia; and truly Euzoius was the Arian biſhop of that metropolis [l]. But Philoſtorgius tells us, that he received baptiſm at Mopſucrene, when he was already at the point of death *; wherein he is followed by the chronicle of Alexandria [m], which adds, that he ſent for Euzoius from Antioch. As for his character, all the antients, whether chriſtians or pagans, paint him as a weak and vain prince: he was entirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, eſpecially by his chamberlain Euſebius, over whom, however, he had, ſays Ammianus pleaſantly, ſome ſmall authority [n]. He admitted none to his confidence, but ſuch as were ſkilled in the art of flattery; whence he had no true friends about him, but ſuch only as, by approving and commending all his meaſures, ſtudied to gain his favour and raiſe themſelves. He uſed to aſcribe to himſelf the whole glory of victories gained by his officers, and ſpeak of them as if he had fought in perſon at the head of the victorious army. The chriſtian writers, both Arian and orthodox, complain of his aſſuming to himſelf, too much in eccleſiaſtic matters. Under him employments were not given to the moſt deſerving men, but to ſuch only as were beſt able to purchaſe them of the eunuchs, and other favourites; whence the unhappy people in the provinces were miſerably oppreſſed by their governors, who made it their chief buſineſs to repay themſelves, at their expence, the ſums which they had diſburſed, and to heap up money wherewithal to purchaſe other more profitable employments. He was ſo jealous of his

Is baptized at the point of death by an Arian biſhop.

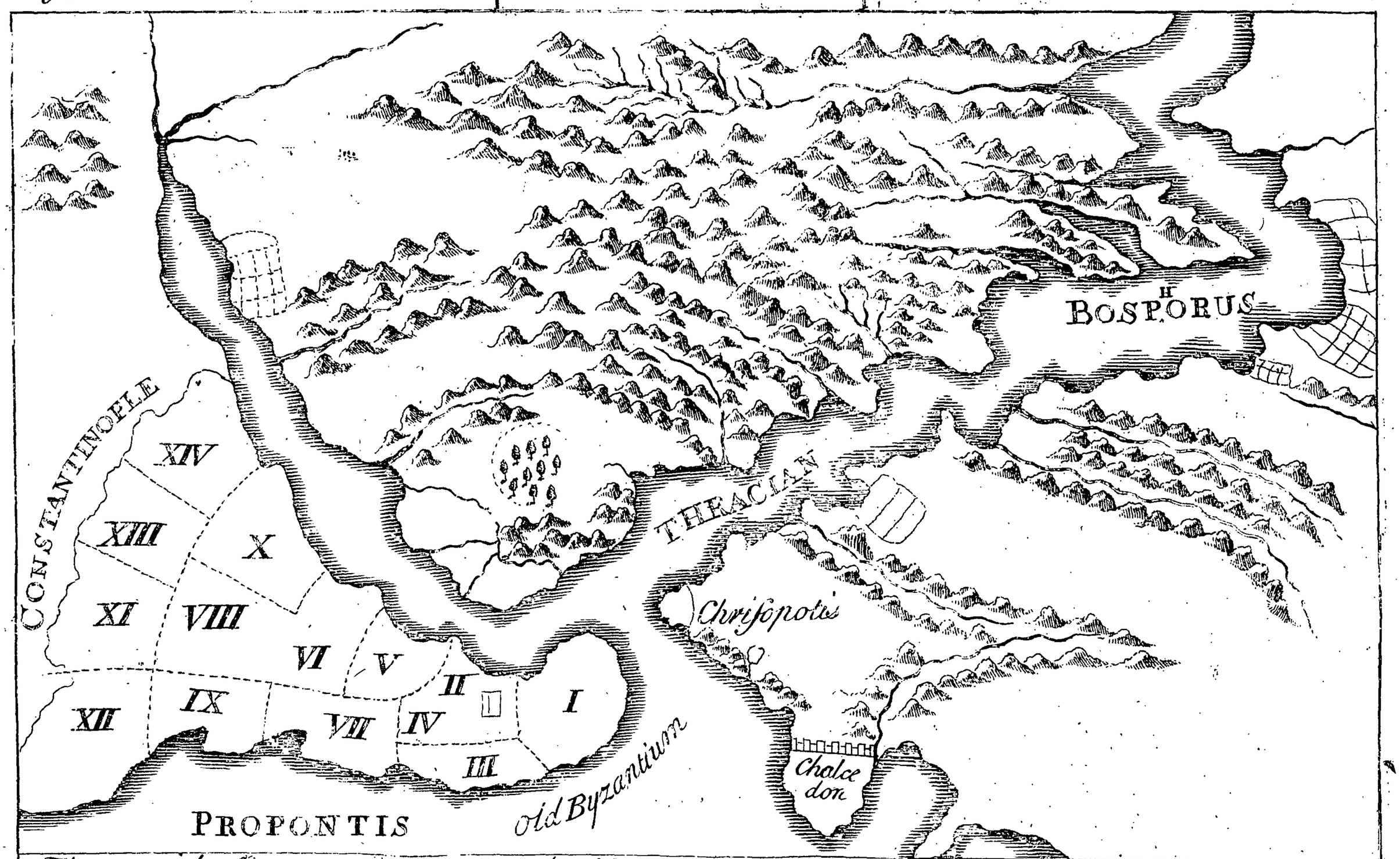
His character.

[g] Liban. or. xii. p. 289. [h] Greg. Naz. or. xxi. p. 389. [i] Theodor. l. iii. p. 637. [k] Ath. de ſyn. p. 907. [l] Socrat. l. ii. c. 47. p. 161. * Philoſt. l. vi. c. 6. p. 85. [m] Chron. Alex. p. 684. [n] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 119.

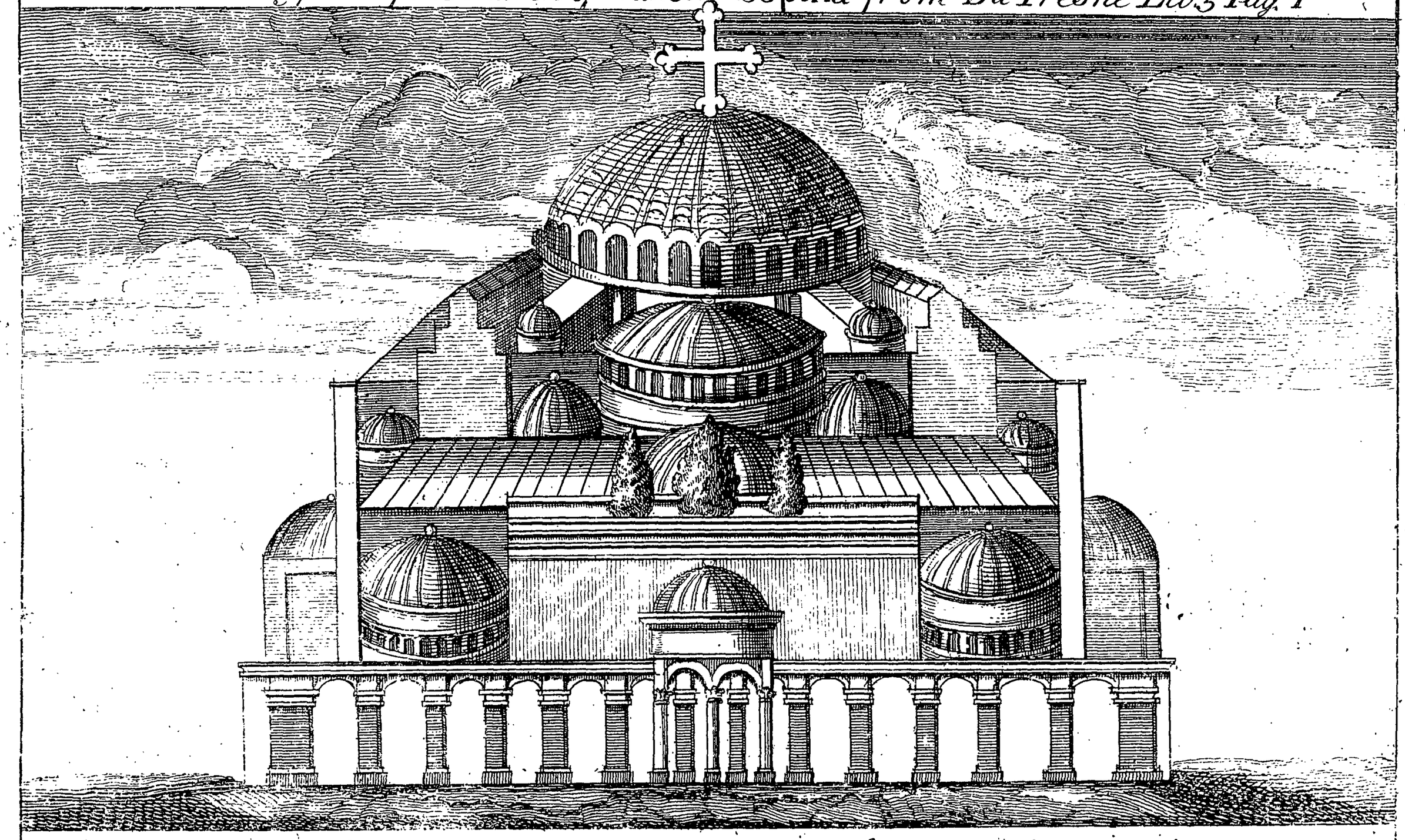
his authority, and of ſuch a timorous and ſuſpicious temper, that, upon the leaſt appearance of a plot, he put numbers of perſons to death, frequently confounding the innocent with the guilty, though accuſed by perſons altogether unworthy of credit. By this means the infamous tribe of informers encreaſed under him to ſuch a degree, that no man of fortune, however innocent, was ſafe . As he had no great genius or capacity himſelf, he hated all men of letters, and diſcountenanced every liberal art and ſcience ; whence only freed-men applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the law, and that of eloquence was entirely neglected: to be a great philoſopher was reckoned a crime, Conſtantius looking upon the philoſophers as magicians, againſt whom he enacted, as we have obſerved, moſt rigorous laws [o]. However, he founded and endowed a library at Conſtantinople, enriched it with a large collection of choice books, and appointed a perſon with a handſome ſalary to take care of it [p]. But among ſo many bad qualities, he had ſome good ones. In crimes of treaſon, real or only ſuſpected, he behaved like a tyrant, ſays Ammianus ; but in other reſpects was not a bad prince [r]. He was of a very low ſtature, ſays the ſame writer, but enured to all manner of fatigues, and performed the military exerciſes, eſpecially thoſe of the infantry, with wonderful addreſs [s]. He was ſatisfied with a frugal diet, ſlept little, was an utter ſtranger to luxury, and of ſuch chaſtity and temperance, as not to be even ſuſpected of thoſe vices which uſually reign in courts [t]. He is generally thought to have been the author of the law condemning thoſe to death who were found guilty of crimes againſt nature . He ſometimes performed the meaneſt duties of a ſoldier, but at the ſame time knew how to maintain the grandeur and majeſty of his ſtation [u]. He deſpiſed all manner of popularity, which Ammianus aſcribes to a greatneſs of mind worthy of a prince, but perhaps ironically ; for elſewhere he derides his affected gravity, telling us, that he appeared in public like a ſtatue, without moving his head or hands, without ſpitting or blowing his noſe, (to theſe particulars that writer deſcends) leſt he ſhould by ſuch vulgar actions degrade the majeſty and grandeur of an emperor [x].

Though

[o] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 203. Liban. or. xxviii. p. 591. [p] Liban. ibid. Eutrop. l. xv. p. 44. [q] Themiſt. or. iii. p. 45. [r] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 21, 22. [s] Idem ibid. p. 203. [t] Idem ibid. p. 201. & l. xvi. p. 70. Themiſt. or. i. p. 39. Vict. epit. [u] Cod. Theodoſ. ix. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 59. [w] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 200. [x] Idem, l. xvi. p. 70.

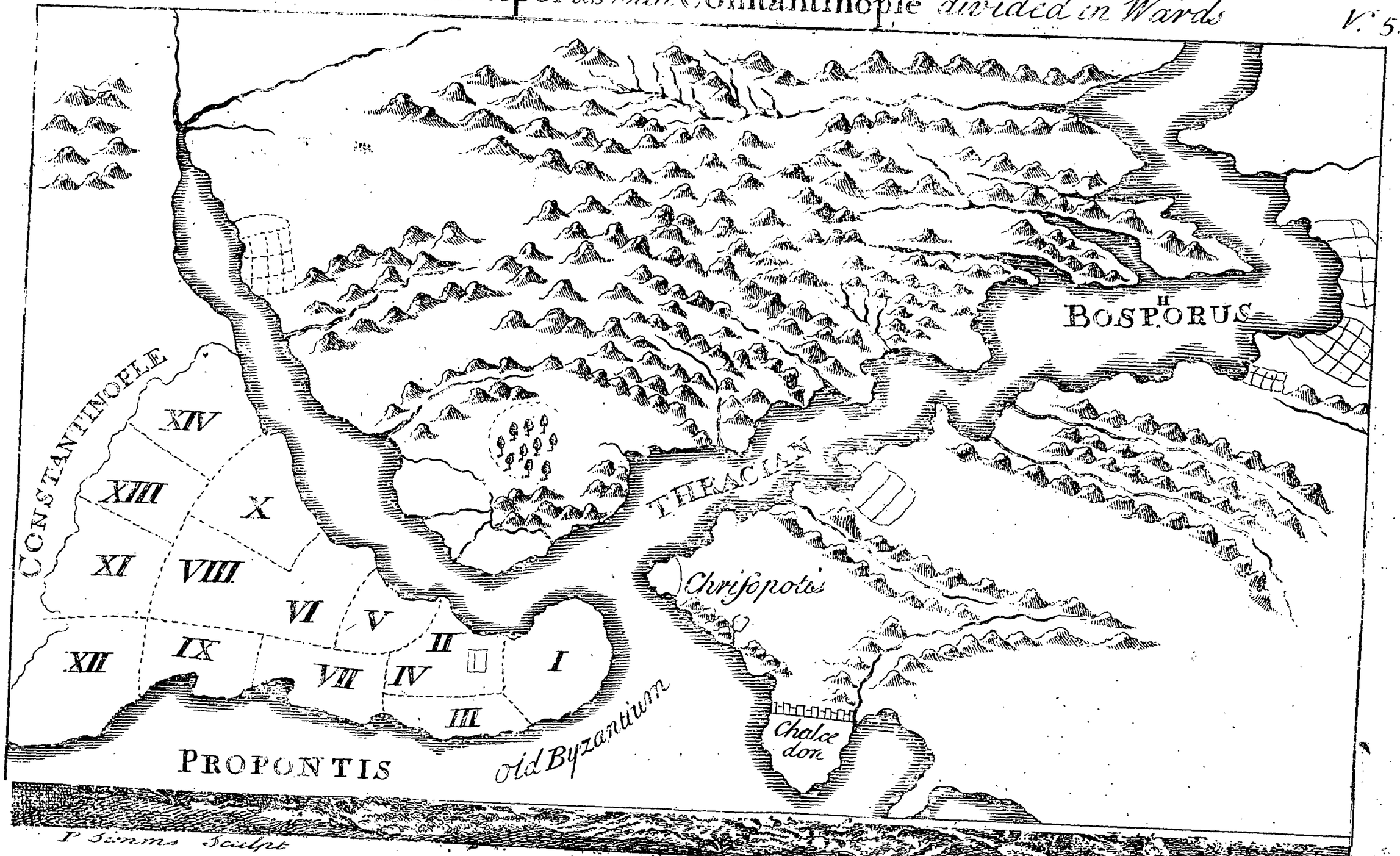


The Outside Prospect of the Church of Sancta Sophia from Du Fresne Lib 3 Pag. 1



The whole view of the Church of Sancta Sophia from Du Fresne Lib. 3. Pag. 5

The Thracian Bosporus with Constantinople divided in Wards



Though he had no genius either for poetry or eloquence, yet he was not quite unacquainted with polite literature [y]; but of this his ſpeeches, which we read in Ammianus, are no proof, ſince they, as we may well imagine, were compoſed by that hiſtorian. Aurelius Victor and Eutropius commend him for the great reſpect he always ſhewed to his father, for his extraordinary modeſty, and for rewarding, with uncommon generoſity, every ſervice done him [z]. Themiſtius extols his magnificence, and obſerves, that he enriched all his friends [a]. He finiſhed the walls of Conſtantinople, begun by his father; repaired, at a great expence, many of the buildings there; and embelliſhed the city with fountains, baths, and other ſtately edifices [b]. His panegyriſts ſpeak of him as a prince of great moderation, and inclined to mercy; but Julian tells us, that he was an utter ſtranger to all mercy and compaſſion, though he was commonly thought to be poſſeſſed of both theſe virtues [c]. Crimes of treaſon he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſays Libanius [d]; but bore with great patience, and was ready to forgive, upon the leaſt ſubmiſſion, all other affronts and injuries offered him. To confirm this, he tells us, that the inhabitants of Edeſſa having pulled down one of his ſtatues, and publicly whipt it, adding, that he who deſerved to be thus treated, was not fit to govern, the emperor, when informed of the inſult, did not betray the leaſt reſentment, nor ever ſhewed the leaſt ill-will to that city, or the authors of ſuch an outrage, which few princes would have ſuffered to go unpuniſhed [e]. He was a moſt zealous promoter of the chriſtian religion, and enacted ſeveral laws, of which we have taken notice in the hiſtory of his reign, for the utter ſuppreſſion of idolatry. He built a great number of churches, and among the reſt the famous cathedral of Emeſa in Syria, and the great church of Alexandria, called Cæſarea. As for that of St. Sophia in Conſtantinople, it was the work of Conſtantine, though commonly aſcribed to his ſon Conſtantius [f]. He not only built, but endowed and enriched, many churches with great revenues, and ſhewed, on all occaſions, an extraordinary reſpect and eſteem for the clergy, eſpecially the biſhops, receiving their bleſſing in an humble poſture, entertaining them at his table, exempting them from all

[y] Aur. Vict. p. 87. [z] Idem ibid. & Eutrop. p. 183. [a] Themiſt. or iv. p. 62. [b] Idem ibid. p. 58. [c] Julian. epiſt. 23. p. 141. [d] Liban. orat xiv. p. 399. [e] Idem ibid. p. 400. [f] Socrat. p. 94. Cange urb. Conſtantinop. deſcrip. p. 144, 145.

all manner of impoſts and taxes, &c [g]. But theſe favours he beſtowed on thoſe alone who profeſſed the doctrine of Arius. As for the orthodox biſhops, they were driven from their ſees, and either baniſhed, or impriſoned; nay, ſome of them were, by the authority or connivance of the emperor, put to death. But to give an account of this perſecution is not our province, but that of the eccleſiaſtic writers. Of the authors who flouriſhed under Conſtantius, we ſhall ſpeak in note (G).

BEFORE

[g] Hilar. contra Conſtant. or. p. 113, 114.

(G) Among the men of learning who flouriſhed under Conſtantius, St. Jerom mentions Gennadius, Petrus, Victorinus, Minervius, Alcimus, Delphidius, and Donatus (1). All we know of the two firſt, is, that they were both celebrated lawyers; that the former lived at Rome, and the latter at Saragoſa in Spain (2). Of Victorinus we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Tiberius Victor Minervius taught eloquence at Conſtantinople, at Rome about the year 353, and at Bourdeaux, the place of his nativity (3). He is highly commended by Auſonius, who is proud of having ſtudied under him (4). Alethius Minervius, his ſon, was likewiſe profeſſor of eloquence in the ſame city; but died when he was yet very young (5). Latinus Alethius Alcimus was a native of the Agenois, or territory of Agen, and is by Auſonius counted among the profeſſors of Bourdeaux (6); but he was likewiſe a pleader, and is commended by Apollinaris Sidonius for his knowledge of the law, and his extraordinary ſkill in the Greek and Latin tongues (7). He publiſhed ſome works, in which he commended the emperor Julian, and Salluſt, who was prefect of Gaul under that prince (8); but none of them have reached our times. Auſonius, who had a great value for him, commends his modeſty, the mildneſs of his temper, his gravity, and the regularity of his life (9). Atticus Tyro Delphidius, the ſon of the orator Patera, or Paterius, of whom we have ſpoken in our laſt note, acquired great reputation by his poems (10). As he was by profeſſion a pleader, he accuſed of extortion before Julian in 358, Numerius governor of Narbonne Gaul; but could not make good the charge (11). He

(1) Hier. chron. (2) Idem ibid. (3) Idem ibid. & Auſon. de profeſſ. Burdical. carm. 1. p. 137. (4) Auſon. ibid. carm. 6. p. 150. (5) Hier. chron. p. 254. (6) Auſon. ibid. carm. 2. p. 141. (7) Sidon. l. viii. epiſt. 11. p. 232. (8) Idem. ibid. (9) Auſon. ibid. (10) Idem ibid. carm. 5. p. 147. (11) Ammian. l. xviii. p. 114.

He embraced the party of a tyrant, hoping by that means to make his fortune; but, without the tears of his father, he had been utterly undone (12). This tyrant can be no other than Procopius, who revolted from the emperor Valens in 365. Afterwards he taught rhetoric at Bourdeaux with great reputation (13), but in the reign of Valentinian, and not of Conſtantius, if what Sulpicius Severus writes be true, viz. that dying about the age of forty, he had not the diſpleaſure to ſee his daughter Procula ſeduced by the Priſcillianiſts in 380, and his wife Eucrocia, who had embraced the ſame hereſy, beheaded about the year 384 (14). St. Jerom writes, that while he was yet very young, he was famous all over Gaul for his compoſitions both in verſe and proſe (15). Ammianus Marcellinus (16) and Apollinaris Sidonius (17) commend his lively and flowing eloquence. Though we might infer from what we have quoted above out of Sulpicius Severus, that he was a chriſtian, yet St. Jerom, in writing to Hedibia deſcended from him, ſpeaks of him as a pagan (18). Donatus, under whom St. Jerom ſtudied, taught grammar at Rome with great reputation in 354, wrote comments on Terence and Virgil, and publiſhed ſeveral grammatical pieces, often quoted by Caſſiodorus, who judged them more proper for children, than any thing written by other grammarians (19). Gregory the great ſpeaks of the rules of Donatus, as generally taught at the end of the ſixth century (20). Some grammatical pieces, explaining with great clearneſs the firſt principles, have reached us, under the name of Ælius Donatus (21). There are ſtill extant comments on Virgil and Terence, which ſome pretend to be thoſe which St. Jerom aſcribes to his maſter Donatus; but critics of more penetration are of opinion, that tho' ſome obſervations on the comments of Virgil ſeem worthy of Donatus, yet the whole is altogether unworthy of a man of his parts (22). As for the comments on Terence, they are thought to have been written by one Evanthius, called by ſome Eugraphus, who died in the firſt year of Gratian's reign, or in 359, under Conſtantius, as we read in the chronicle of St. Jerom, who calls him the moſt learned among the grammarians (23). He taught the Latin tongue at Conſtantinople, and, upon his death, Chreſtus was ſent for out of Africa to ſucceed him (24). The life of Virgil, aſcribed by ſome to Donatus, is, in

(12) Auſon. car. 5. p. 148. (13) Idem ibid. p. 149, (14) Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 173, 177. & Proſp. chron. (15) Hier. epiſt. 150. p. 140. (16) Ammian. ibid. (17) Apol. Sid. l. v. epiſt. 10. p. 140. (18) Hier. epiſt. 150. p. 140. (19) Hier. in Ruf. l. i. c. 4. p. 202. Caſſiod. de orthogr. p. 255, 256. (20) Greg. moral. p. 62. (21) Vide Baillet. gram. c. 622. p. 37, 38. (22) Idem, p. 29, 30. (23) Hier. chron. (24) Idem ibid. & Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. 743.

in the opinion of Voſſius, a very mean performance, done not by Ælius Donatus, which he takes to be the name of the grammarian, under whom St. Jerom ſtudied, but by one Tiberius Claudius Donatus (25). As for the life of Terentius, he takes it to have been written by Suetonius, and not Donatus (26). Nonius Marcellus, another celebrated grammarian, lived, as is ſuppoſed, about the time of Conſtantius, and was, as we gather from the title of his work, on the propriety of Latin words, a native of Tivoli, and Peripatetic philoſopher (27). He is quoted and commended by Priſcian; which ſeems very ſtrange to Voſſius, who ſpeaks of him with great contempt, and thinks him commendable for no other reaſon, but becauſe he has conveyed to us ſeveral paſſages out of the antients, which are to be found no-where elſe (28). The works of Sex. Pompeius Feſtus bear a much better character than thoſe of Marcellus. He wrote on the ſignification of words; but his work, which was only an abridgment of what Verrius Flaccus had written on that ſubject, in the time of Auguſtus, was abridged in the time of Charlemagne by Paulus Diaconus; and to this abridgment is owing the loſs of the far greater part of that which was done by Feſtus (29). At what time Feſtus lived, we are no-where told. Some manuſcripts have reached our time on the art of ſurveying or meaſuring land, done by one Innocentius, probably the ſurveyor of that name, who, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was at the court of Conſtantius, in 359 (30). To him are likewiſe aſcribed ſome remarks on the Roman laws, which, in our opinion, were rather the work of Innocentius the quæſtor, who drew up moſt of the laws of Conſtantius, as Eunapius informs us (31), and publiſhed ſeveral works both in Greek and Latin. The latter was grandfather to Chryſanthus, under whom Eunapius ſtudied, and conſequently was more antient than the ſurveyor, and ſuperior to him in rank (32). One of Conſtantius's officers, by name Innocentius, took holy orders, and, retiring from the court, led a ſolitary life on the Mount of olives (33). Vindanius Anatolius, a native of Berytus, wrote ten books on agriculture, containing many uſeful rules, blended with ſome ſuperſtitious and heatheniſh obſervations (34). Part of that work has reached our times; but the author is there ſtyled Vindamonius, and not Vindanius. One Anatolius, a pagan, and a native of Berytus, was a prefect of Illyricum in 349, and 359, (35), and died in 360 (36). He was perhaps the author

(25) Idem ibid. p. 743. & orat. l. vi. c. 2. p. 432. (26) Idem ibid. (27) Vide Baillet. c. 620. p. 34. & Salmaſ. in not. in Spart. p. 241. (28) Voſſ. ibid. (29) Vide Baillet. p. 30, 35. (30) Ammian. l. xix. p. 149. (31) Eunap. c. 21. p. 144, 145. (32) Idem ibid. (33) Pallad. hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 103. p. 1022. (34) Phot. c. 163. p. 349. (35) Eunap. c. 1. p. 117. (36) Ammian. l. xix. p. 166. & l. xxi. p. 185.

thor of the above-mentioned work. One Andronicus was concerned in the affair of Parnaſus, governor of Egypt, accuſed in 359, of having conſulted the aſtrologers, as we related among the other tranſactions of that year; but Andronicus was abſolved, and afterwards became famous, eſpecially on account of his poetical compoſitions (37). Libanius ſpeaks of a poet, by name Andronicus, who, he ſays, charmed all Egypt, and was ſtill alive in 378 (38). Themiſtius, who was contemporary with Libanius, mentions a young Egyptian, who had a particular talent for writing tragedies (39); and Photius takes notice of ſeveral theatrical pieces written by one Andronicus, ſenator of the city of Hermopolis in Egypt, ſome of which were inſcribed to count Phœbammon of Cynopolis in the ſame country (40). Whether all theſe writers ſpeak of one and the ſame perſon, we will not take upon us to determine. Sextus Aurelius Victor may be ranked among the writers who flouriſhed under Conſtantius, tho' he died long after him, ſince, in his reign, he wrote his hiſtory of the Roman emperors. He is commonly thought to have been a native of Africa, and to have been born of poor parents in ſome village of that country (41). He was, at leaſt when he wrote his hiſtory, a pagan, as muſt evidently appear to all who peruſe it. It begins with Auguſtus, and extends to the twenty-third year of Conſtantius; that is, to the end of the year 359, or the beginning of 360 (42); for he ſpeaks of the victories gained by Julian in Gaul; but takes no notice of his aſſuming the title of Auguſtus, which he would not have omitted, had his hiſtory reached ſo far. He aſcribes all the conqueſts of that prince to Conſtantius, at that time the object of his flattery (43). In the title, the work is ſaid to extend to the tenth conſulſhip of Conſtantius, and the third of Julian, which happened in the year 360. This hiſtory is but a very conciſe abridgment. Another abridgment, done by the ſame writer, has reached our times, comprehending the lives of illuſtrious men, moſtly Romans, from Procas to Julius Cæſar. This work is, by different writers, aſcribed to Cornelius Nepos, to Pliny the younger, to Æmilius Probus, to Tacitus, and to Suetonius; but Voſſius, and other able critics, adjudge it to Aurelius Victor (44). To theſe two hiſtories is prefixed a third, on the origin of the Romans, which likewiſe paſſes under the name of Sextus Aurelius Victor, and is thought by Andreas Scotus to have really been done by him; but Voſſius takes it to be the work of ſome writer, who flouriſhed after his time (45). Another hiſtory of the emperors, extending to the reign of Theodoſius, goes

(37) Idem, l. xix. p. 152. (38) Liban. vit. p. 158. (39) Vide Ammian. ibid. p. 230. (40) Phot. c. 279. p. 1596. (41) Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. p. 196. (42) Aur. Vict. p. 528. & 517. Caſaubon. not. in Spart. p. 119. Voſſ. ibid. (43) Aur. Vict. p. 486. (44) Voſſ. ibid. (45) Idem ibid. p. 196.

under the name of one Sextus Aurelius Victor, whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from the author we are now ſpeaking of. Ammianus writes, that Julian, while he was at Sirmium, in 361, ſaw there Victor the hiſtoriographer, and ſoon after created him governor of Second Pannonia, and honoured him with a ſtatue of braſs (46). The ſame writer adds, that he was generally eſteemed on account of his wiſdom, and was afterwards raiſed to the government of Rome. Voſſius and others take this to be the hiſtorian of whom we are now ſpeaking; for he had ended his hiſtory the year before, as we have obſerved above (47). One Victor was conſul in 369, whom Onuphrius ſuppoſes to have been the hiſtorian mentioned by Ammianus (48); but, had it been the ſame perſon, Ammianus would, in our opinion, have taken notice of his conſulſhip, as well as his government. In an inſcription of the time of Theodoſius, that is, long after the year 369, he is ſtyled governor of Rome, but not conſul; which title would not have been omitted, had he ever diſcharged that office. Beſides, it appears from Themiſtius (49), that Victor, who was conſul in 369, was a commander of great proweſs and renown. Gothofredus publiſhed in 1628, an antient deſcription of the world, as he ſtyles it, done in the time of Conſtantius, and not of Conſtantine, as we read in the text, after that prince had finiſhed the port of Seleucia, and after the earthquake which overturned the city of Duras (50). The port of Seleucia was perfected, according to St. Jerom, in 346, and the earthquake happened in 345. The author takes no notice of the earthquake that ruined Nicomedia in 358, nor of that which overturned Berytus in 348, or rather 349, whence Gothofredus concludes that work to have been done about the year 347. He thinks the author inſinuates, that there were then two emperors; and infers from thence, that he wrote after the death of young Conſtantine in 340, and before that of Conſtans in 350 (51). Gothofredus, in publiſhing this work, not only reformed the barbarous and uncouth language of the Latin text, and corrected the many faults he found in it, but added to it a Greek tranſlation, ſuppoſing it to have been written originally in that language (52); which ſuppoſition is rejected by Petavius, as falſe and groundleſs. However that be, the author ſeems to have been better acquainted with the eaſtern than the weſtern provinces. He was greatly miſtaken in ſuppoſing Rome and Hetruria to have been compriſed in what was at that time called Italy (53). Gothofredus is inclined to believe one Alypius of Antioch, famous in Julian's time, to have been the true author of this work; becauſe that prince commends the geography, which had been ſent to him by Alypius, the

(46) Amnian. l. xxi. p. 190. (47) Voſſ. ibid. p. 196. (48) Onuph. p. 298. (49) Themiſt. orat. ix. p. 121. (50) Gothofred. vetus orb. deſcrip. p. 13. & 33. (51) Idem, p. 13, 14. (52) Idem, p. 7. (53) Idem, p. 33.

the brother of Cæſarius (54). But this geography ſeems only to have been a map, accompanied with ſome verſes. The author gives us a tolerable account of ſeveral cities, tho' for the moſt part, blended with many fables; which evidently ſhew him to have been a pagan, though he acknowledged a God the author of mankind (55). The beginning of the work beſpeaks it imperfect (56); and beſides, it is plain, that he had written ſeveral things relating to the Perſians, which have not reached us (57); whence Gothofredus concludes this to be only a ſmall part of a much larger work (58). Voſſius was altogether unacquainted with this writer. None of the authors we have hitherto mentioned were chriſtians; but Julius Firmicus Maternus, who flouriſhed at the ſame time, was not only a chriſtian, but a zealous defender of the religion he profeſſed; for he addreſſed a work to the two emperors, Conſtantius and Conſtans, animating them to complete the deſtruction of idolatry. This work is intituled, the errors and falſhood of profane religions (59). The author not only expoſes the abſurd notions of the pagans, but explains, with great elegance and erudition, ſeveral articles of the chriſtian faith. He wrote before the year 350, in which Conſtans died, and in or after the year 343, for he ſpeaks of his journey to Britain, which happened that year (60). Though the antients ſeem to have been quite unacquainted with this work, yet no writer, we know of, has ever queſtioned its being genuine. The author is diſtinguiſhed, in the title of the work, with the epithet of clariſſimus, which was peculiar to the ſenators of Rome, and ſufficiently confutes the opinion of Baronius, who will have him to have been biſhop of Milan (61). Eight books on judicial aſtrology were publiſhed about the ſame time by one Julius Firmicus Maternus, who was likewiſe a Roman ſenator, and is therefore by ſome writers confounded with the above-mentioned author (62); but Poſſevinus maintains them to be two different writers (63): and truly the aſtrologer is ſtyled, in the title of his work, Julius Firmicus Maternus junior; and the work itſelf is altogether unworthy of a chriſtian. It is addreſſed to Mavortius Lollianus, and was begun in the reign of Conſtantine the Great, but finiſhed in that of his ſon Conſtantius, about the year 355 (64). With the year 354, the ſeventeenth of Conſtantius's reign, end two ſmall works, publiſhed by Bucherius in 1633, with the paſchal cycle of Victorius. Bucherius is of opinion, that they were compoſed

(54) Julian. epiſt. 30. p. 163. Gothofred. p. 10, 11. (55) Idem, p. 9. (56) Idem, p. 3. (57) Idem, p. 9. (58) Idem, p. 3. & 8. (59) Firm. Matern. c. 21. Bibl. patr. tom. 4. p. 99. (60) Du Pin. tom. 1. p. 578, 579. Poſſevin. aper. tom. 1. p. 989. Matern. c. 29. p. 107. (61) Baron. ad ann. 337. (62) Vide Du Pin. p. 577. (63) Poſſevin. p. 988. (64) Du Pin. ibid.

that very year, and by the ſame author, to whom he aſcribes three others contained in the ſame manuſcript (65). The firſt of theſe works is a liſt of the conſuls from 205, to 354, with the epacts, biſſextile years, and the day of the week with which each year began. There are ſome miſtakes in the epacts; but the reſt is done with great exactneſs (66). The manuſcript, which Bucherius made uſe of, was imperfect; but cardinal Noris having diſcovered an entire copy in the emperor's library, containing a liſt of the conſuls, from the two firſt, Brutus and Collatinus, to thoſe of the year 354, he publiſhed it in 1689, with a learned diſſertation on that work, by him greatly eſteemed (67). He is of opinion, that it was compoſed in 354, the year with which it ends (68). The ſecond work publiſhed by Bucherius, is another liſt of the conſuls and governors of Rome, from 254, to 354. From the year 288, to the end, the author not only names the governors, but the day on which each of them entered upon his office (69). The third begins with a ſhort necrology of the biſhops of Rome, in which are marked, according to the order of the months, the day on which each of them died, and the place where he was buried. It begins with Lucius, and ends with Julius. In this liſt, Sextus II, and Marcellus are omitted; the latter probably by a miſtake of the tranſcriber, confounding him with his predeceſſor Marcellinus; and the former perhaps, becauſe he is ſet down in the calender of martyrs annexed to the necrology, and containing the names of ſeveral martyrs according to the order of the months, and the time of their martyrdom; but they are all of Rome, except St. Cyprian, and the famous martyrs of Africa, Perpetua and Felicitas (70). The fourth work for which we are indebted to Bucherius, is another catalogue of the biſhops of Rome, which ends with Liberius, who ſucceeded Julius, the laſt in the former liſt. As the election of Liberius is marked, and not his death, we may ſuppoſe this catalogue to have been written in his time. It is exceeding exact from Pontianus to the end; but full of miſtakes till his time. Anicetus, Eleutherius, and Zephyrinus, are omitted (71). The fourth work begins with the birth-days of the emperors, or the days of their acceſſion to the empire, according to the order of the months. The laſt emperor mentioned there is Conſtantius, who is not ſtyled, as the others, divus, but dominus; a convincing proof, that he was ſtill living (72). This work contains likewiſe ſome verſes, and a calendar of the ſports, and other profane, and even idolatrous ſolemnities; but from the author's marking the dominical letters, we may conclude him to have been a chriſtian. The work

(65) Buch. cycl. p. 245, 247. (66) Idem, p. 247—251. (67) Noris faſt. conſular. (68) Idem, p. 23. (69) Buch. p. 236, 241, 244. (70) Idem. p. 268, 269. (71) Idem p. 269—273. (72) Idem. p. 276, &c.

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of Julian's reign, it will not be foreign to our purpoſe to give the reader a ſuccinct account of the birth, parentage, education, and ſtudies of a prince ſo much ſpoken of by the eccleſiaſtic writers. Julius Conſtantius, the brother of Conſtantine the Great, had two wives, viz. Galla, by whom he had Gallus Cæſar, and other children, whoſe names are not known, and Baſilina, deſcended of an illuſtrious family, being the daughter of one Julian, who was prefect, and the ſiſter of another, who was count of the eaſt. The ſurname of Anicius was common to both, and the Anician family was one of the moſt illuſtrious in Rome [h]. Perhaps Baſilina was the daughter of Anicius Julianus, who was conſul in 322, and afterwards governor of Rome. She profeſſed the chriſtian religion [i]; but ſeems to have been tainted with the doctrine of Arius; for ſhe bore great hatred to Eutropius, the famous orthodox biſhop of Adrianople [k]. She was married at Conſtantinople, and died a few months after ſhe was delivered there of Julian, her only child [l]. He was born in 331, after the month of June; for writing againſt Athanaſius at the end of 362, he ſays, that he was then in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, which was not ended on the twenty-ſixth of June

Birth, education, and parentage of Julian.

[h] Ammian. l. xiv. p. 31. l. xxv. p. 291. Lib. orat. xii. p. 262. [i] Pallad. hiſt. lauſ. & vit. Chryſ. p. 126. [k] Athen. ſolit. p. 812. [l] Julian. ad Athen. p. 502. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 219.

work is inſcribed to one Valentine, and is ſaid in the title to have been done by Furius Dionyſius Filoccalus (73). The months of March, April, May, and June, are wanting in the edition of Bucherius; but are to be found in Petavius's uranology, copied by him from Herwart (74). Du Cange will have the firſt author of the paſchal chronicle, or the chronicle of Alexandria, to have ended his work in the year 354, for it is manifeſt, that this work was done by different writers, the ſame thing being often repeated, and ſometimes related in a quite different manner. In ſome places the tenets of Arius are preached up, and in others condemned (75). As therefore Holſtenius found a manuſcript of this chronicle ending in the year 354, Du Cange aſcribes it to the firſt author, and what was afterwards added, to another, who not only continued the work to the time of Heraclius, but inſerted ſeveral things into the part which had been done by the other (76). But the taſk of examining this point, we are willing to leave to others.

(73) Idem. p. 275. (74) Petav. uranol. p. 114. (75) Chron. paſc. prim. p. 289—291. (76) Idem ibid.

June 363, when he died [m]. He was named Julian from his grandfather on the mother's ſide, and is ſtyled in all antient inſcriptions Julianus Flavius Claudius. He was of low ſtature, and a diſagreeable aſpect, which was beſides disfigured with a long beard, as he is repreſented in moſt of his medals; but at the ſame time well-ſhaped, very nimble, active, and of great addreſs at all ſorts of exerciſes [n]. As for his mind, he was endowed by nature with an extraordinary capacity, learned with ſurpriſing quickneſs, and never forgot what he had once known [o]; inſomuch, that thoſe, whoſe province it was to inſtruct him, though perſons eminent in every branch of learning, uſed to complain, that he too ſoon exhauſted their ſtock of knowledge [p]: hence he is by ſome writers equalled and by others preferred, to the greateſt men Greece ever produced [q]. However, he was far better acquainted with the Greek than the Latin tongue: in the former he came not ſhort of the beſt writers; but did not excel, according to Eunapius [r], in the latter. His eloquence was eaſy and flowing, and accompanied by a graceful delivery [s]. In his anſwers off-hand he diſplayed an uncommon penetration, vivacity, and preſence of mind, and, in the greateſt dangers, an undaunted courage and intrepidity [t]. But whether the ſolidity of his judgment was equal to the brightneſs of his genius, we ſhall leave the reader to judge from his actions. He was naturally of a mild and ſweet temper, had a violent thirſt after glory, was greatly attached to his own opinion, which he frequently preferred to the advice of his ableſt counſellors, and ſtrangely addicted to ſatire and raillery [u]. He was brought up at Conſtantinople till the death of his uncle Conſtantine, which was followed by the maſſacre of all his relations, in which were involved among the reſt the father and elder brother of Julian; but Julian himſelf was ſpared on account of his infancy, being then but ſix or ſeven years old, as was his brother Gallus, becauſe he happened to be at that time ill of a fever, and thought paſt recovery [w]. Some authors write, that Julian was conveyed away privately by Marcus biſhop of Arethuſa

[m] Lib. orat. xii. p. 262. Julian. miſop. p. 80, 81. & epiſt. 58. p. 214. [n] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Eunap. c. 5. p. 68. [q] Idem, p. 589. & Vict. epit. p. 545. [r] Eunap. ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Ammian. l. xviii. p. 114. [u] Idem, l. xiv. p. 31. Eunap. c. 5. p. 68. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 169. [w] Julian. ad Athen. p. 497. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. Liban. orat. xii. p. 262.

Arethuſa in Syria, and concealed in a church [x]; others, that Conſtantius ordered both him and his brother to be ſpared [y]. Julian himſelf tells us, that the emperor at firſt ordered him to be murdered with the reſt of his relations; but afterwards contented himſelf with ſending him into baniſhment [z]. Conſtantius ſuffered Gallus to enjoy part of his father's eſtate, and reſtored to Julian the eſtates both of his mother and grandmother, which had been confiſcated [a]. Julian, at ſeven years old, was put under the tuition of an eunuch formerly belonging to his mother, named Mardonius, who diſcharged his truſt with great care, inſpiring him with an utter averſion to all manner of ſports and diverſions, and teaching him how to conquer his paſſions, and get the better of his evil inclinations [b]. The emperor afterwards committed the care of his education to Euſebius biſhop of Nicomedia, a leading man among the Arians [c], by whom he was brought up, partly at Nicomedia, and partly at an eſtate in Bithynia left him by his grandmother, where he planted with his own hands a vineyard. He took great delight in this place; but nevertheleſs gave it afterwards to one of his friends [d]. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was, by the emperor's orders, ſent with his brother Gallus, who had been all this time confined to his eſtate in Ionia, to a caſtle called Macella, in the neighbourhood of Cæſarea in Cappadocia. There they had a royal palace for their habitation, an handſome allowance, a noble court, and the beſt maſters to inſtruct them in all the ſciences; but at the ſame time were ſurrounded by the eunuchs of the court, and kept in a manner priſoners, no one being allowed, as Julian complains [e], to viſit them. In this exile or retreat they continued ſix years; that is, till the fifteenth of March 351, when Gallus was created Cæſar. The emperor's chief care was to appoint them ſuch maſters as were capable of inſpiring them with ſentiments of piety, and inſtructing them in the duties of the chriſtian religion, which they were taught to practiſe, by converſing only with perſons of religious and exemplary lives. They ſpent their time, ſays Sozomen, not in profane diverſions, but in reading, meditating, viſiting the churches, and the tombs of the holy martyrs [f]. They were even admitted to the office of readers, and read the holy ſcriptures in public, appearing no leſs

[x] Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 9. [y] Idem. ibid. p 58. [z] Julian. ad Athen. p. 498. [a] Idem. ibid. p. 502, 532. [b] Jul. miſopog. p. 80, 81. [c] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 219. [d] Julian. epiſt. 46. p. 199, 200. [e] Julian. ad Athen. p. 499. [f] Sozom. l. v. c. 2. p. 593.

leſs ſatisfied with that function, than if they had been diſcharging the higheſt office in the ſtate [g]: and truly Gallus acted therein with ſincerity, he being not only a true, but a moſt pious, chriſtian; but Julian only ſtudied, if Gregory Nazianzen is to be credited, to deceive the world with the maſk of piety, and conceal his wicked inclinations [h]. Both that writer and Ammianus Marcellinus aſſure us, that he was, from his infancy, inclined to the religion of the antient Romans, that is, to idolatry [i]; but he himſelf tells us, that he was a chriſtian till he was twenty [k]; and Libanius, that when he came firſt to Nicomedia, which was in 351, or 352, he had an extreme averſion to the Roman gods [l]. Be that as it will, the different diſpoſition of the heart, with which the two brothers performed the ſame actions, was laid open to the eyes of the world, as we are told, by the following miracle, which we cannot omit, but entirely ſubmit to the judgment of the reader. They both undertook to build a church over the tomb of St. Mamas, a celebrated martyr of Cæſarea in Cappadocia; but the ſide that was to be erected by Julian could never be finiſhed; whereas that which Gallus had undertaken, was ſpeedily completed. This miraculous event is not only related by Theodoret [m], but by Gregory Nazianzen, who aſſures us, that he learnt it of thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes of it [n]; and Sozomen, who, in relating it, ſays the ſame thing, and adds, that many perſons were ſtill living, ready to confirm, as eye-witneſſes, the truth of what he relates [o]. From this retreat Gallus was called to court, and created Cæſar, in the beginning of the year 351, and ſoon after the emperor was, with much-ado, prevailed upon to give Julian leave to quit Macella, and purſue his ſtudies at Conſtantinople, where he ſaw his brother, as he paſſed through that city on his journey into the eaſt, with the title of Cæſar [p]. Libanius writes, that he met Gallus at Nicomedia, and obtained leave of the emperor to ſpeak with him [q]. At Conſtantinople Julian ſtudied oratory, under a ſophiſt of no great eloquence, but choſen by Conſtantius for his preceptor, becauſe he uſed in all his declamations, to inveigh againſt the idolatrous worſhip of the pagan gods [r]. Socrates

[g] Theodoret. l. iii. c. 1. p. 637. [h] Greg. Naz. p. 58.
[i] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 208. [k] Julian. epiſt. 51. p. 210.
[l] Liban. orat. v. p. 173. [m] Theodor. p. 637. [n] Greg. Naz. p. 59. & 61. [o] Sozom. p. 594. [p] Ammian. l. xv. p. 34. [q] Liban. orat. xii. p. 263. [r] Idem. ibid.

Socrates aſſures us, that this ſophiſt was Ecebolus [s], of whom hereafter. Julian's conduct at Conſtantinople, his application and obliging behaviour, ſoon gained him the affections of the inhabitants of that city, though he appeared in the ſchools like a private perſon, and, following the directions of the eunuch Mardonius, carefully avoided the leaſt mark of diſtinction. This no ſooner came to the ears of the jealous emperor, than he ordered him to quit Conſtantinople, and retire to Nicomedia, or what other place in Aſia he pleaſed; but ſtrictly enjoining him not to frequent the ſchool of Libanius, a pagan ſophiſt of great reputation, who, being driven out of Conſtantinople, had opened a ſchool at Nicomedia; which city he was likewiſe obliged to quit ſoon after, and retire to Antioch, the place of his nativity [t]. The ſophiſt too, under whom Julian ſtudied at Conſtantinople, prevailed upon him to promiſe and ſolemnly ſwear, that he would never hear the lectures of Libanius. Julian obſerved his oath; but, as he had great eſteem for that orator, he privately read his works, and imitated his ſtyle with better ſucceſs than thoſe who had ſtudied under him [u]. During his ſtay at Nicomedia, he became acquainted with one Maximus of Epheſus, a pagan philoſopher of great reputation, and much addicted to the ſtudy of magic, who flattering him with the hopes of being one day emperor, inſpired him with an averſion to the chriſtian religion, which condemn all magical practices [w]. Libanius writes, that the precepts and inſtructions of a philoſopher in Ionia, meaning, no doubt, Maximus, made ſuch a deep impreſſion on the mind of Julian, that he immediately renounced the chriſtian religion, and embraced that of the Romans [x]. However, he was ſo far from owning his real ſentiments, that, on the contrary, he put on the appearance of a ſincere and zealous chriſtian, cauſing his head to be ſhaved, ſays Sozomen, affecting the dreſs and manners of a monk, and performing the office of a reader in the principal church of Nicomedia, while he at the ſame time privately adored the heathen deities, and cauſed himſelf to be inſtructed in the abominable myſteries of magic [y]. Gallus, who reſided at Antioch, hearing ſomewhat of his brother's inclination to idolatry, endeavoured, by ſeveral warm and pious epiſtles, to con-

firm

[s] Socrat. l. iii. p. 197. [t] Eunap. c. 14. p. 132. Liban. vit. p. 18. Socrat. p. 165. [u] Liban. orat. xii. p. 263. Socrat. p. 165. Eunap. c. 14. p. 134. [w] Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 167. Soz. l. v. c. 2. p. 594. Liban. orat. 5. p. 173. [x] Lib. ibid. [y] Socrat. ibid. p. 166.

firm him in the true religion, and divert him from the idolatrous worſhip of the pagan gods [z]. But the ſacrilegious curioſity of knowing future events, ſays Gregory Nazianzen, and the deſire of reigning, prevailed over all other conſiderations [a]. Upon the ruin of his brother Gallus, he was very near undergoing the ſame fate, being unjuſtly charged with ſeveral crimes, and ſuſpected by the emperor of aſpiring at the ſovereignty, who thereupon ordered him to be arreſted, and kept him for ſeven months ſurrounded by guards, ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another [b], but moſtly at Milan, where the emperor himſelf reſided; for he tells us, that he was kept ſix months in the great city which was the emperor's abode; and that, during the whole time he was detained there, he was but once admitted to ſee the emperor, and then by the mediation of the empreſs Euſebia, who prevailed upon her huſband to hear him, and encouraged him to defend himſelf with liberty and freedom; which he did, without either juſtifying, through fear or complaiſance, the emperor's proceedings againſt his brother, or provoking his vengeance, by complaining of the hard uſage he himſelf had met with. Conſtantius promiſed him a ſecond audience; which was put off from day to day, under various pretences, by the eunuch Euſebius, the emperor's great chamberlain, who began to apprehend, that Julian might, by degrees, gain not only the prince's favour, but confidence [c]. However, Conſtantius being in the end convinced of his innocence, by means of the empreſs, he was allowed to return to his own country; that is, to his mother's eſtate in Ionia or Bithynia [d]. But a report being ſpread, before he ſet out, that Africanus had revolted in Illyricum, Conſtantius would not ſuffer him to return to Aſia; but, at the requeſt of Euſebia, gave him leave to return into Greece, which he preferred to all other places, being deſirous, as he pretended, to perfect himſelf in the ſciences; but his true deſign was to confer with the magicians at Athens, whom he believed more ſkilful in that art than thoſe in Aſia [e]. He arrived at Athens about the middle of the year 355, and there became acquainted with the two great luminaries of the church, St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Baſil, who were at that time both improving them-

[z] Philoſt. l. iii. c. 27. p. 59. Liban. orat. x. p. 234. [a] Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 86. [b] Liban. orat. xii. p. 267. Julian. ad Athen. p. 501. [c] Idem ibid. p. 503, 504. Liban. ibid. [d] Julian. ibid. p. 501. Ammian. l. xv. p. 34. [e] Julian. ibid. Eunap. c. 5. p. 74. Themiſt. p. 479.

themſelves at Athens in the ſtudy of eloquence, of which they made afterwards ſo good an uſe. With the latter Julian read and ſtudied, not only the profane authors, but the books of the holy ſcripture, carefully concealing, through fear of Conſtantius, his real ſentiments [f]; but he could not, with all his diſguiſes, deceive the former, who, from his wild motions and geſtures, which he minutely deſcribes, foreſaw, and foretold among his intimate friends, what afterwards happened [g]. During his ſtay at Athens, he became familiar with the moſt zealous advocates for paganiſm, and the perſons beſt verſed in magic, expreſſing to them, in confidence, his concern for the downfal of paganiſm, and his deſire and intention of reſtoring it to its former luſtre, as ſoon as it was in his power ſo to do [h]. He had been but a very ſhort time at Athens, when he was recalled, to attend the emperor at Milan, who, it ſeems, had already determined with himſelf to raiſe him to the dignity of Cæſar [i]. Julian left Greece with great regret, reſolving not to accept the dignity with which he imagined the emperor deſigned to inveſt him, either becauſe he loved a retired life, as Libanius would make us believe [k], or rather dreading the fate of his brother, as he himſelf informs us [l]. On his arrival at Milan, he lodged in an houſe without the city, where he was ſplendidly entertained by the eunuchs of the empreſs [m]. Conſtantius was not then at Milan; but he returned ſoon after to that city, and immediately communicated to his friends his deſign of raiſing Julian, who did all that lay in their power to divert him from it; but Euſebia, who favoured Julian, prevailed; and the emperor ordered Julian to ſhave his long beard, to quit his philoſophical cloak, and appear in the attire of a military man and the garb of a courtier [n]. As he had hitherto led the life of a philoſopher, or rather of a monk, his aukwardneſs in acting a part he had never been accuſtomed to, afforded for ſome time no ſmall diverſion to the other courtiers [o]. The emperor aſſigned him an apartment in the palace, which he entered with dread and terror, reflecting, that he was to live among thoſe who had ſhed the blood of his father and brothers, and maſſacred his whole family. When he found the emperor, in ſpite of his warm remonſtrances, reſolved upon his promotion,

[f] Baſil. ep. 207. p. 122. [g] Greg. Naz. p. 121, 122. [h] Liban. orat. xii. p. 268. [i] Jul. ad Athen. p. 503. Ammian. l. xv. p. 47. Liban. orat. x. p. 235. [k] Liban. ibid. [l] Julian. ad Athen. p. 505. [m] Liban. orat. 12. p. 268. & Julian. ibid. [n] Idem ibid. p. 505, 506. [o] Ammian. l. xv. p. 47.

promotion, he earneſtly entreated him to appoint ſuch miniſters and officers to ſerve under him, as might ſupply his want of experience, and to give him in writing directions relating to his whole conduct, that his only buſineſs might be to obey [p]. Conſtantius encouraged him, and having calmed his fears, gave him leave to wait on the empreſs, who removed all his apprehenſions [q]. At length, on the ſixth of November 355, he was declared Cæſar with the uſual ſolemnity, appointed governor of Gaul, and a few days after, by the intereſt of Euſebia, married to Helena, the empreſs's ſiſter [r]. We have related above [s] in what manner he was treated, and how narrowly watched after his promotion. His houſhold was changed, and of his former domeſtics only four were left with him, viz. two youths, his phyſician, and his librarian [t]. The latter only was privy to his ſentiments touching religion, as he himſelf informs us [u]. He left Milan on the firſt of December, as we have obſerved above [w], and arrived at Vienne in Gaul about the end of the year. His warlike exploits, already deſcribed by us in the reign of Conſtantius, ſeem to us altogether ſurpriſing, when we reflect, that they were performed by one who was yet very young; who had been brought up in the country and among books, and conſequently was obliged to learn the firſt rudiments of war while he was leading the army to battle [x]. During his ſtay in Gaul, as ſoon as he had quitted the field, he betook himſelf to his ſtudies, eſpecially to that of philoſophy, but without neglecting the other ſciences, in which he made a wonderful progreſs, being, according to Ammianus, not only an excellent philoſopher, but an eloquent orator, a good poet, well verſed in the Roman and other hiſtories, thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, and pretty well with the Latin, in which he expreſſed himſelf with great eaſe [y]. His two elogies on Conſtantius, his panegyric on the empreſs Euſebia, and his diſcourſe in commendation of Salluſt, which have all reached our times, were the fruit of his ſtudies in Gaul; for in the firſt of theſe compoſitions he ſpeaks of his promotion to the dignity of Cæſar, and tells us in the ſecond, that he had ſeen the barbarians on the banks of the Rhine, and the coaſts

Julian is declared Cæſar.

His conduct in Gaul.

[p] Julian. ibid. p. 516. [q] Idem ibid. p. 517. & orat. iii. p. 128. [r] Ammian. l. xv. p. 49 Chron. Alex. p. 680. Socr. l. ii. c. 34. Julian. orat. iii. p. 130. [s] Vide p. 474. [t] Julian. ibid. p. 526. Liban. orat. ix. p. 236. [u] Julian. ibid. p. 509. [w] P. 474. [x] Julian. ibid. p. 180. [y] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 62.

coaſts of the ocean, which muſt have happened in the campaign of the year 358 [z]. The panegyric on Euſebia was written after that princeſs had been at Rome, in the latter end of the year 356 [a]. As Julian took great delight in learning, men of letters flocked to him while he was in Gaul from all parts, eſpecially from Greece, and among the reſt the pontiff of Eleuſina, with whom he practiſed in private the abominable myſteries of magic, and conſulted the aruſpices and augurs; for, though he outwardly profeſſed the chriſtian religion, he was an heathen in his heart, and ſacrificed every morning to Minerva in his cloſet [b]. He obſerved great temperance and ſobriety in his diet, remembering, ſays Ammianus [c], the ſaying of Cato the elder, viz. That whoever thinks too much of his table, thinks little of virtue. Having this maxim conſtantly before his eyes, he would not even ſuffer his table to be ſerved after the manner preſcribed by Conſtantius, who had given him inſtructions under his own hand, as we have obſerved above, which were to be the rules of his conduct, and deſcended even to his diet, but contented himſelf with the food of the common ſoldiers [d]. As he fed ſparingly, he was ſatisfied with little ſleep, repoſing on a ſkin ſpread on the ground, and awaking when he pleaſed, which was conſtantly about midnight: the reſt of the night he ſpent in writing, reading, and viſiting before break of day the ſentries and guards in their different ſtations; from this no inclemency of weather ever diverted him [e]. He never ſuffered plays to be exhibited but on the firſt day of the year, and then not for his own diverſion, (for he hated all ſorts of ſports, even thoſe of the circus) but to comply with an antient cuſtom, and to humour the populace [f]. No dancers, comedians, players upon inſtruments, buffoons, &c. were ſuffered to appear at his court; nay, when he was emperor, he would not ſuffer the pagan pontiffs to aſſiſt at the infamous ſports, as he ſtyles them, of the theatre, nor to contract friendſhip with ſtage-players, dancers, drivers of chariots, &c. or even enter their houſes: however, he allowed them to be preſent at certain combats, which he names ſacred,

His frugality.

He hates all ſports.

[z] Julian. or. i. p. 82. & or. ii. p. 103. [a] Idem, or. iii. p. 241. [b] Julian. ep. xxxviii. p. 180. Liban. or. x. p. 140. & xii. p. 279. Eunap. c. 5. p. 76, 77. Ammian. l. xxi. p. 180, 181. [c] Ammian. l. xvi. & xxv. p. 61. & 292. [d] Idem ibid. p. 62. Julian p. 60. Liban. or. xii. p. 304. [e] Ammian. Julian. Lib. ibid. [f] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 292. Julian miſopog. p. 59, 60.

ſacred, and at which no women appeared; but as for the combats, in which men entered the liſts with wild beaſts, he excluded from them both the prieſts and their children [g]. The grave and ſevere life he led in Gaul gained him the eſteem and affections of the people there, who looked upon him as a prince ſent down to them by heaven, the more becauſe he made it his chief ſtudy to eaſe them of the heavy and inſupportable burdens with which they were loaded by the emperor's officers, eſpecially by Florentius, prefect of Gaul, who, on that account, conceived an implacable hatred againſt him, and did him all the evil offices at court that lay in his power. But Julian, preferring the welfare of the people to his own ſafety, in ſpite of Florentius, leſſened the taxes, and reduced them from twenty-five pieces of gold an head to ſeven, which he found ſufficient to defray all the expences of the war [h]; whence he was by all the people in Gaul looked upon as the reſtorer of their country, and their common father [i]. In what he undertook in favour of the people, he was greatly aſſiſted by one Salluſt, a native of Gaul, in whom he repoſed an entire confidence; which raiſed ſuch jealouſy in the other courtiers, that they took great pains to diſcredit him with the emperor, who was in the end perſuaded to remove him, and appoint one Lucianus in his room [k]. Julian, ſenſibly affected in ſeeing himſelf deprived of the counſels of ſo truſty a friend, gave vent to his grief in the diſcourſe which he wrote to bid him farewel [l]. From that diſcourſe, which is a kind of panegyric on Salluſt, it appears, that Julian had communicated to him his moſt ſecret thoughts; whence ſome conclude him to have been a pagan, though a man of great integrity and an unblemiſhed character [m]. The emperor, who was then in Illyricum, ſent him into Thrace; whence he was ſoon after remanded into Gaul, where Julian left him in 361, with the character of prefect [n]. As Julian was univerſally eſteemed and beloved by the people in Gaul, no wonder that they readily concurred with the ſoldiery in beſtowing upon him the title of emperor in 360, as we have related above. After his promotion, he continued for ſome time to profeſs outwardly the chriſtian religion, and publicly aſſiſted at the holy ceremonies of the church on the feaſt of the

Studies to eaſe the people.

[g] Lib. or. x. p. 240. Julian. or. fragment. p. 555. [h] Panegyr. xi. p. 223. Ammian. l. xvi. p. 58. Julian. ep. xvii. p. 133. [i] Lib. or. xii. p. 281. Julian. ep. ad Athen. p. 518. [k] Liban. ibid. Julian. ep. xvii. p. 135. [l] Julian. or. viii. p. 444. [m] Idem ibid. p. 449. [n] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 187.

the Epiphany in 361 [o], but threw off the maſk ſoon after; for we are told by Libanius, that he no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of Illyricum, than he opened the temples of the gods, offered ſacrifices according to the antient rites, and exhorted all perſons to follow his example, and reſtore to its former luſtre the religion of their anceſtors [p]. This happened before the death of Conſtantius, who died on the third of November 361, ſince Gregory Nazianzen ſuppoſes him to have known, that Julian had renounced the true religion [q]; and Libanius aſſures us, that before the emperor's death, the Greeks, eſpecially the Athenians, declaring for Julian, had begun to offer ſacrifices as formerly, and practiſe the ceremonies that had been long neglected, which gave occaſion to a ſedition raiſed at Athens among the ſacred families, as Libanius ſtyles them, meaning, no doubt, the families of the pontiffs. The ſame writer adds, that Julian wrote ſeveral letters, exhorting them to peace and concord [r]. We have mentioned above, what paſſed in Gaul and Illyricum, from the time Julian was declared emperor to the death of Conſtantius; and ſhall therefore, without repeating the ſame events, reſume the thread of our hiſtory from that period, generally reckoned the beginning of Julian's reign. Conſtantius being dead, the eunuch Euſebius, and ſome others, who dreaded the reſentment of Julian, and the puniſhment due to their enormous crimes, were for electing another emperor; but no one falling in with them, Theolaiphus and Aliguldus, both ſtyled counts, were diſpatched to Julian with the news of the emperor's death, and to aſſure him, that all the eaſtern provinces were ready to obey his commands. The two meſſengers found him at Naiſſus in Illyricum, employed chiefly in ſuperſtitious enquiries into the entrails of victims, and ſometimes promiſing himſelf the beſt, at other times apprehending the worſt, events. But the death of Conſtantius delivered him from all his doubts and apprehenſions, and put him in poſſeſſion of the empire, without ſtriking a blow [s]. We are told, that when he received the news of the emperor's death, he burſt into tears, appeared the ſame day in deep mourning, and betrayed an extraordinary grief and

He cauſes the temples of the gods to be opened.

Julian acknowledged emperor upon the death of Conſtantius.

[o] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 711. Soz. l. v. c. 1. p. 590. Julian. ad Athen. p. 509. [p] Lib. or. xii. p. 288. [q] Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 68, 69. [r] Lib. or. xii. p. 288. [s] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 200. & l. xxii. p. 204. Zoſ. l. iii. p. 713. Lib. or. xii. p. 289.

and concern amidſt the repeated acclamations of the ſoldiery, ſaluting him with the title of Auguſtus [t]. He immediately iſſued orders for a general mourning, and commanded all poſſible honours to be paid to the body of the deceaſed emperor [u]. Soon after the meſſengers, ſeveral horſemen arrived from Conſtantinople, aſſuring him, that the troops in thoſe parts had unanimouſly acknowledged him emperor [w]. He therefore ſet out without delay for Conſtantinople; and being met by almoſt all the inhabitants of that metropolis at Heraclea, he made his public entry on the eleventh of December of this year 361, being attended by the ſenate in a body, by all the magiſtrates, and by the nobility in their beſt apparel, every one teſtifying with loud ſhouts of joy the ſatisfaction they felt in ſeeing ſuch a promiſing prince; a prince, who had been born, and ſome time educated, in their city, who had already performed ſuch wonderful exploits, raiſed to the empire without the leaſt expence of blood or treaſure to the republic [x]. He was anew declared emperor by the ſenate of Conſtantinople; and as ſoon as that ceremony was over, he cauſed the obſequies of Conſtantius to be performed with the greateſt pomp and ſolemnity imaginable [y]. His next care was to form at Chalcedon a court of juſtice, to enquire into the conduct of the miniſters of the deceaſed emperor, and to hear the complaints of ſuch as had been injured by them. In this court preſided Salluſtius Secundus, whom Julian had created prefect of the eaſt, in the room of Elpidius, and we muſt take care not to confound with Salluſt, prefect of Gaul, of whom we have ſpoken above: to diſtinguiſh them, we ſhall call the former Secundus, following therein Ammianus and other writers. Julian repoſed in both an entire confidence; and the prefect of the eaſt, though a pagan, is highly commended, even by the eccleſiaſtic writers, for his prudence, diſcretion and compaſſion towards the chriſtians perſecuted by Julian, whoſe conduct towards them he loudly condemned. With him were joined in commiſſion the two conſuls elect Mamertinus and Nevita, the former prefect of Illyricum, and the latter an officer in the army, with Arbetio, Agilo, and Jovinus, of whom the latter had been lately created general of the horſe in Illyricum, and the two others had ſerved under Conſtantius in quality of generals. Arbetio was univerſally abhorred on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour,

He is received with great joy at Conſtantinople.

He erects a court of juſtice to enquire into the conduct of the miniſters of Conſtantius.

[t] Zonar. p. 21. [u] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 713. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Ammian. l. xxi. p. 205. [y] Socr. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. Libor. xii. p. 289. Zoſ. p. 713.

haviour. and was ſaid to have occaſioned the ruin of ſeveral innocent perſons under the late reign; whence the conduct of Julian ſeemed to all very ſtrange, in appointing one to judge others, who ought himſelf to have been arraigned as a criminal; nay, we are told, that the whole authority was lodged in his hands, and that the others were named only for formſake [y]; which betrayed in Julian, ſays Ammianus, no ſmall want either of judgment or vigour [z]. Be that as it will, by this court were condemned to be burnt alive the famous Paulus Catena and the noted informer Apodemus, as the chief authors of all the cruelties committed in the late reign. The eunuch Euſebius was likewiſe condemned and executed. Theſe executions were by all the world applauded as juſt and equitable; but the death of Urſula, a man of great merit and known integrity, was a ſtain upon the reputation of Julian, whom he had ſupplied with money unknown to the emperor, when he was ſent into Gaul with the title of Cæſar, but without the neceſſary appointments to ſupport that dignity. What prompted Julian to put him to death we are no-where told; but all authors agree, that he deſerved no ſuch treatment, eſpecially at his hands; and therefore charge him with the blackeſt ingratitude in procuring the death of a perſon to whom he owed the greateſt obligations [a]. Julian, to palliate his ingratitude, cruelty, and injuſtice, pretended, that Urſula had been condemned and executed without his knowledge; but Ammianus himſelf owns this to be but a lame excuſe [b]. To atone in ſome degree for this crying injuſtice, he ordered great part of the eſtate of Urſula, which had been confiſcated, to be reſtored to his daughter, his only child [c]. Florentius, who was this year conſul, and had, while prefect of Gaul, highly diſobliged Julian, as we related above, was likewiſe ſentenced to death; but he found means to make his eſcape, and appeared no more [d]: whence we muſt diſtinguiſh him from another of the ſame name, who was taken and beheaded with Procopius in 369. Two officers, whom Julian had diſcharged, offered to diſcover Florentius, provided they were reſtored to their rank; but Julian diſmiſſed them, branding them with the name of informers, and adding, that to perſecute an unhappy man, who had been obliged to conceal himſelf, was an action unworthy of a prince [e]. Taurus, Florentius's

Several of them condemned and executed.

Urſula, an others, condemned unjuſtly.

[y] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206, 207. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Lib. or. xii. p. 298. Ammian. ibid. p. 206, 207. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Lib. or. xii. p. 298. [d] Ammian. ibid. p. 206. [e] Idem l. xxvi. p. 328. & l. xxii. p. 210.

tius's collègue in the conſulſhip, and prefect of Italy, was baniſhed to Vercellæ, now Vercelli, in Piedmont, for no other reaſon but becauſe he had fled when Julian entered Illyricum [f]. With the ſame injuſtice were baniſhed another Florentius, who had been magiſter officiorum under Conſtantius, Palladius, who had diſcharged the ſame office in the court of Gallus, and many others [g]. Julian, not ſatisfied with having puniſhed ſome of Conſtantius's miniſters, deprived the reſt of their employments without diſtinction, though there were among them ſeveral perſons of unblemiſhed characters, who had diſapproved, and even oppoſed, moſt of the late meaſures. As the vaſt number of officers was become an intolerable burden to the public, he thought himſelf bound to leſſen it; and accordingly diſcharged all uſeleſs perſons about court, preferring the frugality and modeſty of a philoſopher, ſays Ammianus, to the vain magnificence of a prince [h]. He reduced among the reſt the officers called agentes in rebus, from ten thouſand to ſeventeen [i], and diſcharged thouſands of cooks, barbers, and ſuch-like vermin, who devoured the ſubſtance of the people, and with their large ſalaries drained the exchequer [k]. Hiſtorians relate of him, that having called for a barber, and one appearing in a dreſs far above his condition, Julian looking upon him, and betraying great ſurprize, I called for a barber, ſaid he, and not for a governor or a ſenator [l]. The curioſi, whoſe office it was to inform the emperor of what paſſed in the different provinces, were all diſcharged, and that employment entirely ſuppreſſed [m]. This great reform of officers and offices enabled him to eaſe the people of the heavy burdens they groaned under; which he did, abating throughout the whole empire the fifth part of all taxes and impoſts [n]. He recalled from baniſhment all the orthodox biſhops, but with a deſign, as is obſerved both by the pagan and chriſtian writers, to raiſe diſturbances, and ſow diſſenſions in the church.

He reforms the court.

He eaſes the people by leſſening the taxes.

THE death of Conſtantius was no ſooner known, than deputies were ſent from the chief cities of the empire, to preſent the new prince with crowns of gold, and to congratulate him on his acceſſion to the empire. Their example was followed by ſeveral foreign nations, among which, however, we find no

Deputies ſent from ſeveral cities and nations to congratulate Julian.

[f] Idem, p. 206. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem, p. 213. [i] Lib. or. xii. p. 279. [k] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206, 207. [l] Idem, l. xxii. p. 213. Zon. p. 21. [m] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 207, 208. Lib. or. xii. p. 293. [n] Julian. miſop. p. 102.

no mention made of the Perſians. The deputies of the Goths cavilling about the oaths they were to take, Julian ordered them to return home, and prepare for war; but contented himſelf with placing ſtrong garriſons in the cities of Thrace, and on the banks of the Danube [o]. Before he left Conſtantinople, he wrote to the philoſopher Maximus, who had firſt inſpired him, as we have obſerved above, with an averſion to the chriſtian religion, inviting to court both him and another pagan philoſopher and magician, named Chryſanthus. The latter, deterred by ſome bad omens, could not prevail upon himſelf to comply with the invitation; but the former readily obeyed, and was received by the emperor at Conſtantinople with ſuch tokens of friendſhip and eſteem, as to Ammianus ſeemed below the dignity of a prince [p], though highly commended by Libanius [q]. The philoſopher, puffed up with the reception he met with from Julian, and the reſpect paid him by others out of complaiſance to the prince, grew ſo proud and haughty, that it was leſs difficult to have acceſs to the emperor than to him [r]. By him Julian was perſuaded to write a ſecond letter to Chryſanthus; nay, he condeſcended to write privately with his own hand to the philoſopher's wife, hoping by her means to draw him to court. But finding him unalterably fixed in his former reſolution, he created him high pontiff of Lydia [s]; which office he diſcharged with great moderation. Foreſeeing, without the aſſiſtance of magic, what might happen, he did not take upon him, as others did, to rebuild the temples of the gods; but carefully avoided diſobliging the chriſtians, or doing them the leaſt injury: hence the re-eſtabliſhment of idolatry in that province was ſcarce perceptible [t]. The encouragement Maximus met with from Julian, drew to court from all parts ſwarms of philoſophers, magicians, aruſpices, and diviners of all denominations, who were kindly received by the emperor, entertained at a great expence, and raiſed to honourable employments, though many of them had in the late reign been branded with infamy for their notorious impoſtures, and condemned either to languiſh in priſon, or to work in the mines. Theſe were Julian's chief favourites; theſe the perſons in whom he moſt confided [u]. But among them Maximus and Priſcus bore the chief ſway, aſſuming a port and authority ill

He invites to court philoſophers, magicians, &c. from all parts.

[o] Ammian. ibid. p. 210. Lib. or. 10. p. 245. [p] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 110. [q] Lib. or. xii. 299. [r] Eunap. c. 5. p. 79. [s] Idem ibid. p. 80, 81. [t] Idem, c. 21. p. 148, 149. [u] Idem, c. 5. p. 80, 81. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 225.

ſuiting their profeſſion [w]. Iamblichus of Apamea was likewiſe importuned by Julian to comé to court; but he choſe rather to lead a retired life, as did the great Baſil, rejecting with contempt the tender which Julian, who had known him at Athens, made him of his friendſhip [x]. The chriſtian writers add, that Julian's court was not only crouded with philoſophers and magicians, but with infamous women [y]; a charge not denied by Ammianus himſelf, who owns, that he was not undeſervedly traduced and ridiculed for carrying about with him troops of women [z].

THE next conſuls were Claudius Mamertinus and Nevita, or Nevitta, who on the firſt day of January, when they entered, according to cuſtom, upon their office, went, before it was light, to wait on the emperor, fearing, ſays Mamertinus in the panegyric he pronounced on this occaſion, he ſhould be before-hand with them [a]. Julian no ſooner heard they were coming, than he haſtened to meet them in the utmoſt confuſion, as if he had been wanting in reſpect to them, kiſſed them, received them with the greateſt regard imaginable, and would by all means attend them in their chariots, walking before them to the ſenate mixed with the croud [b]. His conduct on this occaſion is greatly commended by ſome, and no leſs blamed by others, among the reſt by Ammianus, who looked upon it as too mean, and below the majeſty of a prince [c]. It was an uſual thing for emperors to accompany the new conſuls on that day, but not on foot, it ſeems, nor blended with the croud. On the third of January, Mamertinus exhibited the circenſian ſports, when a troop of ſlaves being brought into the circus, in order to be declared free by the conſul, according to cuſtom, Julian, unacquainted with the prerogatives of the ſeveral magiſtrates, declared them free himſelf; but being told, that he entrenched upon the juriſdiction of the conſuls, he begged pardon, and condemned himſelf to pay a fine of ten pounds weight of gold [d]. Ammianus obſerves, that Julian went frequently to the ſenate, and ſpoke in all debates; whereas Conſtantius uſed to command the ſenators to attend him in the palace, and to ſignify to them his will and pleaſure, without allowing them to ſit down in his preſence [e]. This year, Julian appointed

Julian pays great reſpect to the conſuls.

one

[w] Eunap. ibid. [x] Baſil. ep. 206, 207. p. 225, 226. [y] Chryſ. in gent. p. 676. Greg. Naz. or. iv. p. 221. [z] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 227. [a] Panegyr. xi. p. 222. [b] Idem, p. 224. [c] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 209. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem, p. 210.

one Prætextatus governor of Achaia, who is mightily commended both by Ammianus [f] and Zoſimus [g]; and Photius quotes a diſcourſe of the ſophiſt Himera on his proconſulſhip, which office he ſtill held in 364, and 365, under the emperor Valentinian [h]. Before he left Conſtantinople, he enriched that metropolis, the place of his nativity, with many privileges, formed a large harbour to ſhelter the ſhips from the ſouth wind, built a magnificent porch leading to it, and in another porch a ſtately library, in which he lodged all his books [i]. At length he left Conſtantinople in the month of May, and ſet out for Antioch: he paſſed through Chalcedon, and from thence went to Nicomedia, the ruins of which city, overturned by an earthquake, he could not behold without ſhedding many tears: he ordered conſiderable ſums for the rebuilding of it, and then purſuing his journey by Nice, he turned out of his way on the borders of Galatia, to viſit the famous temple of Cybele at Peſſinus, which he enriched with offerings of a great value. He pronounced a diſcourſe on that pretended deity, which he compoſed in one night, appointed Calixenes prieſteſs of the temple, and then continued his rout to Ancyra, where he was met by the pagan prieſts carrying with them their idols. As ſoon as he arrived at the palace, he ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among them, and the next day exhibited public ſports [k]. As he purſued his march, he was met in moſt places by crouds of people come to lay their complaints before him: he heard them with patience, and decided their differences with equity, not ſuffering himſelf to be prejudiced in favour of thoſe who complained, or againſt ſuch as had given them occaſion to complain [l]. As he entered Cilicia, he was met by the inhabitants of a ſmall village, one of whom accuſed another of aſpiring at the empire, alledging, that he had ordered himſelf a purple habit, which was actually making. Julian heard the informer with great patience, and then told him, that when the purple habit was done, he might ſupply, if he pleaſed, the new prince with purple ſhoes [m]. The emperor, paſſing through Cilicia, arrived at length at Antioch, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable. Soon after his arrival, he went up to the top of mount Caſius in the neighbourhood of that city, and there

He enriches the city of Conſtantinople with many privileges.

He ſets out for Antioch.

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 735. [h] Phot c. 165. p. 353. [i] Ammian. p. 224. Zoſ. p. 713. Themiſt. or. iv. p. 60. [k] Lib. or. 10. p. 258. Ammian. l. xxii. p. 220. [l] Ammian. ibid. [m] Idem ibid.

offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to Jupiter. On his return, Theodotus, one of the chief citizens of Hierapolis, who, it ſeems, had formerly done ſomething to diſoblige him, threw himſelf at his feet, entreating him to forgive him. Julian did not know him; but without enquiring who he was, or what he had done, embraced him with great tenderneſs, ſaying, In what you have diſobliged me, I know not, nor do I care to know; but be what it will, you have nothing to fear under a prince, whoſe greateſt ambition is to leſſen the number of his enemies, and encreaſe that of his friends [n]. During his ſtay at Antioch, he employed himſelf chiefly in hearing and deciding cauſes; in protecting the innocent, without diſtinction of chriſtian or pagan, ſays Ammianus [o]; and puniſhing the guilty, without forgetting his uſual lenity and moderation. In the adminiſtration of juſtice, he readily hearkened to thoſe who ſeemed better acquainted with the laws than himſelf, adviſing conſtantly with them before he gave ſentence [p]. But notwithſtanding his ſo much boaſted equity and moderation, he ſentenced to death Gaudentius, one of the late emperor's ſecretaries, and Julian formerly vicar, for no other reaſon but becauſe they had adhered to Conſtantius with great ſteadineſs and zeal [q]; which a generous prince would have rather thought worthy of reward than puniſhment. He treated in the ſame manner the ſon of Marcellus, accuſed of aſpiring at the empire; but contented himſelf with only baniſhing Romanus and Vincentius, two officers of diſtinction, tho' convicted of the ſame crime [r]. Marcellus had highly diſobliged Julian, while he commanded under him in Gaul, as we have obſerved elſewhere. The eccleſiaſtic writers make long deſcants on the unheard-of cruelties and innumerable murders committed by Julian, during his ſtay at Antioch [s]. Gregory Nazianzen repreſents the Orontes, on which ſtood Antioch, choaked up with the bodies of ſuch as had by his orders been privately murdered, or thrown into that river in the night-time; and adds, that all the ditches, caves, wells, ponds, &c. in the neighbourhood of that city, were filled with the bodies of the young virgins and children whom he had inhumanly ſacrificed, hoping to diſcover future events in their entrails [t]. Theſe abominable practices and barbarous murders were kept ſecret, and carefully concealed, during his life-

He adminiſters juſtice with impartiality.

[n] Ammian. ibid. p. 227. [o] Idem ibid. p. 222. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. p. 222, 223. [s] Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 91. Chryſ. in gent. p. 677. [t] Greg. Naz. ibid.

life-time, ſays Theodoret [u]; but after his death many cheſts were found in the palace, filled with the bones of thoſe he had thus inhumanly ſacrificed. It is ſurpriſing, that ſuch cruelties ſhould have been known only to the chriſtian writers. Both pagan and chriſtian authors obſerve, that during the ſhort time Julian reigned, the empire was conſtantly afflicted by ſome grievous calamity or other: dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province; moſt of the cities of Paleſtine, Libya, Sicily, and Greece, were overturned [w]. Libanius writes, that not one city was left ſtanding in all Libya, and but one in Greece; that Nice was utterly ruined, and Conſtantinople greatly damaged [x]. The temples of Apollo at Rome and Daphne were about the ſame time conſumed by fire. The ſea in ſeveral places broke in upon the land, and deſtroyed whole cities with their inhabitants. At Alexandria, the ſea retiring during an earthquake, returned afterwards with ſuch violence, that it laid under water ſeveral towns and villages, and drowned an incredible number of people [y]. To theſe calamities were added a general drought, which laſted till the winter was far ſpent, and produced an univerſal famine: the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, and both continued till the death of Julian, carrying off great numbers of men and cattle [z]. The eccleſiaſtic writers obſerve, that the famine followed Julian from place to place; and that, as he continued longer at Antioch, than in any other city, it raged there with moſt violence. Julian, to remedy this evil, fixed the prices of corn, and all other proviſions, which encreaſed it beyond meaſure, the merchants conveying privately their corn to other places. By this means that great and populous metropolis was reduced to ſuch miſeries as can hardly be expreſſed [a].

The empire afflicted with many calamities.

The following year, 363, Julian entered upon his fourth conſulſhip, having Salluſt, the prefect of Gaul, for his collegue; and on that occaſion Libanius pronounced the panegyric, which is ſtill extant [b]. Julian, on the firſt of January, viſited the temple of Jupiter, and there performed the heatheniſh ſacrifices, which had been long omitted, for the ſafety of the empire. As the inhabitants of Antioch were moſtly chriſtians, and beſides highly provoked againſt Julian, to

[u] Theodor. l. iii. c. 22. p. 659. [w] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226. Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 639. Chryſ. & Greg. Naz. ibid. [x] Lib. or. xii. p. 314. [y] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. Greg. Naz. p. 112. Soz. p. 639. [z] Ammian. ibid. [a] Lib. or. iv. p. 152. Ammian. p. 233. [b] Lib. vit. p. 43, 44. & or. x. p. 327.

to whoſe impiety in worſhipping the idols they aſcribed the famine and the other calamities with which the whole empire was afflicted, they publiſhed ſeveral lampoons, reflecting on the defects of his perſon, and expoſing him to ridicule on account of his ſmall ſtature, his forbidding aſpect, his long and rough beard, his port and geſtures, which were, it ſeems, ſomewhat odd and ridiculous. They ſtyled him butcher, by reaſon of the many victims he was daily immolating; and rallied him, not without reaſon, ſays Ammianus [c], for taking pride in carrying himſelf the utenſils for the ſacrifices, and acting rather the part of a prieſt than an emperor. The ſtrange and fantaſtical figures, which he cauſed to be engraved on his coins, were, and not undeſervedly, one of the topics of ridicule [d]. Julian, highly provoked with the ralleries of the people of Antioch, and ſevere ſatires that were daily publiſhed againſt him, and ſung publicly in the ſtreets, wrote an ironical invective againſt the Antiochians, ſtyled The Antiochian or Miſopogon, that is, the beard-hater; in which he repreſents them entirely addicted to their intereſt, abandoned to luxury, pomp and lewdneſs, great admirers of plays, farces, and all ſorts of diverſions. And truly, that his reproaches were not groundleſs, is manifeſt from the homilies which the famous Chryſoſtom preached a few years after in that city. However, Ammianus aſſures us, that, blinded with paſſion, he mixed with the truth, many things that were quite foreign to it [e]. Elias of Crete, as quoted by Gregory Nazianzen, tells us, that, in compoſing this piece, Julian was aſſiſted by Libanius [f]. Maximus too had, in all likelihood, a hand in it; for to his cenſure Julian uſed to ſubmit all his compoſitions [g]. The Miſopogon was received, by ſome better, by others, eſpecially the chriſtians, worſe, than it deſerved: it is a continued ſatire, not without humour; but in many places flat, low, and inſipid. He wrote it ſeven months after his arrival at Antioch, that is, about the latter end of January of the preſent year 363 [h]. Though he had been highly provoked by the ſevere reflections, and bitter ralleries, of the Antiochians, yet in his Miſopogon he ſolemnly declares, that none of them ſhall on that ſcore loſe their lives, be beaten with rods, arreſted, or impriſoned; but threatens to withdraw from a city, which thus requited, with

Julian rallied by the Antiochians.

His Antiochian or Miſopogon.

[c] Ammian. p. 226. [d] Greg. Naz. or. iii. p. 82. Julian. p. 87. Socr. p. 390. Cange. Byz. fam. p. 39. [e] Ammian. p. 226. [f] Greg. Naz. p. 133. [g] Julian. ep. xvi. p. 131. [h] Julian. Miſop. p. 66.

with the utmoſt ingratitude, the innumerable favours he had heaped upon it, and the extraordinary care he had taken in relieving the citizens, when in the utmoſt diſtreſs. His deſign was to reſide at Tarſus, and with this view he wrote to Memor, governor of Cilicia, one of his intimate friends, enjoining him to get every thing ready for his reception againſt his return from the Perſian war, which he was then bent upon [k]. Libanius tells us, that about the time Julian wrote his Miſopogon, ten ſoldiers, incenſed againſt him on account of his attempting to re-eſtabliſh the worſhip of the gods, conſpired to murder him while he was exerciſing his troops. But the plot being diſcovered by the conſpirators themſelves, when they were intoxicated with wine, they were all arreſted, and brought before Julian, who generouſly forgave them, though convicted of the crime laid to their charge [l].

He deſigns to leave Antioch and reſide at Tarſus.

JULIAN had, ever ſince his acceſſion to the empire, ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to make war upon the Perſians, and try whether he could humble that haughty enemy, who had for many years haraſſed the eaſtern provinces in a moſt miſerable manner, and defeated all the attempts of his predeceſſor. Being adviſed, ſoon after his arrival at Conſtantinople, to fall upon the Goths, he anſwered, that he deſigned to enter the liſts with a more formidable enemy [m]. Before he left that metropolis, he had appointed his generals, and named the officers and ſoldiers who were to ſerve under them. Victor was created general of the foot, and Hormiſda of the horſe. The latter was the elder brother of Sapor, king of Perſia; but having been excluded from the crown, and kept ſome time under confinement, he found means to make his eſcape, and took ſanctuary in the court of Conſtantine in 323 [n]. Julian, during his ſtay at Antioch, purſued his preparations for the Perſian war, drawing together his troops from all quarters, erecting magazines, making new levies, and, above all, conſulting the oracles, the aruſpices, magicians, &c. The oracles of Delphos, Delos, and Dodona, aſſured him of victory [o]. But the aruſpices, and moſt of his courtiers and officers, did all that lay in their power to divert him from his intended expedition [p]. But the deceitful

He prepares for the Perſian war.

anſwers

[i] Idem, p. 101. [k] Idem, p. 102—106. Soz. l. v. c. 19. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 239. [l] Lib. or. xii. p. 307. & or. iv. p. 161. [m] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 224. [n] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 713. Abulfarag. p. 90. [o] Theodoret. l. iii. c. 16. Greg. Naz. or. p. 114. Philoſtorg. l. vii. c. 15. Liban. p. 252. [p] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245.

anſwers of the oracles, the confidence he repoſed in the magicians, and the deſire of adding the Perſian monarch to the many kings he had already ſeen humbled at his feet, prevailed over all other conſiderations [q]. The Perſians, according to Theodoret, began hoſtilities [r], by making inroads into Meſopotamia. But Libanius tells us, that the king of Perſia wrote to Julian, offering to conclude a peace with him upon ſuch terms as he ſhould think juſt and reaſonable; but that Julian, deſirous to revenge the many affronts offered to the Romans by that haughty prince, tore the letter, and would hearken to no terms [s]. Socrates ſpeaks of embaſſadors ſent by Sapor with advantageous propoſals, but diſmiſſed by Julian with this anſwer; that ere it was long he hoped to treat with their maſter in perſon [t]. Several nations ſent deputies to Julian, offering him their aſſiſtance, which he refuſed, ſaying, The Romans are to aſſiſt their allies, but ſtand in no need of their aſſiſtance [u]. He likewiſe rejected, and in a very diſobliging manner, the offers of the Saracens, anſwering them, when they complained of his ſtopping the penſion, which was paid to their nation by other emperors, that a warlike prince had ſteel, but no gold; which they reſenting, joined the Perſians, and continued faithful to them to the laſt [w]. However, he wrote to Arſaces, king of Armenia, enjoining him to keep his troops in readineſs to execute the orders he ſhould ſoon tranſmit to him. Having made the neceſſary preparations for ſo important a war, as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for action, he diſpatched orders to his troops to paſs the Euphrates, with a deſign to enter the enemy's country before they had the leaſt notice of his march, placing guards for that purpoſe on all the roads [x]. Before he left Antioch, he appointed one Alexander, a cruel and paſſionate man, governor of that city, ſaying the citizens deſerve no better [y]. He ſet out from Antioch on the fifth of March, and reached the ſame day Litarba, a village in the territory of Chalcis, and about fifteen leagues from Antioch. The magiſtrates of that great city, who had attended him thither, wiſhing him a happy journey, and a triumphant return, he told them in a great paſſion, that he would never viſit them again, being reſolved to winter at Tarſus [z]. He had told them before the ſame thing in the preſence of Libanius, who thereupon wrote two ſpeeches,

Will hearken to no terms.

He diſobliges the Saracens.

He ſets out from Antioch.

[q] Idem, l. xxii. p. 224. [r] Theod. l. iii. c. 16. p. 654. [s] Lib. or. x. p. 243—245. [t] Soz. l. iii. p. 192. [u] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 238. [w] Idem, l. xxix. p. 238. & l. xxv. p. 298. [x] Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 160. [y] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 156. [z] Evagr. l. vi. c. 11. p. 452. Julian. p. 156. Ammian. p. 239.

ſpeeches, the one, addreſſed to Julian, in favour of the inhabitants of Antioch, and the other to the inhabitants themſelves [u]. Of theſe, the firſt only has reached our times. From Litarba, Julian proceeded to Berea, where he halted a day, and pronounced a ſpeech before the council of the place, exhorting them to adore the gods of their anceſtors. He writes himſelf, that they all heard him with attention, and commended him; but few followed his advice [w]. At the head of the council was a zealous chriſtian, who had not only diſinherited, but turned out of doors, his ſon, for renouncing the chriſtian religion. As Julian drew near Berea, the ſon accoſting him, acquainted him with the treatment he had met with from his father, and the motives of his indignation. The emperor, pitying his condition, bid him take courage, and be under no concern: For I will take upon me, added he, to appeaſe your father, and reinſtate you in his favour. Mindful of his promiſe, the ſame day he invited the chief citizens of Berea, and, among the reſt, both the father and the ſon, to ſup with him. The two latter he placed by him; and in the midſt of the banquet, turning to the father, I do not think it reaſonable, ſaid he, to uſe any violence in point of religion. Allow your ſon to profeſs a religion different from yours, as I allow you to profeſs one different from mine, tho' I might eaſily oblige you to renounce it. What! replied the father, are you ſpeaking in favour of an impious wretch abhorred by heaven, who has preferred falſhood to truth, and renounced the worſhip of the true God, to fall down before idols? Injuries and invectives, replied Julian, interrupting him, are foreign to our purpoſe, and therefore I beg you would forbear them: then turning to the ſon, It is incumbent upon me, ſaid he, to take care of you, ſince your father is deaf to my prayers and entreaties in your behalf [x]. He was better pleaſed with the inhabitants of Batne, the next city he came to; for they had, before his arrival, reſtored the public worſhip of the gods. There he offered ſacrifices, and having immolated a great number of victims, he purſued the next day his journey to Hierapolis, the capital city of the province Euphrateſiana, which he reached on the ninth of March. He was met at a great diſtance by crouds of people; but as he entered the city,

The conduct of a chriſtian at Berea.

The route of Julian's army.

[u] Lib. vit. p. 44. Julian. ep. xxvii. p. 156. Socr. l. iii. c. 17. p. 190. [w] Julian. ep. xxvii p. 157. [x] Theod. l. iii. c. 17. p. 655, 656.

city, fifty ſoldiers were killed, and a great many more hurt, by the fall of a porch [y]. At Hierapolis he lodged in the houſe of one for whom he had a particular eſteem and veneration, becauſe he was the ſon-in-law of Sopater, the diſciple of Iamblichus, and becauſe neither Conſtantius nor Gallus, who had both lodged in his houſe, had ever been able to prevail upon him to renounce the worſhip of his idols [z]. From Hierapolis, Julian wrote to Libanius, giving him an account of his journey, and of ſeveral things he had done at Hierapolis [a]; but takes no notice of the death of the fifty ſoldiers. He left Hierapolis on the thirteenth of March; and having paſſed the Euphrates on a bridge of boats with his army, he came to Batnæ, a ſmall city of Oſrhoene, about ten leagues from Hierapolis, and different from the city of the ſame name in Syria. There fifty ſoldiers more were killed by the fall of a ſtack of ſtraw [b]. From Batnæ he proceeded to Carrhæ, where, in the famous temple of the moon, he performed ſome ceremonies with his magicians, ſays Theodoret, which were not known then, but were diſcovered after his death; for that writer tells us, that he ordered the gates of the temple to be ſhut, ſealed them with his own ſignet, and placed guards round the temple, with orders to let no one enter it till his return. But when the news of his death was brought to Carrhæ, the gates were opened, continues the ſame writer, when, to the great ſurprize of the whole city, a woman was ſeen hanging by her hair, with her arms ſtretched out, and her belly open [c]. What Theodoret writes is not vouched by any other author; but they all agree, that Julian privately ſacrificed in the temple of the moon at Carrhæ; which ceremony being over, he delivered, as we read in Ammianus, a purple robe to his kinſman Procopius, the only perſon whom he had admitted to the ſacrifice, enjoining him to ſeize on the empire, if news ſhould be brought him of his death [d]. This looks as if the omens had not proved favourable. But on the other hand Libanius writes, that the gods revealed to him, that he was not to die till he had humbled the Perſians; and beſtows great encomiums upon him for having choſen to haſten his death, rather than to deprive himſelf of the glory he was to acquire in this war.

He ſacrifices to the moon at Carrhæ.

[y] Julian. ibid. p. 159. Lib. or. xii. p. 311. [z] Julian ep. xxvii. p. 159. [a] Idem. ibid. p. 160. [b] Lib. or. 12. p. 111. Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 239, 240. [c] Theodor. l. iii. c. 21. p. 658, 659. [d] Ammian. p. 240.

war [e]. While he was at Carrhæ, news being brought him, that a party of the enemy's horſe had broke into the Roman territories, he reſolved to leave an army in Meſopotamia to guard the frontiers of the empire on that ſide, while he advanced on the other into the heart of the Perſian dominions [f]. This army conſiſted, according to ſome [g], of twenty thouſand, according to others, of thirty thouſand, choſen troops [h]; and was commanded by Procopius, and Seleaſtian, a famous Manichean, who had been governor of Egypt, and had perſecuted there, with the utmoſt cruelty, the orthodox chriſtians. Theſe two were to join, if poſſible, Arſaces king of Armenia, to lay waſte the fruitful plains of Media, and meet the emperor in Aſſyria. Julian wrote to Arſaces, acquainting him with his deſign, but in the moſt diſobliging terms imaginable, treating him asif he had been the meaneſt of his ſlaves, reviling the memory of Conſtantius, to whom that prince had been ever greatly attached, and extolling his own abilities and ſkill in war. As Arſaces profeſſed the chriſtian religion, Julian, after having threatened to treat him as a rebel, if he did not, with the utmoſt punctuality, execute the orders laid upon him, added, And the god you adore will not be able to ſcreen you from my indignation. Thus Sozomen [i]. There were two roads leading from Carrhæ to Perſia, the one to the left by Niſibis, and through the province of Adiabene; the other to the right, through Aſſyria, along the banks of the Euphrates. On both theſe roads Julian had cauſed magazines to be erected, but choſe the latter; and after having, from an eminence, viewed his army, conſiſting of ſixty-three thouſand men, he ſet out on the twenty-fifth of March for Davana or Dabana in Meſopotamia, and arrived the next day at Calliniſus or Callinicum, where he ſtopt the twenty-ſeventh to celebrate the feaſt of the mother of the gods. The day following, he proceeded on his march, and encamped the night in the fields near the Euphrates; where he was met by his fleet, conſiſting of ſeven hundred gallies and four hundred ſhips of burden, commanded by count Lucillianus and the tribune Conſtantianus [k]. From Callinicum he proceeded to Cercuſium, called alſo Circeſium, ſituated at the conflux of the Abora and the Euphrates, and reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt places in Meſopotamia, having been fortified

His conduct towards the king of Armenia.

The order of his march

[e] Lib. pro templ. p. 24. [f] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. [g] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 714. Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. [h] Ammian. p. 240. [i] Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634. [k] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240. Zoſ. l. iii. p. 314.

fortified by Dioclefian, to prevent the ſudden irruptions of the Perſians, who, in his reign, had even ſurpriſed Antioch. At this place Julian paſſed the Abora with his whole army, and then ordered the bridge to be broken down, that his ſoldiers might not be tempted to deſert, ſeeing they could not return home. From Cercuſium he advanced to Zaitha, where the tomb of the emperor Gordian was ſtill to be ſeen. On the ſeventh of April, a ſoldier and two horſes were ſtruck dead by a flaſh of lightning; and a lion of an extraordinary ſize, preſenting himſelf to the army, was diſpatched in a moment by the ſoldiers with a ſhower of darts. Theſe omens occaſioned great diſputes between the philoſophers and the aruſpices, the latter looking upon them as inauſpicious, and adviſing the emperor not to proceed on his intended expedition, and the former refuting their arguments with others more agreeable to Julian's temper [l]. The emperor, after having paſſed the Abora, which parted the Roman and Perſian dominions, encouraged his men with a proper ſpeech to revenge the many injuries and affronts, which of late years had been offered by the haughty enemy to the Roman emperors. When he had ended his ſpeech, he ordered large ſums to be diſtributed among them, an hundred and thirty pieces of ſilver a man, ſays Ammianus. He then proceeded on his march with the greateſt order and precaution imaginable. Nevitta led the right wing along the Euphrates; Arintheus and Hormiſda were in the left, with ſome troops of horſe; Julian himſelf commanded in the centre, and the rear was brought up by Dagalaiphus, Victor, and Secundinus: a body of fifteen hundred horſe was appointed to ſcour the country for intelligence, and to prevent any ſurprize. To ſtrike the greater terror into the enemy, he ordered his ranks to be widened; by which means the army took up about ten miles, and appeared at a diſtance far more numerous than it really was [m]. Having paſſed the Abora, he entered Aſſyria, ſays Ammianus; but, according to Libanius, he croſſed vaſt deſerts before he reached that province, which he found very populous, and abounding with all neceſſaries of life; but he laid it waſte far and near, ſetting fire to the magazines, and deſtroying the proviſions which he could not carry with him [n]. By that means he put it out of his power, which was judged very impolitic, to take the ſame rout on his return. Six or ſeven days after he had paſſed the Abora, he came to a fort called

He enters the Perſian dominions.

He lays waſte Aſſyria.

[l] Ammian. p. 244—246. [m] Idem ibid. Zoſ. p. 715. Lib. or. xii. p. 312. [n] Liban. ibid. p. 313. Soz. l. vi. c. 1. p. 634.

called Annathan, which capitulated upon the firſt ſummons; whereupon Julian preferred the officer who commanded there, by name Puſeus, to the rank of a tribune. He ever after ſerved the Romans with great fidelity, and was in the end created duke of Egypt [o]. Here was found a Roman ſoldier, who falling ſick when Galerius invaded Perſia ſixty-ſix years before, had been left in the enemy's country. Upon his recovery he liſted himſelf among the Perſian troops, being then in the flower of his age, and had ſerved with great reputation. When he was brought to Julian, he aſſured him, that he had been often foretold, he ſhould live till he was near an hundred years old, and be buried at laſt in the Roman territories. Ammianus ſuppoſes the place to have been by him betrayed to the Romans [p]. Julian burnt all the places he found abandoned by the inhabitants; but left ſeveral ſtrong-holds behind him, without attempting to reduce them, upon their promiſing to ſubmit, when he had made himſelf maſter of the reſt of the country [q]. After the army had repaſſed the Euphrates, at a place called Baraxmalcha, Hormiſda would have fallen into an ambuſcade laid for him by the enemy, had he not been luckily prevented by a canal, which he could not paſs, from advancing to the place, where a body of Perſians lay in wait for him, under the conduct of Surena [r]. After this, Julian paſſed with great difficulty an arm of the Euphrates, which was ſwelled to an unuſual height by the melting of the ſnow, and laid ſiege to Berſabora or Pyriſabora, next to Cteſiphon the ſtrongeſt place in Aſſyria, being fortified with a double wall and a citadel, and defended by a numerous garriſon. But Julian, ſurmounting all difficulties, reduced it in two days time, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous reſiſtance he met with, both from the garriſon and the inhabitants, who fought to the laſt like men in deſpair. He found in the place great ſtore of proviſions, and diſtributed among his ſoldiers, who began to mutiny, an hundred pieces of ſilver a head, having with much-ado prevailed upon them to be ſatisfied with that ſum [s]. Having thus pacified the army, and ſet fire to the town, he purſued his march, and entered a country, which the enemy, foreſeeing he would paſs that way, had laid under water; but the ſoldiers, animated by the example of their leader, waded through it with great reſolution,

He reduces ſeveral towns and ſtrong holds.

[o] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 263. Liban. orat. xii. p. 312. [p] Ammian. p. 264. [q] Idem. p. 265. [r] Idem. ibid. Zoſ. p. 715. [s] Ammian. ibid. p. 269, 270.

reſolution, and arriving at Maiozamalcha, a place of great ſtrength, which refuſed to ſubmit, they drew a double line round it, battering the walls night and day, without intermiſſion; but the beſieged obſtinately held out, till the Romans, by means of a mine, got into the city, while the Perſians were buſied in defending the walls. Ammianus, who was at this ſiege, calls Maiozamalcha a great and populous city; and his authority is of more weight with us than that of Libanius or Zoſimus, who ſuppoſe it to have been only a caſtle near a large and populous city named Beſuchis [t]. Julian, incenſed againſt the governor for not ſurrendering the place at the time agreed on, and for calling Hormiſda a traitor, ordered him to be burnt alive, and gave up the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers. As the army was now within ſeven miles of Cteſiphon, and Victor, who had viſited all the roads, aſſured them they had nothing to apprehend, they advanced to a city, which had been formerly ruined, ſays Ammianus, by a Roman emperor, meaning, according to ſome, Seleucia, ruined by Lucius Verus, and, according to others, Sabata, about three miles from Cteſiphon the great metropolis of the Perſian empire [u]. From this place they advanced to a fort, which was taken by aſſault, after a ſhort, but vigorous reſiſtance, Julian himſelf having narrowly eſcaped being killed by a ſhower of arrows diſcharged againſt him, as he was viewing the walls too near [w]. Having razed the fort, he allowed his army ſome time to refreſh themſelves; and then, cauſing the canal to be cleanſed, which had been formerly dug by Trajan between the Euphrates and the Tigris, he conveyed by that means his fleet from the former to the latter river. After this, he led his army to Coche, a place of great ſtrength, ſtanding on the Tigris over-againſt Cteſiphon; but we are not told that he attacked it. All we know is, that he paſſed the river with no leſs raſhneſs than courage, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the enemy, encamped on the oppoſite bank, whom he obliged to retire, and ſhelter themſelves within the walls of Cteſiphon. Some of the Romans purſued them to the very gates of the city, which they would have entered with the enemy, had not Victor prudently reſtrained them. The Perſians loſt on this occaſion, according to ſome, two thouſand five hundred, according to others, ſix thouſand men, and the Romans only ſeventy or ſeventy-five. Only part of the Roman army paſſed the Tigris that day, and made themſelves

He advances to Cteſiphon.

Puts the Perſians to flight, and paſſes the Tigris.

[t] Idem, p. 271. Liban. p. 316. Zoſ. p. 721. [u] Ammian. Zoſ. ibid. [w] Ammian. p. 275.

ſelves maſters of the Perſian camp. The reſt followed the next day, and Julian himſelf, with his guards, three days after [x]. Julian continued ſome days encamped before Cteſiphon; but not daring to attack it through fear of being repulſed with ſhame, as it was very ſtrong, well ſtored with proviſions, and defended by a very numerous garriſon, he contented himſelf with ſending Arintheus to lay waſte the neighbouring country [y]. In the mean time, the king of Perſia was aſſembling, on the moſt diſtant confines of his kingdom, a formidable army, with a deſign to fall upon Julian in his retreat. However, he ſent deputies to propoſe terms for an accommodation, being deſirous to put an end to ſo deſtructive a war. Theſe applied to Hormiſda, as their countryman and their king's brother, who immediately flew to the emperor with the agreeable tidings, as he imagined; but Julian, inſtead of hearkening to the propoſals, ordered Hormiſda privately to diſmiſs the embaſſadors, and give out, that they were only ſome of his old friends come to ſee him; for he apprehended, that both the ſoldiers and officers would have diſapproved of his purſuing ſo dangerous and troubleſome a war, when a peace might have been concluded upon honourable and advantageous terms. The embaſſadors being diſmiſſed, Julian, contrary to the advice of his officers, reſolved to advance farther into Perſia; but the army had no ſooner ſet out on their march, than, changing his mind, he began to think it more adviſeable to turn back, not by the way he came, the country on that ſide being laid waſte, but to take his rout along the banks of the Tigris; which he did accordingly, without ſo much as attempting to reduce Cteſiphon, though he had lain ſeveral days before it. He marched ſome time along the Tigris, which he had on his left, being conducted by guides well acquainted with the country; but who in the end betrayed him: for, as they were natives of Perſia, they perſuaded him to quit the river, and take a quite different rout, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Hormiſda, and all the officers of the army; who, looking upon the guides as perſons ſent by the enemy on purpoſe to lead them into ſome ſnare, did all that lay in their power to divert Julian from following their advice; but he, repoſing in them an entire confidence, reſolved not only to leave the Tigris, but to burn his fleet, leſt the enemy ſhould become maſters of it. This reſolution alarmed the whole army, but was nevertheleſs put immediately

He rejects propoſals of peace.

He turns back without making any attempt upon Cteſiphon.

Deceived by treacherous guides, he burns his fleet.

[x] Ammian. p. 278. Liban. p. 319 Zoſ. p. 726. [y] Ammian. p. 281.

diately in execution, only twelve ſmall veſſels being ſpared, which were to be conveyed over land in waggons, to make bridges, if there ſhould be occaſion. When the fleet was ſet on fire, the army began to mutiny, and cry out with one voice, That the emperor was betrayed; that the pretended guides were real traitors, ſent by the enemy on purpoſe to lead them to deſtruction. Julian, to appeaſe the ſoldiery, ordered the guides to be put to the rack, when they owned themſelves to be what they really were, confeſſing, that, in adviſing him to burn the fleet, they had no other deſign but to ruin him and the army. Hereupon great care was taken to extinguiſh the fire, and ſave the ſhips; but the flames could by no means be overcome, till the whole fleet, except the above-mentioned twelve veſſels, was reduced to aſhes. After this, Julian purſued his march through a country, ſays Ammianus, very fruitful in itſelf, but ravaged and laid waſte by the enemy; inſomuch, that the Romans were reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, and at the ſame time haraſſed without intermiſſion by ſtrong parties, who, in a manner ſurrounding them, attacked them ſometimes in the front, and ſometimes in the rear. Julian, not knowing what rout to take in a ſtrange country and finding his army quite diſpirited, ſummoned a council of all the chief officers of the army, when, after many conſultations, they reſolved to march towards Corduene which lay ſouth of Armenia, and belonged to the Romans. Purſuant to this reſolution, they ſet forward on the ſixteenth of June; but had not marched far, when they diſcovered at ſome diſtance a very numerous army advancing in full march againſt them. This was the Perſian army, commanded by the king in perſon, attended by two of his ſons, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The Romans thought it adviſeable to return to their camp, where they were, in a manner, beſieged the next day by the numerous troops of the enemy. Several ſkirmiſhes happened on that and the ten following days, in which the Perſians were conſtantly put to flight. In a ſharp encounter on the twenty-ſecond of June, almoſt the whole Perſian army engaged; but were, after a very vigorous reſiſtance, put to the rout with great ſlaughter. The Romans remained maſters of the field; but found little ſatisfaction in a victory which could not relieve their wants in a ſtrange country, where no proviſions were to be had, the corn, graſs and every thing elſe, being burnt up by the enemy. Julian himſe

Is reduced to great ſtreights.

Puts the Perſians to flight.

But diſtreſſed for want of proviſions.

[z] Ammian. l. xxiv. p. 281. Liban. p. 301. Zonar. p. 23.

himſelf laboured under the greateſt perplexity and uneaſineſs imaginable, finding the Perſians were reſolved to oppoſe his march, and attempt all means to diſtreſs him, without ever coming to a general engagement. At length, the night preceding the twenty-ſixth of June, as he roſe, according to his cuſtom, about midnight, and was buſied in his tent in reading or writing, he beheld all on a ſudden before him, with a countenance full of ſorrow, the ſpectre repreſenting the genius of the empire, which had appeared to him, as we have related elſewhere, upon his being declared emperor. He was ſomewhat terrified at this unexpected ſight, and at other omens which happened at the ſame time, and were looked upon by the aruſpices as portending ſome great misfortune, if he ſhould undertake any thing that day. But Julian, deſpiſing, contrary to his cuſtom, the predictions of his ſoothſayers, as ſoon as it was day, ordered his army to decamp, being probably no longer able to ſubſiſt in the ſame place. On his march he was attacked on all ſides by the enemy, who, after they had diſcharged their arrows, which never failed doing great execution, retired, without giving him an opportunity of revenging the death of thoſe who fell. In one of theſe ſudden onſets, the emperor haſtening, without his armour, to repulſe the enemy, was mortally wounded by a dart, which, through his arm and ſide, pierced his very liver. Thoſe who were about him, concluding, from his ſinking down upon the neck of his horſe, that he was wounded, conveyed him with all ſpeed upon a large ſhield to his tent, where Oribaſus, a celebrated phyſician and his intimate friend, attempted in vain to ſave him, applying the beſt remedies his art and ſkill could ſuggeſt. However, as the pain began to abate, he called for his arms and horſe, being deſirous to animate his men with his preſence; but his ſtrength not anſwering his courage, as he was greatly weakened by the loſs of blood, he was forced to continue in his tent, while his men filled with rage and breathing revenge, made a dreadful havock of the enemy, till night put an end to the ſlaughter. Fifty Perſian lords of great diſtinction were killed, and an incredible number of other officers and common ſoldiers. The Romans loſt Anatolius, who was magiſter officiorum, and generally eſteemed an officer of great ſkill and experience. The prefect Salluſt was with much-ado ſaved with his apparitors; but Phoſphorius, his vicar, was ſlain, with many others in the right wing, where the emperor commanded. While the fight continued, Julian lay languiſhing in his tent; and being appriſed that his end approached, he addreſſed thoſe

And haraſſed on his march by the Perſian army, and mortally wounded

about him, who ſeemed greatly dejected and concerned, in the following terms: "I am now, my fellow-ſoldiers, cal-
His ſpeech before his death. "led upon to pay the laſt debt of nature, which I do with a "willing and chearful mind, being taught by philoſophy, "that the ſtate of the ſoul is infinitely more happy than that "of the body. Upon this conſideration, I embrace death as "the greateſt bleſſing: it exempts me from the many dan-"gers to which my virtue and reputation were daily expo-"ſed. I have lived, firſt in a private, and afterwards in an "exalted, ſtate, and have ſo behaved in both, as not to be "conſcious to my ſelf of any action, that gives me at preſent "the leaſt remorſe. I have ſtudied to govern with mode-"ration, and being well appriſed, that the end of all govern-"ment is the happineſs of the people, I have, both in "peace and war, endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to ren-"der them happy. I have great reaſon to thank Divine "Providence, for not having ſuffered me to fall by the hands "of conſpirators; to languiſh under a long and troubleſome "diſeaſe; or to die like a criminal, as many innocent "and deſerving perſons have done. I ſubmit with joy to "the eternal and immutable degrees of the gods, though in "the bloom of my age, being ſenſible, that he who is fond "of life, when he ought to die, is as great a coward, as he "who deſires to die when he ought to live. As for my ſuc-"ceſſor, I decline naming any, leſt, through ignorance, I "ſhould paſs by a worthy perſon, or, by naming one equal to "ſo great a truſt, expoſe him to thoſe dangers, which would "inevitably attend his promotion, if it were not univerſally "approved of. I therefore leave the choice to the common "wealth, and, like a dutiful ſon, wiſh her a worthy gover-"nor to ſucceed me." Having thus ſpoken, he diſpoſed of his private eſtate, dividing it amongſt his relations and friends; and not ſeeing Anatolius, enquired after him. Salluſt the prefect told him he was happy, meaning he was dead, according to the expreſſion then in uſe; which ſeemed greatly to affect him; but turning immediately to the philoſophers Maximus and Priſcus, he began to diſcourſe with them concerning the nature of the ſoul: then, calling for a glaſs of cold water, he drank it, and having expreſſed his deſire of being interred at Tarſus in Cilicia, he expired on the
Julian dies. twenty-ſixth of June, a little before midnight. He died in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, after having reigned ſeven years and ſix months, from the time he had been created Cæſar; about three years ſince he had taken the title of Auguſtus, and only twenty months, not quite complete, ſince,

by

by the death of Conſtantius, he became peaceable poſſeſſor of the whole empire. Thus is his death related by Ammianus Marcellinus, who ſerved under him in this very expedition, and was an eye-witneſs of what he wrote [a]. Theodoret tells us, that Julian, when he was firſt wounded, filled his hand with blood iſſuing from the wound, and threw it up into the air, crying out, Thou haſt conquered, O Galilean [b]. The ſame thing is related by Sozomen, who is of opinion, that our Saviour, whom he intended to inſult and blaſpheme with the name of Galilean, appeared to him when he received his wound [c]. But theſe, as well as other chriſtian writers, have been led, by their averſion to an apoſtate from the faith, and a perſecutor of the church, to believe and relate many things concerning him, which were unknown to the pagans, and have all the appearance of fables. Libanius writes, that, at the time of his death, a dreadful earthquake happened in Paleſtine, which entirely ruined ſeveral cities [d]. His body was conveyed by Procopius from Meſopotamia to Tarſus in Cilicia, where it was interred with the uſual ſolemnity [e]; but afterwards transferred from thence, according to Zonaras [f] and Cedrenus [g], to Conſtantinople, and depoſited, with that of Jovian his ſucceſſor, in the porch of the church of the Apoſtles. This tranſlation muſt have happened after the fifth century, ſince Zoſimus has not mentioned it. As for the character of Julian, he was, without all doubt, endowed with extraordinary parts, a great lover of learned men, and himſelf well verſed in moſt branches of literature [h]. Ammianus greatly extols his moderation and the mildneſs of his temper, no leſs oppoſite to that of his brother Gallus, than the temper of Titus was to that of Domitian [i]. He could never endure the title of dominus or lord, though common to all princes ever ſince the time of Dioclefian, and had even ſome thoughts of quitting the diadem, which, for many years, had been looked upon as one of the badges of the ſovereign power [k]. He made it his chief ſtudy to eaſe the people, leſſening the taxes throughout the empire, and exacting no more than was abſolutely neceſſary for the defence and ſupport of the ſtate [l]. All

His character.

[a] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 287—295. [b] Theodoret. l. iii. c. 20. p. 658. [c] Soz. l. vi. c. 2. p. 638. [d] Liban. vit. p. 45. & orat. xi. p. 258. [e] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 305. [f] Zonar. p. 24. [g] Cedren. p. 78. Vide Cange urb. Conſtantinop. deſcrip. l. iv. p. 110. [h] Vict. epit. p. 545. [i] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 63. & l. xxii. p. 221. [k] Liban. orat. xii. p. 305. [l] Ammian. l. xvi. xvii. xviii. p. 63. 90. 114.

the cities uſed, purſuant to an antient cuſtom, to preſent the new prince with crowns of gold, ſome of which weighed a thouſand, and ſome two thouſand, ounces, and upwards; but Julian enacted a law, forbidding any city, however rich or populous, to offer a crown weighing above ſeventy ounces. He would not ſuffer his officers or miniſters to receive preſents from the people, upon any conſideration whatſoever; nor the ſoldiers to injure in the leaſt the ſubjects or allies of the empire, through whoſe country they marched [m]. Libanius ſpeaks much at length of the extraordinary care he took in regulating the public carriages, in chuſing worthy magiſtrates, in clearing the high-ways of robbers, and in relieving ſeveral cities, reduced by heavy taxes to a moſt miſerable condition [n]. His bed, ſays Mamertinus, was as pure and chaſte as that of a veſtal virgin [o]; and Ammianus, that he was an utter ſtranger to all unlawful pleaſures, and a declared enemy to lewdneſs and debauchery [p]. He was generous, adds the ſame author, valiant, ſincere in his friendſhip, and kind to all, eſpecially to ſuch as were in diſtreſs, and moſt wanted his aſſiſtance [q]. Prudentius ſpeaks of him as a prince who deſerved well of the empire, both as a general and a law-giver [r]. He was not, however, even in the opinion of his admirers, without ſome faults. Ammianus owns him to have been of a fickle and changeable temper, ambitious beyond meaſure of popular applauſe, elated with the leaſt ſucceſs, and talkative to ſuch a degree, that his tongue never lay ſtill [s]. The ſame writer accuſes him of cruelty and ingratitude, in condemning Urſula, to whom he owed the greateſt obligations; and Libanius, though highly prejudiced in his favour, cannot help allowing him to have been ſuperſtitious to exceſs, inconſiderate on many occaſions, and too much addicted to his own ſentiments [t]. Ammianus blames the cenſorious temper, which he betrayed in a manner unworthy of a philoſopher, and below the dignity of a prince, in his miſopogon, and his Cæſars, not ſparing even the excellent emperor M. Aurelius. The pagan writers themſelves, namely Eutropius [u], Themiſtius [w], and Ammianus Marcellinus [x], own, that his conduct towards the chriſtians was repugnant to the laws of humanity, and deſerved to

[m] Liban. p. 305. [n] Idem. p. 296—298. [o] Panegyr. xi. p. 230. [p] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 292. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Prud. apol. c. 4. p. 163. [s] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 206. [t] Liban. orat. xii. p. 304. [u] Eutrop. p. 589 [w] Themiſt. orat. v. p. 69. [x] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. p. 294.

to be buried in oblivion; which is more than a chriſtian writer of our days ſeems willing to allow. As for the chriſtian writers of antient times, they repreſent Julian as one inclined to, and guilty of, the moſt enormous crimes; but craftily diſguiſing them with a falſe ſhew of the oppoſite virtues. In theſe colours the reader will find his portrait drawn by Socrates in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory [y], and by Gregory Nazianzen in the oration he wrote a few days after Julian's death [z]. But whether the pagans were quite unbiaſſed by favour, and the chriſtians by prejudice, is what we ſubmit to the judgment of the reader. We will not take upon us to queſtion the truth of what the panegyriſts and admirers of Julian have written concerning his other virtues; but, as to his chaſtity, we are not fully convinced, that it deſerved thoſe mighty encomiums, which Mamertinus [a], Libanius [b], and Ammianus Marcellinus [c], have been pleaſed to beſtow upon it; for on one ſide it is certain, that by Helena, his only wife, he had but one ſon, whom the midwife, bribed by the empreſs Euſebia, deſtroyed as ſoon as born [d]. On the other ſide, Julian himſelf, in a letter which he wrote in 363, that is, three years after the death of Helena, mentions his children, and the perſon who was charged with the care of their education [e]. Codin likewiſe, in his antiquities of Conſtantinople, takes notice of ſeveral ſtatues erected to Julian, and his children [f]. His bed therefore, to uſe the expreſſion of Mamertinus [g], was not perhaps quite ſo pure and undefiled as that of a veſtal virgin. The great Chryſoſtom deſcribes the court of Julian, while he reſided at Conſtantinople, crouded with aruſpices, aſtrologers, magicians, young debauchees, and public proſtitutes. The latter, at leaſt, were not proper attendants for one, who pretended to rival the purity of the veſtals. But we will not lay any ſtreſs on the teſtimony of a chriſtian, and conſequently, as may be objected, a prejudiced writer, though he ſolemnly declares, that he himſelf, and all the inhabitants of Conſtantinople, to whom he appeals, were eye-witneſſes of what he advances [h]. As for Julian's ſo much boaſted moderation, Ammianus himſelf acknowledges, that it was ſometimes owing more to policy, than to the natural mildneſs of his temper [i]. Libanius charges him with want of judgment in the choice of miniſters, and of due care in watching

[y] Socrat. l. iii. c. 21. p. 193. [z] Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 138. [a] Panegyr. xi. p. 230. [b] Liban. orat. xii. p. 292. [c] Ammian l. xxv. p. 292. [d] Idem, l. xvi. p. 72. [e] Julian. ep. 40. p. 184. [f] Codin. antiq. Conſt. p. 19. [g] Panegyr. xi. p. 231. [h] Chry. in gent. p. 676. [i] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226, 227.

ing their conduct; whence ſome of them, concludes that writer, brought no ſmall diſgrace upon his government [k]. Libanius writes, that Julian was appriſed of, but winked at, their faults, that he might not ſeem inconſtant in his friendſhip [l]. Ammianus owns, that his court was not quite free from bribery and corruption [m]. In what related to the Divinity, ſays the ſame writer, he was rather ſuperſtitious than religious, ſacrificing daily innumerable victims procured at a vaſt expence; which proved very burdenſome to the ſtate, and at the ſame time highly prejudicial to the military diſcipline, the ſoldiers, with whom he feaſted on the victims, returning almoſt every day drunk to their quarters [n]. Had he returned victorious from his Perſian expedition, continues the ſame writer, he would ſcarce have left a bullock alive in the whole empire [o]. We need not therefore recur to the teſtimony of the chriſtian writers, to ſhew, that the many virtues aſcribed to him by the pagans, were not without the allay of ſeveral vices and imperfections. In ſhort, he did not perhaps deſerve the bitter reproaches with which he was traduced as the worſt of princes by the chriſtians, nor the mighty encomiums beſtowed upon him as the beſt of princes by the pagans.

THE news of his death was received with inexpreſſible joy by the chriſtians, and with the deepeſt concern by the pagans. The meſſenger who brought it to Carrhæ, was either ſtoned to death by the populace [w], or with much-ado eſcaped the fury of the enraged multitude [x]. Several cities placed the image of the deceaſed prince amongſt thoſe of their gods, and paid it the ſame honours. Libanius, tranſported with grief when he firſt heard of his death, determined to lay violent hands on himſelf, not caring to outlive him; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he changed his mind, and choſe to live, that he might have the ſatisfaction, as he himſelf tells us, of compiling his funeral oration. He wrote two diſcourſes on this occaſion, the one to expreſs his own grief [y], the other to ſet forth the praiſes of Julian [z]. From the latter, which contains the whole hiſtory of Julian's life, and from the two orations written much about the ſame time, and on the ſame ſubject, by Gregory Nazianzen, an impartial reader will conclude, that both writers were ſtrangely biaſſed and prejudiced, the one

[k] Eutrop. p. 519. [l] Liban. p. 307. [m] Idem, p. 220.
[n] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 294. [o] Idem, l. xxii. p. 225. [w] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 733. [x] Lib. or. xii. p. 330. [y] Lib. or. xi.
[z] Idem, or. xii.

one in his favour, the other againſt him. Julian not only renounced the chriſtian religion, whence he was ſurnamed the Apoſtate, but betrayed a mortal hatred to thoſe who profeſſed it, traducing them with the name of Galileans, as he impiouſly ſtyled our Saviour the Galilean, debarring them from all honours and employments, both civil and military, and prohibiting them either to teach or learn the ſciences, which to Ammianus himſelf ſeemed inconſiſtent with the laws of humanity [a]. But we refer our readers to the eccleſiaſtic writers for a more particular account of the perſecution he raiſed againſt the church, and of his wild attempt to reſtore Judaiſm, and rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, which is ſaid, by Ammianus and others, to have been miraculouſly defeated by balls of fire iſſuing out of the earth, and deſtroying both the work and the workmen. Of the ſeveral writers who flouriſhed unper Julian, the reader will find a ſuccinct account in note (I).

[a] Ammian. l. xxii. p. 222. & l. xxv. or. 294.

(I) Ammianus Marcellinus, in his hiſtory of the emperors, gives us a more particular account of Julian's reign, than any other writer. As he was a pagan, he beſtows great encomiums upon a prince who did all that lay in his power to reſtore paganiſm. However, he was not ſo prejudiced in his favour, as not to blame in him what he thought blame-worthy. Eunapius, a moſt zealous ſtickler for the antient religion of the Romans, that is, for idolatry, often mentions and highly commends Julian in his hiſtory of the ſophiſts. He had written the hiſtory of his reign in ſeveral books (1); but whether that was a different work from his general hiſtory of the emperors, is what we are no-where told. But of Ammianus Marcellinus and Eunapius, we ſhall ſpeak at the end of the reign of Valens. Calliſtus, one of Julian's officers, wrote in verſe, according to Socrates (2), the hiſtory of that prince; but his work has not reached our times. Voſſius tells us, that Calliſtus attended Julian in his Perſian expedition (3), which muſt be a conjecture of his own; for we find no ſuch thing in Socrates, the only writer who mentions him. Julian himſelf deſerves to be ranked among the writers of his life; for he wrote the hiſtory of his wars in Gaul (4), which has been long ſince loſt; and gives us an account of the moſt remarkable paſſages of his life in his Miſopogon, in his letter to the Athenians, (of which two pieces we have ſpoken above) and in

(1) Eunap. c. 5. p. 76, 77. (2) Socr. l. iii. c. 21. p. 195. (3) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. iv. c. 18. p. 486. (4) Lib. or. v. p. 178.

in the writings which he publiſhed in the year 362, the one upon Cybele, the other againſt a Cynic philoſopher (5). He wrote another diſcourſe againſt the Cynics, particularly againſt one Heraclius or Heraclitus (6). From that piece it appears, that he was ſtrangely importuned by thoſe philoſophers, and that he entertained no better opinion of them, than of the chriſtian monks, to whom he compares them. His diſcourſe to Themiſtius is, properly ſpeaking, a letter, in which he anſwers that philoſopher, who had written to him from Conſtantinople, magnifying the hopes and expectation of the people, in ſeeing one raiſed to the empire, who profeſſed the ſtudy of philoſophy. Julian tells him in his anſwer, that when he reflects on the duties incumbent on a prince, and the great difficulty of diſcharging them well, the mighty hopes that the world entertained of him, ſerved rather to diſhearten than encourage him (7). This is the whole ſubject of the letter, which ſeems to have been written ſoon after Julian was raiſed to the dignity of Cæſar. In the manuſcript copy of this letter are ſeveral paſſages, which ſeem quite foreign to the purpoſe, and are thought by ſome to be fragments of a treatiſe, containing ſeveral inſtructions, addreſſed to a pagan pontiff, concerning the duties of his office (8). Petavius is of opinion, that they were addreſſed to Arſaces, pontiff of Galatia, to whom Julian wrote his forty-ninth letter (9). But the moſt famous of all Julian's works is that intituled the Cæſars, which in reality is a ſatire on all the emperors from Julius Cæſar to Conſtantine and his children. It begins with a kind of dialogue (10). From the injurious and abuſive manner he ſpeaks of Conſtantine, we may conclude, that he wrote it after the death of Conſtantius, or at leaſt after he had openly declared againſt him. Socrates aſcribes to a vanity, unworthy of a prince, his thus ridiculing all his predeceſſors, without ſparing even M. Aurelius (11), whom he had propoſed to himſelf for his pattern (12). Voſſius aſſures us (13), that in the antient copies this work is ſtyled Saturnalia, and the banquet; a title which well ſuits it; for it was written during the Saturnalia, or the feaſts of Saturn, that is, about the end of December, in 361, or 362, and Julian in the work introduces Romulus entertaining the gods at a banquet in the time of the Saturnalia (14). But Suidas ſuppoſes the Cæſars and the Saturnalia to be two different works, and quotes ſome things out of the latter, which are not to be found in the former (15). Julian himſelf ſpeaks of

(5) Julian. or. vii. p. 382. Suid. p. 1248. (6) Julian. ibid. p. 716—718. (7) Julian. ad Themiſt. p. 490, &c. (8) Idem, frag. p. 528. (9) Julian. ep. xlix. p. 202. (10) Idem, Cæſ. p. 3—5. (11) Socr. l. iii. c. 1. & 23. p. 179, 198. (12) Julian. ad Themiſt. p. 466. (13) Voſſ. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. c. 18. p. 250. (14) Julian. Cæſ. p. 3—5 (15) Suid. p. 1247.

of his Saturnalia as addreſſed to Salluſt (16), which cannot be ſaid of the Cæſars. He quotes the former work in a diſcourſe which he wrote on the ſun, and likewiſe inſcribed to Salluſt. This piece he compoſed in three nights, perhaps about the twenty-fifth of December, when the pagans celebrated the feaſt of the ſun; for Julian honoured that luminary as his chief deity (17). Suidas aſcribes two other works to him, the one on the three figures, which he does not explain, and the other on the origin of evils; but both theſe works, as well as that which he wrote againſt the chriſtians, have been long ſince loſt. He wrote ſeveral letters, of which ſixty-four have reached our times, not counting thoſe which, by reaſon of their length, have been ranked among his diſcourſes. Libanius, who pretends to have brought the epiſtolary ſtyle to its greateſt perfection, ſhares that glory with Julian, the elegance of whoſe letters he greatly commends and admires (18). Under Julian flouriſhed Proereſes, a chriſtian ſophiſt, highly eſteemed for his learning and eloquence. Eunapius, who was his diſciple, gives us the following account of him: He was a native of Armenia, deſcended of a noble family, but reduced to poverty; exceeding well-ſhaped, though of a gigantic ſtature, and reſembling a coloſſus (19). He left his native country when very young, and ſtudied firſt at Antioch, under one Ulpianus, and afterwards at Athens, where he was diſciple to one Julian, who in dying bequeathed him his houſe. He likewiſe ſucceeded Julian in his employment, and taught eloquence with ſuch reputation and applauſe, that the other profeſſors, jealous of his great credit, prevailed upon the proconſul to baniſh him from Athens (20); but he was ſoon recalled by the emperor's order, and reſtored to his former employment. All thoſe who came from Pontus, and the other parts of Aſia Minor, or from Egypt and Libya, ſtudied under him (21). Among theſe we may reckon the great Baſil and Gregory Nazianzen; for they came from Cappadocia to ſtudy eloquence at Athens while he taught there. He was afterwards invited into Gaul by Conſtans, who received him with extraordinary marks of eſteem, perhaps becauſe he paſſed for a chriſtian, ſays Eunapius (22); but St. Jerom aſſures us, that he was truly a chriſtian (23). Suidas confounded Conſtantine with Conſtans, when he wrote, that Conſtantine paid him great honours (24). The Gauls, ſays Eunapius, who were no judges of his genius, nor capable of reliſhing his eloquent ſpeeches, admired his ſtature and mein, and, above all, his patience in bearing the cold of their country, though he uſed no ſhoes,

(16) Julian. ibid. p. 303. & or iv. p. 294. (17) Idem, or. iv. p. 291, 292. (18) Lib. or. v. p. 184. (19) Eunap. c. 1. p. 102. (20) Idem, c. 7. p. 96—101. (21) Idem. p. 110, 111. (22) Idem, p. 121, 122. (23) Hier. ad ann. 363. (24) Suid. p. 596.

ſhoes, and was only defended againſt the inclemency of that climate by a thin cloak (25). He was afterwards ſent by Conſtan to Rome, where the ſenate cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him with this inſcription; Rome, the queen of cities, to the king o eloquence. When he left Rome, about the year 349, to retur to Athens, Conſtans beſtowed great revenues upon him, with the honorary title of general of the Roman armies. The Romans upon his departure, begged him to ſend one of his diſciples tc teach eloquence at Rome. He complied with their requeſt, an ſent them one Euſebius, a native of Alexandria; a perſon fit tc live at Rome, ſays Eunapius, becauſe well verſed in the art o flattery (26). Julian, who had, no boubt, been acquainted with Proereſes at Athens, wrote a very kind and obliging letter to him, which is ſtill extant (27). When that prince publiſhed the famous edict, forbiding all chriſtians to learn or teach the ſciences, he excepted Proereſes; but he, ſcorning to accept the favour, reſigned of his own accord his profeſſorſhip; which greatly provoked Julian, who, out of pique to Proereſes, heaped great honours upon Libanius (28). The generous conduct of Proereſes on this occaſion makes us queſtion the truth of what we read of him in Eunapius; viz. that he had recourſe to the pontiff of Eleuſine, to know whether Julian was to reign long; and that, being aſſured his reign would prove ſhort, he took courage, and reſolved not to renounce the chriſtian religion (29). Eunapius betrays on all occaſions ſuch an inveterate hatred againſt the chriſtian religion, that we cannot give credit to any thing he writes on that head. After the death of Julian, Proereſes was, it ſeems, re-inſtated in his profeſſorſhip, when Eunapius ſtudied under him for the ſpace of five years, and then returned to Lydia, his native country. He owns, that Proereſes inſtructed him with no leſs care than if he had been his own ſon. Proereſes died ſoon after, perhaps in 368, being then about ninety-two years old; for he was eighty-ſeven when Eunapius began to ſtudy under him, in the end of 363, which was the firſt of Jovian's reign (30). He left no works behind him, beſides his declamations (31). Oribaſus, a famous phyſician, was a native of Pergamus in Aſia, according to Eunapius (32); of Sardis, according to Philoſtorgius (33) and Suidas (34). He ſtudied phyſic under Zeno o Cyprus, to whom Julian wrote a letter, inviting him back to A lexandria; whence George, the famous Arian biſhop, had cauſe him to be baniſhed (35). When Julian was created Cæſar, h

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(25) Idem. p. 222, 223. (26) Idem, p. 25. (27) Ju lian. ep. ii. p. 116. (28) Suid. p. 596. (29) Eunap. c 8. p. 26. (30) Idem. ibid. (31) Suid. p, 59 (32) Eunap. c. 5. p. 76. & c. 19. p. 139. (33) Philoſ. vii. c. 15. p. 205. (34) Suid. p. 329. (35) Julian. ep xiv. p. 198.

took Oribaſus with him into Gaul, and repoſed ſuch confidence in him, ſays Eunapius (36), as to make him privy to his greateſt ſecrets, that is, to his idolatry; for Oribaſus was himſelf a pagan. The ſame author writes, that Oribaſus was famous, not only for his ſkill in phyſic, but for his other extraordinary talents, which procured the empire to Julian (37); but explains himſelf no farther. Oribaſus, at the requeſt of Julian, abridged, firſt, the works of Galen, and afterwards thoſe of all the moſt able phyſicians. Both theſe works were inſcribed to Julian, as appears from the prefaces, which have been tranſmitted to us by Photius (38). Photius prefers the ſecond work to the firſt; nay, and to all the books of phyſic which had been publiſhed till his time. It conſiſted of ſeventy books; but only the firſt fifteen, with the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, printed at Paris in 1555, have reached our times. Oribaſus himſelf, by a ſecond abridgment, reduced his ſeventy books to nine, which he addreſſed to his ſon Euſtathius (39). The reader will find an abſtract of this work in Photius (40), who obſerves, that they may prove very uſeful to thoſe who are already acquainted with phyſic, by refreſhing the memory of what they have learnt; but may lead new beginners into great miſtakes (41). Oribaſus wrote another abridgment of the ſame nature in four books, which he inſcribed to Eunapius, probably the author of the lives of the ſophiſts, at whoſe requeſt he had undertaken it (42). This work is ſtill extant. To theſe Photius adds four other books of phyſic inſcribed to one Eugenius; but ſo like thoſe addreſſed to Eunapius, that he ſuſpects them to be a ſuppoſititious work (43). Beſides the works we have already mentioned, Photius ſuppoſes Oribaſus to have publiſhed ſeven more on the ſame ſubject (44). He would not have us to mind the ſtyle of that writer, becauſe his works, ſays he, are abſtracts of different authors; and beſides, elegancy of ſtyle is what we muſt not expect from a phyſician (45). Suidas ſuppoſes Oribaſus to have inſcribed to Julian ſeventy-two books, and to have publiſhed, beſides four books on the doubts and difficulties of phyſicians, a work on royalty, and another on maladies (46). He adds, that Oribaſus was created by Julian quæſtor of the city of Conſtantinople; an employment unknown to other writers. He attended Julian into Perſia, and did all that lay in his power to cure his wound, but without ſucceſs. After the death of that prince, his patron and benefactor, he was ſtripped of all his wealth, and baniſhed to the countries

(36) Eunap. c. 29. p. 140. (37) Idem, ibid. (38) Phot. c. 216, 217. p. 556, 557. (39) Idem, c. 218. p. 557. (40) Idem, p. 560. (41) Oribaſ. p. 2. (42) Phot. c. 219. p. 561. (43) Idem, p. 564. & c. 216. p. 564. (44) Idem ibid. (45) Idem ibid. (46) Suid. p. 329.

countries of the barbarians (47), or abandoned, to uſe the expreſſion of Eunapius, to the barbarians, who were moſt noted for their cruelty (48.) However, he was greatly reſpected by them, and honoured by their princes, on account of the art he profeſſed. At length the Roman emperors recalled him, and reſtored to him his eſtate and all his effects (49). He gave ſome eaſe to Chryſanthus in his laſt malady at Sardes; but could not cure him (50). He was ſtill living when Eunapius wrote the lives of the ſophiſts, that is, about the year 400. Among Julian's letters, there is one to him, written about the year 358 (51). Himeras, a celebrated ſophiſt in Julian's time, was a native of Bithynia, and the ſon of Aminius, who taught rhetoric at Pruſa in the ſame province (52). Himeras and Proereſes, of whom we have ſpoken above, were at the ſame time profeſſors of eloquence at Athens and rivals (53). Photius ſuppoſes him to have likewiſe taught at Corinth (54). Julian invited him afterwards to Conſtantinople, and received him upon his arrival with extraordinary marks of friendſhip and eſteem. He continued in court till the death of that prince, and then returned to Athens (55). He lived to a great age, in which he loſt his ſight, and was beſides afflicted with a leproſy. He left behind him ſeveral declamations, and other pieces of that nature (56). He was, as plainly appears from his writings, a pagan. Eunapius commends his ſtyle (57), as does likewiſe Photius, who has tranſmitted to us abſtracts of ſome of his works (58). In the hiſtory of Julian's reign, we have mentioned the philoſopher Maximus, who firſt inclined that prince to idolatry and the ſtudy of magic. He was a native, either of Smyrna, as we read in Eunapius (59); or of Epheſus, as Ammianus will have it (60); and brother to the philoſopher Claudianus, who taught at Alexandria, and to the ſophiſt Nymphidianus, profeſſor of rhetoric at Smyrna, and afterward ſecretary to Julian. Maximus muſt have been well verſed in polite learning, ſince Julian ſubmitted all his compoſitions to his judgment (61); and Eunapius has placed his life among thoſe of the ſophiſts, tho' he is commonly ſtyled Maximus the philoſopher. Julian invited him to court about the beginning of the year 362, where he behaved, as Eunapius himſelf owns

(47) Philoſtorg. l. vii. c. 15. p. 105. (48) Eunap. c. 19. p. 140. (49) Idem, p. 141, 142. (50) Idem, c. 21. p. 160. (51) Julian. ep. xix. p. 135. (52) Phot. c. 165. p. 363. Eunap. c. 12. p. 129. (53) Eunap. c. 8. p. 119. (54) Phot. c. 165. p. 352. (55) Eunap. p. 129. (56) Idem c. 12 p. 129. Suid. p. 1239. (57) Eunap. p. 129. (58) Phot. c. 165. p. 352. & c. 243. p. 1076, 1144. (59) Eunap. c. 5. p. 67. & 16. p. 137. (60) Ammian. l. xxix. p. 390. (61) Julian. ep. xvi. p. 131.

owns (62), in a manner altogether unworthy of a philoſopher. He returned to his native country, as appears from Julian's letters (*) for the recovery of his health; but came again to court, and, together with Priſcus, attended Julian in his Parthian expedition (63). Theſe two were, without all doubt, in the number of thoſe obſtinate and ignorant philoſophers, who, according to Ammianus, bore great ſway at court, and put the emperor upon that wild enterprize, againſt the ſentiments of the officers of the army (64). Hence, when news of Julian's death was brought to Antioch, the people, in the tranſports of their joy, cried out, Thus are the predictions of the falſe prophet Maximus fulfilled (65). Eunapius writes, that Jovian continued to honour Maximus, and the other philoſophers, who had followed Julian (66). Be that as it will, they were treated in a very different manner by Valentinian and Valens, who hated all the friends of Julian; and, above the reſt, theſe two philoſophers accuſed, as they were addicted to the ſtudy of magic, of having brought upon the princes the maladies with which they were both ſeized about the beginning of April in 364 (67). Priſcus, however, was cleared; but the ſoldiery and populace were, with much ado, reſtrained by Salluſtius Secundus from tearing Maximus to pieces. Having eſcaped the rage of the multitude, he was condemned to pay a greater fine than he was able to diſcharge, and kept a cloſe priſoner till the end of the year 365 (68); when, by the mediation of Themiſtius, who recommended him to Valens, in a ſpeech pronounced before that prince, and by the intereſt of Clearchus, a zealous pagan, he was ſet at liberty, and not only forgiven the fine, but reſtored to his eſtate, and ſuffered to come to Conſtantinople, where he was very well received (69). But his happineſs was ſhort-lived; for he was accuſed, with ſeveral other philoſophers, as a magician in 371, found guilty of magical practices; and, being ſentenced to death with the reſt, was beheaded at Epheſus the ſame year (70). Suidas aſcribes to Maximus, the maſter of Julian the apoſtate, ſeveral rhetorical and philoſophical pieces, ſome of which were addreſſed to Julian himſelf; but adds, that he was a native of Epirus or Byzantium (71): on the other hand, Socrates warns us not to confound Maximus of Byzantium, the father of Euclid, with Maximus of Epheſus, who induced

(62) Eunap. c. 5. p 77, 79. (*) Julian. ep. xv. xvi. xxxviii. (63) Eunap. c. 5. p. 81. Ammian. l. xxv. p. 291. (64) Ammian. l. xxiii p. 245. (65) Theodoret. l. iii. c. 22. p. 659. (66) Eunap. c. 5. p. 82. (67) Zoſ. l. iv. p. 734, 735. (68) Idem, p. 374. Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315. Eunap. c. 5. p. 83. Themiſt. or. vii. p. 100. (69) Themiſt. ibid. p. 99, 100. Eunap. p. 84—87. (70) Ammian. l. xxix. p. 390. Socr p. 39. Eunap. p. 87. (71) Suid. p. 92.

induced Julian to embrace the worſhip of the gods (72). Chryſanthus was a native of Sardes in Lydia, in which city his father was ſenator. He ſtudied with Maximus under Edeſus of Cappadocia, a Platonic philoſopher and magician; and then returned to his native city, where he continued, notwithſtanding the repeated and preſſing ſolicitations of Julian and Maximus, inviting him to court. Julian created him pontiff of Lydia, in which employment he had the prudence not to diſoblige the chriſtians, as we have obſerved already; and therefore was ſuffered by the chriſtian emperors to live unmoleſted (73). He lived to the age of eighty (74). After his death, Eunapius, who was his wife's couſin, and had been his diſciple, wrote his life, and frequently mentions him in his hiſtory of the ſophiſts, which he had undertaken at his requeſt (75). Suidas likewiſe ſpeaks of him, but does not inform us whether or no he left any works behind him (76). Priſcus was born in the country of the Moloſſi, or Theſproti, in Epirus; and ſtudied under Edeſus, with Maximus and Chryſanthus. Afterwards he retired to Greece, whence he was invited by Julian to court, and complied with the invitation. He was perhaps more eſteemed by that prince than Maximus himſelf. He attended the emperor to Antioch, and there prevailed upon him to admit Libanius, to his preſence, and even to receive him in a friendly manner, though he was not a little prejudiced againſt him (77). He followed Julian into Perſia, and was accuſed, with Maximus, of magical practices under Valens; but diſcharged, and ſuffered to return to Greece, where he lived to the age of ninety, and upwards (78); and was killed, with many others, by the barbarians (79), that is, we ſuppoſe, by the Goths, who, in 395, or 396, ravaged Greece under the conduct of the famous Alaric. Julian in his letters, beſtows great commendations on one George, a receiver of the public revenues; on the philoſopher Eugenius, whom ſome take to be the father of Themiſtius; and on Ecebolus, under whom he ſtudied rhetoric (80). As the celebrated ſophiſt Libanius lived long after Julian's time, we ſhall ſpeak of him in a more proper place.

(72) Socr. l. iii. c. 1. p. 165. (73) Eunap. c. 5. p. 69, 80. & c. 12. p. 144—149. (74) Idem, p. 152. (75) Idem, p. 153. (76) Suid. p. 1155. (77) Eunap. c. 5. p. 59. Lib. vit. p. 42. (78) Eunap. ibid. c. 81. Ammian. l. xxv. p. 291. (79) Eunap. c. 5. p. 75. (80) Julian. ep. viii. p. 121, 314. ep. liv. p. 218. ep. xviii. p. 135. ep. xix. xliii. p. 136, 196.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Roman *hiſtory, from the death of* Julian, *to the death of* Valens.

THE death of Julian was no ſooner known, than the chief officers of the army aſſembled, and, with one conſent, choſe Jovian to ſucceed him [b], who was accordingly ſaluted with the title of Jovianus Auguſtus, the day after Julian's death; that is, the twenty-ſeventh of June of this year 363. He was the only ſurviving child of Verronianus, who was a native of Singidunum in Pannonia, or rather in Mœſia [c]; and had lately reſigned the eminent poſt of comes domeſticorum, to lead a private and retired life. He was reckoned one of the beſt commanders of his time, and the reputation, which he had acquired in the army, greatly contributed to the promotion of his ſon [d]. The firſt thing Jovian did after his election was, to name him for his collegue in the conſulſhip againſt the enſuing year; for Verronianus was ſaid to have been foretold in a dream, that his ſon ſhould be one day raiſed to the empire, and he to the conſulſhip; but he died before he had the honour of diſcharging that office, or the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his ſon emperor, though he had been informed of his promotion [e]. Jovian, or Flavius Claudius Jovianus, as he is ſtyled on an antient coin, was born about the year 331, and married Carito, the daughter of Lucillianus, a commander of great renown, often mentioned by Ammianus. By her he had, according to Philoſtorgius [f], a ſon named Verronianus, who was born about the time Jovian was created emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no farther mention; nay, Zonaras tells us in expreſs terms, that Verronianus was his only child [g]. As Jovian was not only a true, but a pious and zealous, chriſtian, we ſhall not copy his character from the chriſtian writers, who may be ſuſpected of partiality, but from the pagans, who cannot be thought to have been biaſſed in his favour. Among theſe Eutropius commends his affable, mild, and generous temper; and adds, that no one could, with

[b] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 226. [c] Vict. epit. [d] Ammian. ibid. p. 308. Themiſt. orat. v. p. 65. [e] Ammian. Themiſt. ibid. Socrat. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. [f] Philoſtorg. l. viii. c. 8. p. 112. [g] Zon. p. 25.

juſtice, accuſe him of neglect or imprudence in the diſcharge of his duty [h]. Ammianus Marcellinus [i] and Victor the younger [k] deſcribe him as well-ſhaped in his perſon, of a majeſtic air, of a gay and agreeable aſpect, of an even, affable, and courteous temper, naturally inclined to mercy, and a great encourager of learning, being himſelf pretty well acquainted with the ſciences. From the few officers he preferred during his ſhort reign, we may judge, adds Ammianus, how careful and circumſpect he would have been in the diſtribution of offices, had he lived longer. Themiſtius beſtows upon him ſtill greater encomiums [l]; but we lay no great ſtreſs upon them, as coming from a panegyriſt. On the other hand, Suidas [m] paints him in quite different colours, following therein, as we imagine, Eunapius, who, by his implacable hatred to the chriſtian religion, was often led into groſs miſtakes. Ammianus does not forget to mention his vices, as well as his virtues, telling us, that he was naturally timorous, a great eater, and much addicted to wine and women [n].

Jovian's character.

The ſame author obſerves, that Jovian had a great reſpect and veneration for the law of the chriſtians [o]; and truly he had always made an open profeſſion of the chriſtian religion, even in the reign of Julian, deſpiſing both his threats and promiſes [p]. Socrates [q], Suidas [r], and Nicephorus [s], tell us, that Julian having ordered all the chriſtian officers in his army, either to renounce their religion, or quit the ſervice, Jovian, at that time tribune, reſigned his poſt without the leaſt heſitation; but Julian would not ſuffer him to retire, nay, he afterwards employed him in the Perſian war; for he was at the emperor's death, the firſt among thoſe officers who were ſtyled domeſtici [t]. Zoſimus writes, that he was raiſed to the empire by the chief officers, at the requeſt of the whole army [u]; for Suidas himſelf owns him to have been an excellent commander, though, at the time of his election, he was ſcarce thirty-two years old [w]. His promotion was no-ways agreeable to the pagans, as appears from the manner in which Ammianus Marcellinus ſpeaks of it. Rufinus [x], Socrates [y], Sozomen

[h] Eutrop. p. 589. [i] Ammian. p. 296. [k] Vict. p. 79. [l] Themiſt. orat. v. p. 63. [m] Suid. p. 1244. [n] Ammian. p. 300, 308. [o] Idem, l. xxi. p. 201. [p] Theodoret. l. iv. c. 1, p. 660. [q] Socrat. l. iii. c. 22. p. 195. [r] Suid. ibid. [s] Niceph. l. x. c. 38. p. 94. [t] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 226. [u] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 729. [w] Suid. ibid. [x] Ruf. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. [y] Socrat. l. iii. c. 22. p. 195.

zomen [z], and Theodoret [a], aſſure us, that he would not accept the empire, and the command of the army, till all the ſoldiers had declared themſelves chriſtians, and ſolemnly renounced the impious ceremonies which they had practiſed under Julian; on which account he is honoured by Rufinus with the title of confeſſor. It is not therefore probable, that he paid any regard to the anſwer of thoſe, who, having conſulted, ſurely without his conſent, the entrails of the victims, promiſed ſafety, if the army decamped; but inevitable deſtruction if he continued in the ſame place [b]. The army was, as we have related, in a ſtrange country, far from home, with a provoked enemy round them, quite deſtitute of neceſſaries, and conſequently reduced to the neceſſity of periſhing, either with hunger, or by the arms of the incenſed Perſians. Jovian, who was obliged to ſtruggle with two ſuch formidable enemies, did not ſo much dread the latter as the former; nay, he repulſed the Perſians with great ſlaughter as often as they ventured to attack him, as Ammianus tells us in expreſs terms [c]; which is ſufficient to refute what Libanius writes of the great advantages gained over Jovian by the Perſians [d]. But the valour and experience of Jovian was no proof againſt the famine which raged in his camp, and would not have left one man alive in the whole army, had not heaven unexpectedly declared in his favour, to uſe the expreſſion of Ammianus, by inclining the enemy to offer conditions of peace at ſo critical a conjuncture [e]. That writer is of opinion, that the Perſians, out of mere pity and compaſſion, ſet on foot a treaty [f]; and Libanius cannot conceive what could induce them to think of a peace, when they had reaſon to promiſe themſelves the greateſt advantages from the continuation of the war [g]. The negotiations laſted four days, which proved more inſupportable to the Romans, ſays Ammianus [h], than the greateſt torments, by reaſon of the famine which raged in the camp. Beſides the dreadful extremity to which the army was reduced, Jovian was apprehenſive, and not without reaſon, of the deſigns of Procopius, Julian's kinſman. No wonder therefore that he ſubmitted to a peace upon terms diſhonourable, we own, in themſelves, but abſolutely neceſſary to extricate himſelf, and ſo many brave

The army reduced to great ſtreights.

Jovian obliged to ſubmit to the terms propoſed by the Perſians.

[z] Soz. l. vi. c. 3, p. 635. [a] Theodor. l. iv c. 1. p. 660, 661 [b] Ammian. p. 297. [c] Idem. ibid. & p. 298. [d] Lib. or. xii. p. 324. [e] Ammian. p. 299. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Lib. pro templis, &c. p. 24, 25. [h] Ammian. ibid. [i] Idem l. xxiii. p. 240.

brave men, out of the difficulties, into which the temerity and imprudence of Julian had led them. A peace was agreed on for thirty, or, as Rufinus will have it [k], for twenty-nine, years, upon Jovian's promiſing to abandon and yield up to the Perſians the five provinces on the Tigris, which had been taken from them in the reign of Dioclefian, with ſeveral caſtles, and the cities of Niſibis and Singara. To this article was added another, in itſelf no leſs, if not more, ſhameful, which was, not to lend any aſſiſtance to Arſaces king of Armenia againſt the Perſians, though Arſaces was a faithful friend and ally of the empire. Jovian however, with much-ado, prevailed upon the king of Perſia to ſuffer the inhabitants of Niſibis and Singara to withdraw with their effects into the Roman territories [l]. The loſs of Niſibis, which was the bulwark of the empire againſt the Perſians, chiefly affected the Romans; and Ammianus takes great pains to exaggerate that loſs, in order to raiſe the public odium againſt Jovian, to whom he is favourable on no occaſion. Both that writer [m] and Eutropius [o] obſerve, that, from the foundation of Rome, no conſul or emperor had ever yielded to the enemy an inch of ground. But therein they are certainly miſtaken; for Adrian abandoned to the barbarians a far greater extent of country than Jovian. Aurelian relinquiſhed all the countries conquered by Trajan beyond the Danube; and Dioclefian an immenſe tract towards the borders of Egypt and Æthiopia, as Tiberius had done long before the large provinces, conquered at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure by the brave Druſus. 'Tis true, that theſe countries were not given up by virtue of a treaty, but becauſe they could not be kept without an immenſe charge. However, if it was thought commendable in thoſe princes to abandon them on that ſcore, we ought not to join Ammianus and Eutropius in condemning Jovian for abandoning, even by treaty, provinces, which he could not keep, without expoſing to certain death or captivity, the flower of the whole forces of the empire, when the enemy would with great eaſe have conquered more than they acquired by the treaty. His giving up by treaty what others had abandoned of their own accord, does not render the action leſs neceſſary, nor conſequently leſs prudent. Ammianus pretends, that Jovian might have reached the province of Corduene belonging to the empire, in

Jovian not be blamed for the peace concluded with the Perſians.

[k] Ruf. p. 177. [l] Ammian. p. 300. Zoſ. p. 730. Ruf. p. 177. Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 118. [m] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 303. [n] Idem, p. 205. [o] Eutrop. p. 731.

in the four days which he ſpent in negotiations [p]. But between them and that province flowed the Tigris, which even after the peace, and when oppoſed by no enemy, they paſſed with the utmoſt difficulty, and not without the loſs of many perſons, who were carried away by the violence of the ſtream, as Ammianus himſelf informs us [q]. Zoſimus ſuppoſes them to have paſſed the Tigris before the treaty [r]; but his authority is of no weight when he diſagrees with Ammianus, who ſerved in this expedition. Between the Tigris and Corduene lay a deſert ſeventy miles in extent, deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſions, even of water, which reduced them to the neceſſity of feeding upon their horſes, and conſequently of leaving behind them great part of their baggage and arms [s]. Libanius owns, that moſt of them returned without either arms or money [t]. What therefore muſt have become of them, had they at the ſame time been inceſſantly haraſſed by a formidable enemy? Agathias, who lived two hundred years after, writes, that Jovian, impatient to get out of the Perſian dominions, betrayed Niſibis [u]; but Eutropius, who was an eye-witneſs of what he writes, does not indeed approve of the peace; but owns, that it was neceſſary [w]: and Philoſtorgius, a chriſtian writer, but an Arian, and conſequently noways favourable to Jovian, tells us, that there was no other means of ſaving the army, already reduced to the tenth part [x]. The only thing Eutropius blames in Jovian, is his faithfully obſerving the articles, to which neceſſity alone obliged him to ſubmit, inſtead of following the example of the antient Romans, who never ſcrupled to break a diſadvantageous treaty, extorted from them by force or fear [y]. But his religiouſly executing the articles of a treaty, however diſadvantageous, when he was under no other reſtraint but that of his oath, reflects no leſs honour on him, than glory on the religion which he profeſſed. He was not acquainted with the maxim, which, to the great diſgrace of our religion, prevails now-a-days with the moſt chriſtian princes, that no treaties, how ſolemnly ſoever entered into, are binding, when the leaſt advantage may be reaped from the breach of them; as if perjury were not a crime of as deep a dye in the greateſt prince, as in the meaneſt of the people. We ſhall now reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

He obſerves the articles with great exactneſs.

[p] Ammian. p. 300. [q] Idem. p. 301. 302. [r] Zoſ. p. 730. [s] Ammian. ibid. [t] Lib. orat. xii. p. 325. [u] Agath. l. iv. p. 135, 136. [w] Eutrop. p. 589. [x] Philoſt. l. viii. c. 1. p. 106. [y] Eutrop. p. 589.

JOVIAN, after the concluſion of the treaty, purſued his retreat; and having paſſed the Tigris and the above-mentioned deſert, without being in the leaſt moleſted by the enemy, he arrived at Ur, a Perſian fortreſs between the Tigris and the city of Niſibis, where he was met by Caſſianus governor of Meſopotamia, and Mauritius a tribune, with ſuch proviſions as the army commanded by Procopius and Sebaſtian could ſpare them; for he had ſent the two former officers to acquaint the latter with the extremity to which he was reduced [z]. From Ur he diſpatched meſſengers into Illyricum and Gaul, with the news of Julian's death, and his own promotion. At the ſame time he appointed Lucillianus his father-in-law commander in chief of the horſe and foot in Illyricum and Italy, and Malericus general of the troops in Gaul, in the room of Jovinus [a]. Then, continuing his march, he entered at laſt the Roman territories at a place called Thiſalphata, and was there met by Procopius and Sebaſtian, who commanded the army which Julian had left in Meſopotamia. The emperor received them in a very obliging manner, and ſoon after ſent Procopius, who was Julian's kinſman, to attend the corſe of that prince to Tarſus, in the ſuburbs of which city he was buried, purſuant to the orders he had given a little before he expired. When the funeral ceremonies were over, Procopius privately withdrew from Tarſus; and, tho' diligent ſearch was made after him in all parts of the empire, he never could be heard of, till he aſſumed the purple in 365 [b]. From Thiſalphata the emperor advanced to Niſibis; but encamped without the walls, though greatly importuned by the inhabitants to lodge in the palace, as his predeceſſors had always done. He was aſhamed, ſays Ammianus, to enter a city, which he was about to deliver up to the enemy [c]. The next day Bineſes, a Perſian lord of great diſtinction, who attended Jovian in the quality of an hoſtage, demanded the city to be delivered up to him, purſuant to the articles of the treaty. The inhabitants did all that lay in their power to divert the emperor from complying with his demand; they earneſtly entreated him to give them leave to defend the place of their nativity, which they undertook to do, without putting the public to the leaſt charge, telling the emperor, that they were well acquainted with the fatigues of a ſiege, and knew how to check the

Jovian purſues his march to the Roman dominions.

[z] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 301. Zoſ. l. iii. p. 730. [a] Ammian. p. 302. [b] Idem, p. 303—306. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid.

the Perſian pride. But Jovian inſiſting upon the faith of the treaty and the obligation of his oath, Bineſes was, by his order, admitted into the city, of which he took poſſeſſion in his maſter's name, by ſetting up the Perſian ſtandard. At the ſame time, the inhabitants were ordered to quit their native city, and retire elſewhere, with what effects they could carry with them. This order occaſioned the moſt melancholy ſight, ſays Ammianus, the ſun ever beheld [e]. Chryſoſtom likewiſe deſcribes their departure in a very affecting manner [f]. But the emperor, alledging the ſanctity of his oath, was deaf to their cries, entreaties, and lamentations; ſo that the city was evacuated in three days time, every one curſing, as they departed, a peace, which had proved more fatal to them than the moſt bloody wars. All the roads were crouded with theſe forlorn exiles, loaded with what they could carry; but greatly grieved for the loſs of many valuable things, which, for want of convenient carriages, they had been obliged to leave behind them. Moſt of them retired to Amida, and were placed by the emperor in the ſuburbs of that city, which, by this means, repaired all the loſſes it had ſuſtained in the time of Conſtantius, and by degrees became the metropolis of what remained to the Romans in Meſopotamia [g]. Jovian did not leave Niſibis, according to Ammianus [h], till all the inhabitants were retired. Others tell us, that he marched away in the night-time, after he had been two days encamped before it; two months, we read in Suidas, which muſt be a miſtake of the tranſcriber [i]. He then continued his march to Antioch, paſſing through Edeſſa, where he was on the twenty-ſeventh of September, as appears from the date of one of his laws [k]. Zoſimus writes, that he was no-where received with the demonſtrations of joy uſual on ſuch occaſions [l]. However, it is not unlikely that his arrival was agreeable to the people of Antioch, who hated Julian, and conſequently muſt have been pleaſed to ſee his ſucceſſor arrive in their city. During his ſtay at Antioch, which was not long, he revoked all the laws that had been enacted by Julian againſt the chriſtians, and made it his chief ſtudy to reſtore the chriſtian religion to its former luſtre [m]. Themiſtius, a pagan philoſopher, tells us,

Niſibis delivered up to the Perſians.

Jovian revokes all the laws againſt the chriſtians.

[e] Idem, p. 304. [f] Chryſ. in gent. tom. 1. p. 696. [g] Ammian. ibid. Zoſ. p. 733. Chron. Alex. p. 696. [h] Ammian. p. 305. [i] Suid. p. 1244. [k] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 67. [l] Zoſ. p. 733. [m] Ruf. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640.

us, that he publiſhed a law, granting to every one full liberty to hold what religion he pleaſed; and, after having beſtowed great encomiums upon him on that ſcore, he adds, that he ſuffered the temples to be opened, and the uſual ſacrifices and ceremonies to be performed in them [n]. On the other hand, Sozomen aſſures us, that, by a law enacted at Antioch, he ſuppreſſed all religions, except the chriſtian, ordered the temples to be ſhut up, and prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the offering of victims, and all manner of idolatrous worſhip [o]; inſomuch, that the pagans were obliged, according to Socrates [p], to creep into holes and corners, and thoſe who, in Julian's time, had wore the philoſophical cloak, to quit it, and to appear in the common attire. What the two latter authors write, is confirmed by the pagan ſophiſt Libanius, who ſays, that, after the death of Julian, thoſe were heard with applauſe, who inveighed againſt the gods; that the pontiffs and philoſophers were dragged to the tribunals as criminals; that they were obliged, by the moſt exquiſite torments cruelty itſelf could invent, to confeſs what ſums they had received of Julian for the worſhip of their gods, and forced either to reſtore what they had received, or to languiſh in dungeons; that the temples were pulled down, and the ſophiſts, who, in Julian's reign, had been entertained with the greateſt reſpect by the governors of provinces, were now driven away from their gates like criminals and homicides [q]. The emperor was even adviſed to put Libanius to death, for commending Julian; but a Cappadocian, who had a great aſcendant over Jovian, adviſed him to take no notice of ſuch trifles [r]. As for the chriſtians, Jovian wrote to all the governors of provinces, ſtrictly enjoining them to take care, that they were not diſturbed in their uſual aſſemblies. He reſtored to the churches, to the eccleſiaſtics, to the virgins and widows, all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions, which had been granted to them by Conſtantine and his children; but lately revoked by Julian [s]. He likewiſe ordered the yearly allowance of corn, which had been given by Conſtantine to the churches, for the ſupport of the poor, to be continued to them; but as the famine ſtill raged, only the third part of Conſtantine's donation could be ſpared. Jovian promiſed them the other two parts as ſoon as the famine abated: but he dying in the mean time, his

[n] Themiſt. p. 67, 68. [o] Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640. [p] Socrat. l. iii. c. 25. p. 205. & c. 24. p. 202, 203. [q] Lib. or. xii. p. 327. [r] Lib. vit. p. 46. [s] Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640.

his ſucceſſors did not make good his promiſe; whence the churches thenceforth received only one third of what Conſtantine had allotted to them [t]. Jovian likewiſe reſtored the labarum, or the ſtandard with the croſs, and obliged one Magnus, a comes or count, to rebuild at his own expence the church of Berytus, which, by his order, had been burnt; nay, the emperor had commanded his head to be cut off, but was with much a-do prevailed upon by his friends to ſpare him [u]. As in Julian's time ſeveral ſacred virgins had married, ſome by choice, others by conſtraint, Jovian, by a law addreſſed to the prefect Salluſtius Secundus, declares thoſe guilty of death, who ſhall mention marriage to the ſacred virgins, or utter a ſingle word in their preſence repugnant to the rules of modeſty [w]. This law is ſtill extant, and dated from Antioch, the nineteenth of February of the enſuing year 364 [x]; which is a groſs miſtake, it being certain, that Jovian was dead before that time, and that he left Antioch before the end of the preſent year. Jovian not only eſpouſed the cauſe of the chriſtians againſt the pagans, but that of the orthodox believers againſt the Arians; for, by the firſt law he publiſhed after he had entered the Roman dominions, he commanded the churches to be every-where reſtored to thoſe, who had inviolably adhered to the faith of the council of Nice, and recalled all the biſhops who had been baniſhed on that ſcore, and Athanaſius in particular, to whom he wrote with his own hand a very obliging and friendly letter [y], which has reached our times [z]. Some time after he wrote a ſecond letter to him, deſiring him to draw up and ſend him a rule of faith, by which he might regulate his belief in the great variety of opinions that prevailed then in the church. Athanaſius readily complied with the emperor's requeſt, and ſent him a creed or rule of faith, ſuppoſed to be that which ſtill paſſes under his name, approved of and ſubſcribed by all the biſhops of Egypt [a]. Jovian ſoon after invited Athanaſius to court, received him, upon his arrival at Antioch, with the greateſt demonſtrations of eſteem and veneration imaginable, often conferred with him touching the articles of religion then in debate, and was by him thoroughly confirmed in the doctrine

He eſpouſes the cauſe of the orthodox chriſtians againſt the Arians.

[t] Theodor. l. i. c. 10. p. 552. & l. iv. p. 664. [u] Idem, l. iv. c. 19. p. 689. [w] Soz. p. 640. [x] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 25. leg. 2. p. 197. [y] Theodor. l. iv. c. 2. p. 661. Greg. Naz. p. 394. Socr. p. 202. [z] Athan. tom. 2. p. 33, 34. [a] Theodor. p. 661. Ruf. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. Greg. Naz. p. 394.

doctrine defined and eſtabliſhed by the council of Nice [b]. After this, Athanaſius took his leave of the emperor, and returned to his dioceſe. Socrates tells us, that the emperor no ſooner entered the Roman dominions upon his return from Perſia, than he was met by the leading men among the Arians, Macedonians, Achaians, and other ſectaries, all ſtriving to ingratiate themſelves with the new prince, and prepoſſeſs him in their favour; but that he received them coldly, telling them, that he was an enemy to contention, and ſhould eſteem and countenance thoſe only who promoted unity and concord. However, as Jovian himſelf openly profeſſed the faith of the council of Nice, that doctrine was embraced by many, who, till that time had been very ſanguine in oppoſing it, and was ſoon after ſolemnly confirmed in a council held at Antioch this year [c]. Jovian, after a ſhort ſtay at Antioch, ſet out for Conſtantinople, though the winter was already far advanced, to prevent the diſturbances, which he had reaſon to apprehend in the weſt. As he paſſed through Tarſus in Cilicia, he ordered ſome ornaments to be added to the tomb of Julian; on which account he is blamed by ſome chriſtian writers [e]. From Tarſus he proceeded to Tyana in Cappadocia, where he was informed, that Malaricus, whom he had appointed general of the troops in Gaul, having declined that poſt, Lucilianus, the emperor's father-in-law, and general of the troops in Illyricum and Italy, had haſtened into Gaul; and taking upon him there, when matters were not yet ſettled, to examine the accounts of ſome officers, one of them, conſcious of his frauds, had fled for protection to the Batavians who ſerved in the Roman army; and by perſuading them that Julian was ſtill alive, had ſo incenſed them againſt Lucilianus as a traitor, that in a tumult they killed him, and a tribune, by name Seniauchus, whom he had brought with him into Gaul. Valentinian, afterwards emperor, but then only tribune, and one of the attendants of Lucillianus, narrowly eſcaped undergoing the ſame fate. This tumult, which happened at Rheims, did not prevent the troops in Gaul, nor their general Jovinus, from declaring for Jovian, and proclaiming him emperor. They even ſent deputies to him, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and acquaint him, that they were ready to obey his commands.

He ſets out for Conſtantinople.

A tumult in Gaul.

[b] Theodor. l. iv. c. 3. p. 661—664. Epiphan. c. 10. p. 726. Soz. l. vi. c. 5. p. 642. [c] Socr. l. iii. c. 24 p. 202. & c. 25. p. 205. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem, l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. Baron. ad ann. 364.

commands. The deputies met the new emperor at Aſpona in Galatia, who received them in a very obliging manner, and continued Jovinus in the poſt of general, charging him not to ſuffer the death of Lucillianus to go unrevenged. From Aſpona Jovian purſued his journey to Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, where he took upon him his firſt conſulſhip. We have obſerved above, that he had named his father for his colJovian enters upon his firſt conſulſhip.
legue; but he dying in the mean time, he took in his room his own ſon, whom, though then only an infant, he diſtinguiſhed with the title of nobiliſſimus, or moſt noble [f]. The diſcourſe which Themiſtius is ſaid to have pronounced on occaſion of the emperor's conſulſhip, has reached our times [g]; but Socrates aſſures us, that he pronounced it ſix weeks after at Dadaſtana, and a ſecond time at Conſtantinople [h]. Jovian, haſtening to reach the latter city, left Ancyra, and continued his journey, though the cold was then ſo ſevere and intenſe, that ſome of his retinue died on the road. Upon his arrival at Dadaſtana, a town on the borders of Galatia and Bithynia, but belonging to the latter province, he was met by Themiſtius, and other perſons of diſtinction, ſent by the ſenate of Conſtantinople to attend him. But before he left that place, He dies at Dadaſtana.
he was found dead in his bed, on the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth of February of this year 364, after he had lived thirty-three years, and reigned ſeven months and twenty days [i]. His ſudden death gave occaſion to various reports; ſome aſcribe it to the dampneſs of his chamber, which had been newly plaiſtered; others ſay, he was ſtifled with the vapours of charcoal placed in the room to dry it. Some write, that he died of a ſurfeit; others, that his death was owing to bad and poiſonous muſhrooms. Socrates ſays, he was carried off by an obſtruction; and Chryſoſtom, that he was either poiſoned or murdered by his guards. Ammianus likewiſe ſeems to have believed, that he died a violent death; for he compares his end with that of Scipio Æmilianus, who was ſtrangled in his bed; and adds, that no enquiry was made after the death of either of them [k]. But Jovian had not yet diſobliged any man, nor does it appear, that he had any enemies, except perhaps Procopius, who took no advantage of his death, nor even ſhewed himſelf on that occaſion. The body of the deceaſed emperor was carried to Conſtantinople, and there interred with

[f] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 306, 307. Socrat. l. iii. c. 26. p. 205. Zoſ. p. 733. Zonar. p. 25. [g] Themiſt. or. v. p. 71. [h] Socrat. ibid. p. 205. [i] Ammian. p. 308, Socrat. ibid. Zoſ. ibid. Zonar. ibid. [k] Ammian. p. 308.

with the uſual ſolemnity in the church of the Apoſtles, where his tomb was to be ſeen many years after [l]. His wife was coming to meet him, according to Zonaras [m], with her ſon Vérronianus, and a retinue worthy of an empreſs, when ſhe received the news of his death. Cedrenus likewiſe tells us, that ſhe never ſaw him after his promotion [n]; but Themiſtius writes, that the ſon, and conſequently, in all likelihood, the mother too, was with the emperor at Dadaſtana; and adds, that by his crying and ſtruggling when he was to be carried, according to cuſtom, in the conſular chariot, he ſeemed to portend what happened ſoon after, that is, the death of his father [o]. The empreſs was ſtill living in 380 [p], and was buried after her death by her huſband [q]. Of her ſon we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Jovian is greatly commended by all the eccleſiaſtic writers, among whom Theodoret ſays, that heaven raiſed him to the ſovereignty to reward, even in this life, his virtue; but that the world did not deſerve to enjoy long ſo great a bleſſing [r].

Jovian being dead, the chief officers, both civil and military, aſſembled in order to chuſe a new emperor, when ſome propoſed Equitius, tribune of the firſt company of the ſhield-men of the emperor's guard; and others Januarius, a kinſman of the deceaſed emperor, at that time commander of the troops in Illyricum: but the former was rejected on account of his ſurly and ruſtic temper, and the latter becauſe he was at too great a diſtance [s]. Zoſimus, ever favourable to the pagans, tells us, that the electors, with one voice, named to the empire Salluſtius Secundus, prefect of the eaſt; a man, ſays he, of great worth and long experience in war, by religion a pagan, but no great enemy to the chriſtians. He adds, that Salluſt, excuſing himſelf on account of his old age and infirmities, they were for naming his ſon; but that the father oppoſed his election, alledging, that he was too young, and conſequently not equal to ſo great a charge [t]. At length, after an inter-regnum of nine or ten days, Valentinian was, by univerſal conſent, choſen emperor; which unanimity Ammianus aſcribes to a particular inſpiration from heaven [u]. The prefect

Valentinian is choſen emperor.

Salluſtius

[l] Philoſt. l. viii. p. 413. Zonar. ibid. Du Cange urb. Conſtant. deſcript. l. iv. p. 110. [m] Zonar. ibid. [n] Cedren. p. 309. [o] Themiſt. or. v. p. 71. [p] Chryſ. ad vid. junior. tom. iv. p. 463. [q] Zonar. p. 25. [r] Theodoret. l, iv. c. 4. p. 664, 665. [s] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 310. [t] Zoſ. l. iii. p. 734. [u] Ammian. p. 310.

Salluſtius Secundus, Arintheus, one of the generals of the army, Dagalaiphus, general of the horſe, and Datianus, a patrician, who had been conſul in 358, are ſaid to have been the chief authors of his election [w]. The latter had been left by Jovian on account of his old age, and the ſeverity of the winter, in Galatia; whence he wrote to the army, adviſing them to chuſe Valentinian, as a man well qualified for that high ſtation [x]. This election was made at Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, whither the army that attended Jovian had, after his death, removed from Dadaſtana [y]. Valentinian was the ſon of Gratianus, a native of Cibale in Pannonia: his anceſtors were no-ways conſpicuous; but Gratianus himſelf being admitted into the army on account of his extraordinary ſtrength, and great addreſs at all manner of exerciſes, raiſed himſelf by degrees to the dignity of the count of Africa; of which honourable employment he was afterwards deprived, upon a ſuſpicion of his having embezzled the public money. However, he was many years after appointed commander of the troops in Britain; in which office he acquitted himſelf with great reputation. On his return from thence, he withdrew to his eſtate in the country, leading there a retired life, till it was confiſcated by Conſtantius, incenſed againſt him for having entertained Magnentius as he paſſed that way, with a deſign to uſurp the empire. But he continued, notwithſtanding his diſgrace, to be greatly beloved and eſteemed by the army [z]; and the eſteem and affection they all had for the father did not a little contribute to the promotion of the ſon [a]. The ſenate of Conſtantinople decreed him a ſtatue in the beginning of the reign of Valens [b]. We do not find that he had any other children beſides Valentinian and Valens, who are ſuppoſed to have been both born in the city of Cibale, the birth-place of their father. The former is ſtyled on ſome medals [c] Flavius, which prænomen became common to all thoſe who, after Conſtantius's time, were raiſed to the empire. Valentinian had by his firſt wife, named Valera Severa, the emperor Gratian, born in the year 359. Of his ſecond wife, Juſtina, the mother of Valentinian II. and of three daughters, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Valentinian was baptized, as we read in St. Ambroſe [d], and held the doctrine of the council of Nice, though that of Arius generally prevailed in

His parentage, education, employments, &c.

[w] Philoſtrog. l. viii. c. 8. p. 113. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Ammian. ibid. [z] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 428. Vict. epit. p. 545. [a] Vict. ibid. [b] Theodoret. p. 171. Themiſt. or. vi. p. 81. [c] Pirag. p. 501, 505. [d] Ambroſ. ep. xiii. p. 204.

in Pannonia [e]. He is ſaid by moſt writers to have been altogether illiterate; and Themiſtius ſeems to inſinuate, that neither he, nor his brother Valens, had any knowledge of the Greek tongue [f]. But Auſonius allows him ſome erudition [g]. He betook himſelf early to the profeſſion of arms, and on ſeveral occaſions gave remarkable proofs of his courage, prudence, and experience [h]. In Gaul he commanded a body of horſe, in quality of tribune; but that command was taken from him by Conſtantius, as we have related in the reign of that prince, upon a falſe charge brought againſt him by Barbetio. Philoſtorgius writes, that while he was in Gaul, it was conjectured from ſome omens, that he ſhould attain one day to the empire; which induced Conſtantius to ſend him into Meſopotamia, to ſerve againſt the Perſians [i]. Under Julian he was tribune of one of the bands of the guards, called Joviani, who conſtantly attended the emperor [k]. We are told, that being one day obliged, as tribune of the guard, to attend the emperor into a temple, and the miniſter of the idols ſprinkling thoſe who entered with water, which was ſuppoſed to purify them, Valentinian, who was a zealous chriſtian, ſeeing a drop of it upon his habit, not only reviled and upbraided the pontiff as an impoſtor, but ſtruck him, and in the preſence of Julian cut out that part of his habit on which it had fallen, and threw it contemptuouſly on the ground. This provoked Julian to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ordered Valentinian either to ſacrifice to the gods, or lay down his employment: he choſe, without heſitation, the latter; but Julian, not ſatisfied therewith, confined him, according to Philoſtorgius, to Thebes in Egypt; according to Sozomen, to Melitene in Armenia, charging him with ſome neglect of duty, to deprive him of the glory which he was appriſed would accrue to him from ſuffering on account of his religion [l]. If what theſe authors write be true, Julian muſt have recalled him ſoon after, perhaps to employ him in the Perſian war; for he is ſuppoſed to have been baniſhed in 362, and on the other hand it is plain from Ammianus Marcellinus [m], that, at the death of Julian, he ſerved in the army in quality of tribune. Upon the promotion of Jovian, Lucillianus, father-in-law to that prince, took him with him into Gaul, as one capable of eſtabliſhing, by his prudence and known

His ſteadineſs in the chriſtian religion, and averſion to idolatry.

[e] Socr. l. iv. c. 1. p. 210. [f] Themiſt. or. vi. p. 71. [g] Auſon. idyll. xxxviii. p. 339. [h] Zoſ. p. 734. [i] Philoſt. l. vii. c. 7. p. 93. [k] Theodor. l. iii. c. 12. [l] Soz. l. vi. c. 6. p. 644. Philoſtorg. p. 93. Theodoret. p. 950. Zoſ. l. iv. p. 735. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 32. Ruf. l. ii. c. 2. p. 178. [m] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 302.

known abilities, the authority of the new emperor in that province. Lucillianus was killed, as we have related above, in a tumult at Rheims; and Valentinian narrowly eſcaped undergoing the ſame fate. Upon his return into the eaſt, Jovian preferred him to the command of the ſecond company of the ſcutarii, or ſhield-men of the guard; and left him at Ancyra, when he ſet out from thence on his march to Conſtantinople, with orders to follow him ſome time after [n]. Valentinian was ſtill at Ancyra, when Jovian died at Dadaſtana; and he was choſen, in the manner we have related above, to ſucceed him. Upon his election, meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to acquaint him with it; and in the mean time, Equitius and Leo ordered to prevent diſturbances or tumults in the army. Valentinian, ſoon after the arrival of the meſſengers, ſet out from Ancyra, and reached Nice, where the army then was, on the twenty-fourth of February; but did not appear abroad till the twenty-ſixth, perhaps becauſe he was in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould accept the empire or no, as we read in Victor the younger [o]. This, at leaſt, ſeems more probable to us than the conjecture of Ammianus Marcellinus [p], viz. that out of ſuperſtition he avoided tranſacting any thing on the twenty-fifth, that being the biſſextile, and conſequently an unlucky day. Be that as it will, orders were given in the evening, by the advice of the prefect Salluſtius Secundus, that no perſon, who might, on account of his poſt or quality, be ſuppoſed to aſpire at the empire, ſhould, on pain of death, be ſeen abroad the next morning. As ſoon as it was light, the whole army was drawn up in a plain near the city of Nice; and Valentinian, appearing at their head, was deſired to aſcend the tribunal; which he had no ſooner done, than he was, with loud ſhouts, ſaluted Valentinianus Auguſtus, and adorned, in the ſight of the whole army, with all the enſigns of ſovereignty, that is, with a purple robe and a diadem [q]. When this ceremony was over, the new emperor was preparing to harangue the army, according to cuſtom, and had already ſtretched out his hand to begin his ſpeech, when he was ſtopped by a ſeditious noiſe of the ſoldiery, requiring him to take that inſtant a colleague in the ſovereignty, that the empire might not for the future remain, as it had happened twice in a few months, without an head. Valentinian, though a man of great reſolu-

He is ſaluted by the army with the title of Auguſtus.

tion

[n] Idem ibid
[o] Vict. epit. p. 545.
[p] Ammian p 312.
[q] Idem ibid. Zoſ. l. iii. p. 734.

tion and intrepidity, was at first somewhat alarmed; but soon resuming his usual courage, he first reproved, with an air of authority, those who appeared the most forward and seditious; and then, without any interruption, addressed himself to the army in the following terms: "It was in your power a "few days ago to chuse for your emperor whom you plea- "sed; but since you have raised me to that high station, "I must tell you, that power is no longer in your hands: "you are not to prescribe laws to your sovereign; it is my "province to command, and yours to obey: I am to judge, "and not you, what may be useful and conducive to the "public welfare. However, I do not say, that I will not "take a collegue; but in an affair of such importance, I "must proceed with the utmost care and precaution imagina- "ble, lest both you and I may hereafter have occasion to re- "pent of our rashness." This resolute speech, uttered with all the authority of a sovereign, stopped the mouths of the mutineers; and no one daring to oppose a man, who seemed born to command, he was again, with a general acclama- tion, saluted with the title of Augustus, and conducted, or, as Philostorgius will have it, carried on a large shield, to the imperial palace [r].

His firmness and intrepidity in quelling a tumult in the army.

VALENTINIAN being thus declared emperor at Nice on the twenty-sixth of February of this year 364, left that city on the twenty-eighth of the same month, and set out for Constantinople. His march was very expeditious; for he made his public entry into Nicomedia on the first of March, and there created his brother Valens præfectus stabuli, that is, according to the modern phrase, master of the horse, with the title of tribune; and, after his arrival at Constantinople, declared him his collegue in the empire on the twenty-eighth of March, according to the most probable opinion. This ce- remony was performed at a place called Hebdomon or the seventh, because it was seven miles distant from Constanti- nople. In this place, which was a village, with an imperial palace, and several churches, the emperors who succeeded Valens were commonly crowned, and that prince embellish- ed it with several edifices, and with a stately tribunal or throne; whence it took the name of the tribunal [s]. Ammia- nus tells us, that Valentinian having summoned a council at Nice, as soon as he was declared emperor, to deliberate about a col-

He declares his brother Valens his collegue in the empire.

[r] Ammian. p. 312. Theodoret. l iv. c. 5. p. 665. Sozom. p. 645. Philostorg. p. 113. [s] Du Cange urb. Const. descript. l. ii. p. 140.

a collegue ; and the other officers being all ſilent, through fear of diſobliging the emperor, Dagalaiphus addreſſing him with great liberty, If you are partial, ſaid he, to your own family, you will make choice of your brother ; but if you love your people, you will prefer ſome other. Ammianus adds, that when he named Valens, his choice was univerſally applauded, becauſe no one dared to diſapprove or oppoſe it [t]; which ſhews, that no great advantages to the ſtate were expected from Valens. However, Ammianus, who neither condemns him as a bad prince, nor thinks him worthy of a place among the good ones [u], obſerves to his praiſe, that he ever kept up a good underſtanding with his brother ; that he undertook nothing without his advice ; and obeyed him, not only as his elder brother, but as his ſovereign [w]. Some time after, both princes were ſeized with a violent fever, which was by ſome aſcribed to the magical practices of Julian's friends, eſpecially of the philoſophers Maximus and Priſcus, who thereupon were apprehended, with many others, and carried in chains to Conſtantinople. Priſcus was ſoon diſcharged ; but Maximus, who was univerſally hated, and ſuppoſed to have ſtirred up Julian againſt Valentinian, on account of his zeal for the chriſtian religion, was condemned to pay an heavy fine, and to lie in priſon till he had paid it. Many eminent perſons were accuſed on this occaſion ; but the prefect Salluſtius Secundus, with his uſual addreſs, prudence, and good-nature, ſtifled ſuch accuſations, and put a ſtop to all further enquiries [x]. The two emperors were no ſooner recovered, than they left Conſtantinople ; and paſſing through Adrianople, where they were on the twenty-ninth of April [y], arrived at Philippopolis ; whence they proceeded to Sardica, and from that city to Naiſſus in Dacia, where they were on the third of June, and ſeem to have continued till about the eighteenth of the ſame month, partly at Naiſſus, partly at a caſtle named Mediana, about three miles from that city [z]. As the empire was threatened with a general invaſion from the barbarous nations that ſurrounded it, Valentinian, the better to make head againſt them, thought it adviſeable to divide the provinces between himſelf and his brother ; and accordingly made this famous partition at Mediana, committing to the government of Valens the eaſt, that

He puniſhes ſome of Julian's friends.

He divides the empire with his brother Valens.

[t] Ammian. p. 314. [u] Idem, l. xxx. p. 428. [w] Idem, l. xxvi. p. 315. [x] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 735 Eunap. c. 5. p. 82, 83. [y] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315. Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 69. [z] Idem ibid.

is, all Aſia, with Egypt and Thrace, and reſerving to himſelf Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa, that is, all the weſt. After this partition, both princes repaired to Sirmium, where they parted, Valentinian for Milan, and Valens for Conſtantinople [a]. In the mean time, the barbarians broke into the empire from all quarters, the Germans into Gaul and Rhætia, the Sarmatians and Quadians into Pannonia, the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti into Britain, and the Auſturians, with other Mooriſh nations, into Africa. But the latter province was not ſo much haraſſed by the barbarians as by Romanus, who had been ſent by Jovian to protect it; for the Auſturians had in his reign made frequent inroads into Libya Tripolitana, and the neighbouring countries. Romanus ſurpaſſed the barbarians themſelves in oppreſſing and pillaging that unhappy province, and even refuſed to march againſt the enemy, who, roving up and down the country, committed every-where dreadful ravages, becauſe the inhabitants would not comply with his exorbitant demands; for he required, beſides immenſe ſums, no fewer than four thouſand camels, without which, he ſaid, he could not take the field. The Africans, finding they could have no protection from Romanus, charged the deputies, whom they ſent with the uſual preſents to Valentinian upon his acceſſion to the empire, to lay before the new emperor the miſerable ſtate of their affairs; which they did accordingly, offering to prove the particulars contained in the memorial, which they preſented to the emperor; but Remigius, who was then magiſter officiorum, and ſhared with Romanus, his kinſman and confident, the ſpoils of the province, by repreſenting things in a quite different light, managed his friend's cauſe with ſo much cunning and addreſs, that the emperor, not knowing whom to believe, referred the matter to a further enquiry; which Remigius got eaſily put off from time to time, as there was then a great hurry of buſineſs at court. However, they prevailed upon the emperor to give the command of the troops to Ruricius, governor of Libya Tripolitana; but, by the intereſt of Remigius, it was ſoon after reſtored to Romanus. In the mean while, the Auſturians came down in greater numbers than ever, laid waſte the fruitful territories of Leptis and Oea; from which cities, and that of Sebrata, the province is ſaid to have been named Tripolis, that word importing three cities. As Romanus continued the whole time unconcerned and inactive, the barba-

rian

Libya Tripolitana haraſſed by the Auſturians, and oppreſſed by Romanus.

Romanus accuſed, but continued in his command.

[a] Ammian. p. 316. Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 69, 70.

rians ſcoured the country without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, ravaged it in a moſt miſerable manner, put many perſons of all ranks to the ſword, took an incredible number of priſoners, and had even the confidence to lay ſiege to Leptis, a ſtrong and populous city, but were not able to reduce it. The noiſe of theſe devaſtations reaching the emperor's ears, he diſpatched Palladius to pay the troops their arrears, and bring him a true account of the ſtate of the province. Romanus, being immediately acquainted by his friend Remigius with the errand on which Palladius was ſent, perſuaded the principal officers of the army, with whom he maintained a good underſtanding, to preſent Palladius, whom he repreſented as a man of great authority at court, with a great ſhare of the money which he had brought to pay them. Palladius accepted the preſent, and proceeded to Leptis, where he heard the complaints of the inhabitants, and was by them conducted to view the country, that he might be an eye-witneſs of the miſerable condition to which it was reduced, and of the dreadful havock the barbarians had made, without being in the leaſt curbed or reſtrained. Palladius, at that ſight, could not help exclaiming againſt Romanus, telling him in plain terms, that he would not fail to acquaint the emperor with his unaccountable conduct, and upbraiding him with his cruelty and avarice. But Romanus ſoon ſtopt his mouth, by upbraiding him in his turn with converting to his private uſe the money with which he was to pay the ſoldiers, and threatening to let the emperor know he had betrayed his truſt. This put Palladius into ſuch a fright, that he agreed with Romanus to conceal the whole from the emperor, whom accordingly he aſſured on his return, that the city of Leptis, and the Tripolitan province, complained without reaſon; which was believed, Palladius being generally eſteemed a man of great integrity, and above all bribery and corruption. Nay, the emperor was by him ſo miſled, and ſhamefully impoſed upon, that he ſent him back into Africa to try and puniſh the authors of the ſuppoſed calumnies and falſe informations brought againſt Romanus. In the diſcharge of this ſcandalous office, he tampered ſo cunningly with the inhabitants of Leptis, that they diſowned the complaints which Jovinus, one of their deputies, had laid before the emperor in their name, maintaining, that they had given him no ſuch commiſſion. Jovinus himſelf, to gain the favour of Palladius and Romanus, and by that means avoid the danger that threatened him, owned he had made a falſe report to the emperor, who thereupon ordered him to

Palladius ſent to enquire into the ſtate of province.

He is gained over by Romanus.

His accuſers punished.

be put to death, with ſome of the chief citizens of Leptis, and the governor Ruricius, who had confirmed the truth of the informations brought againſt Romanus. The latter was executed at Stephæ in Mauritania, and the others at Utica. Erectheus and Ariſtomenes, two other citizens of Leptis, who had complained of Romanus, were condemned to have their tongues cut out; but they found means to make their eſcape, and lay concealed till the reign of Gratian, when this ſcene of iniquity was brought to light [b].

THE following year, 365, both princes entered upon their firſt conſulſhip, the one at Milan, the other at Conſtantinople. Valentinian ſeems to have continued at Milan till the month of Auguſt, and then to have viſited ſeveral cities of Italy, viz. Verona, Aquileia, and Luceria [c]. From Italy he paſſed into Gaul, and was either at or near Paris in his way to that city in the latter end of October, when he received

The Germans break into Gaul;

certain intelligence, that the Germans had made an irruption into that province; and that Procopius had revolted in the eaſt. Of the latter we ſhall ſpeak in the reign of Valens. As for the Germans, they had ſent embaſſadors to congratulate Valentinian upon his acceſſion to the empire; but Urſacius, then magiſter officiorum, having received them in a very diſobliging manner, and ſent them back with far leſs preſents than were uſually given them, they had thrown them away with ſcorn and indignation; and upon their return, ſtirred up their nation to take arms, and revenge the affront that had been offered them. They broke therefore into Gaul, and laid waſte the country bordering on the Rhine. Valentinian diſpatched Dagalaiphus againſt them, and advanced in perſon as far as Rheims to ſupport him. But the

But retire at the approach of the emperor.

Germans retiring at his approach, he returned to Paris, and there took up his winter-quarters [d]. He was for returning into Illyricum to make head there againſt the rebel Procopius; but his friends, and the deputies that were ſent to him from all the cities in Gaul, earneſtly entreating him not to leave that province expoſed to the inroads of the Germans, he complied with their requeſt, conſidering, ſays Ammianus, that Procopius was only an enemy to his family, whereas the Germans were declared enemies to the whole Roman empire [e]. Being therefore reſolved not to ſtir out of Gaul, he diſpatched Neotherius, at that time only a notary, but afterwards,

[b] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 316. & l. xxvii. p. 347—380. [c] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 75. [d] Ammian l. xxvi. p. 315—317. [e] Idem, l. xxvii. p. 334.

wards, that is, in 390, conſul, into Africa, to prevent Procopius from making himſelf maſter of that province; and at the ſame time enjoined Equitius to cover Illyricum, and watch the motions of the uſurper on that ſide [f]. St. Jerom writes, that Equitius abuſed his authority in oppreſſing and plundering the people whom he was ſent to protect [g]. Equitius was already comes or count, to which dignity the emperor added on this occaſion that of magiſter or general [h].

THE next conſuls were Gratian and Dagalaiphus; the latter was general of the horſe, and had been comes domeſticorum under Julian: his name gives us room to believe, that he was by birth a barbarian. As for his collegue, he was the ſon of the emperor Valentinian, and then an infant; whence in the dates of the laws enacted this year he is marked thus NB. P, that is, Nobiliſſimus Puer. The Germans, who had made an irruption into Gaul, the preceding year, and retired at the approach of the emperor, as we have obſerved above, returned this year, 366, and having paſſed the Rhine on the ice, defeated the Romans in a pitched battle, took the ſtandards of the Batavians and Heruli, and killed the two counts Charietto and Severianus, ſays Zoſimus, who commanded the Roman forces [i]. That the Romans were defeated, and Severianus killed, is owned by Ammianus [k]; but Charietto muſt have eſcaped, ſince we find a law dated the ſeventeenth of May addreſſed to him [l]; whereas this battle was fought in the depth of winter, when the Rhine was frozen over [m]. Zoſimus adds, that Valentinian, who, according to him, was preſent at this battle, highly provoked againſt the Batavians for having given ground the firſt, ordered them to be caſhiered and ſold for ſlaves, but ſuſpended the execution of his orders, upon their promiſing to retrieve their reputation by ſome ſignal enterprize; which they did accordingly, attacking the enemy's camp in the dead of the night, and committing there a dreadful ſlaughter [n]. What Zoſimus writes touching the Batavians may be true; but as for Valentinian, it is plain from Ammianus, that when this battle was fought, he was at Paris; whence he immediately diſpatched Dagalaiphus, to prevent the evil conſequences that were likely to attend the defeat of the other generals. Dagalaiphus, pretending he had not ſufficient ſtrength

The Romans defeated by the Germans.

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Hier. ad. ann. 373. [h] Ammian ibid. [i] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 740. [k] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 354. [l] Cod. Theodoſ. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 1. p. 440. [m] Ammian. & Zoſ. ibid. [n] Zoſ. ibid.

to engage the enemy, who were roving about the country in ſeveral great bodies, did not ſo much as offer to reſtrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and Jovinus, general of the troops in Gaul, was ſent in his room; who having carefully informed himſelf of the motions of the barbarians, fell upon one of their parties at a place called Scarponna, between Toul and Metz, and cut them all off, without loſing one man. Being attended with the like ſucceſs againſt another party, which he ſurpriſed, he advanced with incredible expedition againſt the main body of their army. attacked them, though far ſuperior to him in number, and, after a long and bloody conteſt, put them to flight. The fight continued the whole day, and the Romans were once in great danger of being utterly defeated, the ſudden flight of a tribune, named Balchobaudes, who was a great boaſter, and conſequently, as it generally happens, a downright coward, having diſanimated the troops under his command. However, Jovinus, inſpiring them, more by his example than by words, with freſh courage, led them on to the charge, while they were ready to turn their backs; and, preſſing with great reſolulution and intrepidity upon the enemy, obliged them to give ground, and betake themſelves to a diſorderly flight. On the enemy's ſide, ſix thouſand were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand wounded; and of the Romans only two hundred killed, and as many wounded [o]. The enemy withdrew in the night-time, but were intercepted in their retreat by ſeveral parties ſent out by Jovinus for that purpoſe, inſomuch, that few of them had the good luck to eſcape. Jovinus followed them the next morning with the whole army; but finding he could not overtake them without haraſſing his troops, he returned to his camp, where he was informed, that their king, who had been taken by a party ſent to plunder their camp, had been hanged in his abſence. Being greatly provoked at ſo baſe an action, he reſolved to puniſh with death the tribune, who commanded the party; but he found upon examination, that the ſoldiers did it in the height of their rage, which the tribune had in vain attempted to reſtrain [p]. Valentinian had advanced as far as Rheims to ſupport Jovinus, as we conjecture from ſeveral laws enacted this year in that city, and dated the ſeventh of April, the ſeventeenth of May, and the fourteenth of June [q]: but he muſt have returned to Paris before the end of the campaign; for Jovinus marching back

Jovinus gains a complete victory over the Germans.

[o] Ammian. p. 334, 335. [p] Zoſ. ibid. [q] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 77.

back to Paris with his victorious army, the emperor to do him honour, went out to meet him, and for his eminent services named him conſul for the enſuing year . The public joy for the happy ſucceſſes of this glorious campaign was greatly heightened by the arrival of meſſengers from Valens, with the head of Procopius, killed in Aſia on the twenty-ſeventh of May, as we ſhall relate hereafter. Valentinian was returned to Rheims on the twenty-ſeventh of November [r], and ſeems to have continued there all winter . He made it his chief ſtudy to fortify the banks of the Rhine, cauſing a great number of forts to be erected on the German, as well as on the Roman, ſide of that river; by which means, and by augmenting his forces, he prevented the barbarians, ſays Zoſimus [s], from ever breaking into the Roman territories during the nine remaining years of his reign. But that writer muſt be underſtood of the Alemans; for we ſhall have ſoon occaſion to ſpeak of the irruptions of Franks and Saxons into Gaul.

Valentinian fortifies the banks of the Rhine.

THE next conſuls were Lupicinus and Jovinus, both generals, the former under Valens in Syria, and the latter under Valentinian in Gaul. Jovinus is by the ableſt critics thought to be the ſame perſon with Valens Jovinus, general of the horſe, who was ſucceeded in that employment by Theodoſius in 370, as we read in Ammianus [t]. He was ſent this very year into Britain, and attended Valentinian in his expedition againſt the Germans in 368 [u]. Flodard, in his hiſtory of the church of Rheims, produces the epitaph of one Jovinus, who had been twice general of the Roman horſe and foot, and yet was more illuſtrious for his piety than his employments [x]. He was baptized and buried at Rheims, in the church of St. Agricola, now the abbey of St. Nicaſius, or St. Nicaiſe, as the natives call it. The ſtately tomb, ſtill to be ſeen there, is thought to have been his [y]. The epitaph ſeems to inſinuate, that he was the founder of that church, which, in the laſt will of the holy biſhop Rhemigius, is ſtyled the Jovinian church [z]. Moſt authors take this Jovinus to be the conſul of this year, which we can hardly believe, ſince in the epitaph no notice is taken of the conſulſhip, a dignity far ſuperior

[r] Ammian. ibid. [s] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 77, 79. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 742. [w] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 369. [x] Idem, l. xxvii. p. 346. [y] Flodard Remenſ. eccleſ. hiſt. l. i. c. 6. p. 33. [z] Marlot. metropol. Remenſ. hiſt. l. i. c. 28. p. 101. [a] Flodard. p. 32, 33.

perior to the others mentioned in it. Beſides, we are nowhere told, that Jovinus, the conſul of this year, was a chriſtian; nay, from Julian's preferring him to the firſt employments both civil and military, we may well conclude, that he did not profeſs the chriſtian religion, at leaſt in that prince's reign. All the laws of this year to the third of June are dated from Rheims [b]; a plain proof that the emperor continued there till that time: one dated the ſixth of Auguſt was enacted at Nemæſia, ſaid to have been a place in the neighbourhood of Rheims [c]. From Nemæſia the emperor removed to Amiens, as appears from a law dated the eighteenth of Auguſt, and addreſſed to Prætextatus, prefect of Rome [d].

Valentinian falls ill,

He was probably kept ſo long at Rheims by a violent diſtemper, with which he was ſeized this year. As his recovery was deſpaired of, the great officers of the court began to form cabals, and to think of naming him a ſucceſſor. The chief candidates for the imperial dignity were Ruſticus Julianus and Severus, both dreaded on account of their ſeverity and rigour, but the former much more than the latter: he afterwards betrayed a moſt cruel and ſavage temper, when he was proconſul of Africa in 371, and 372. Symmachus is thought to have addreſſed to him the firſt fifteen letters of his third book. As for Severus, he was in the judgment of Ammianus, in every reſpect preferable to Julianus [e].

But recovers, and creates his ſon Gratian emperor.

But the emperor's unexpected recovery put an end to the hopes and intrigues of the courtiers; for he, being probably informed of what had been tranſacted, reſolved to prevent any farther diſputes, by raiſing his ſon Gratian to the empire. Having therefore before-hand gained the ſoldiery, he aſſembled them in the neighbourhood of Amiens; and, with their conſent and approbation, declared him his collegue in the empire, veſting him with the purple, and other enſigns of ſovereignty, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude [f]. Thus was Gratian created emperor on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 367, at the city of Amiens, for which he is ſaid to have ever ſhewed a very particular regard: he was then about eight years old, having been born in 359, on the eighteenth of April, or, as others will have it, on the twenty-third of May. Every one was ſurpriſed, ſays Ammianus, at the emperor's raiſing him at once to the ſovereignty, inſtead of creating him firſt Cæſar, purſuant to the cuſtom, which had prevailed till that time [g]. Victor

[b] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 78, 79. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 342. [f] Idem ibid. p. 343. Zoſ. l. iv. p. 742. Socr. l. iv. c. 11. p. 219. [g] Ammian. ibid.

Victor writes, that he was induced thereunto by his mother-in-law and his wife. Of the former, we find no farther mention in hiſtory. As to the latter, ſhe was, without all doubt, the mother of Gratian, Valentinian's firſt wife, called by Socrates, Severa [h], and ſtyled on ſome medals Valeria Severa Auguſta [i]. That princeſs was then certainly at court, and in favour; but ſeems to have been ſoon after diſgraced. We read in the chronicle of Alexandria, that the empreſs Severa having purchaſed an eſtate at a very low rate, the emperor, ſuſpecting ſome foul dealing, was ſo provoked, that, not ſatisfied with obliging her to reſtore the eſtate to the former owner, he drove her out of the city [k]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that Valentinian divorced her, and married Juſtina, a native of Sicily, and the daughter, as is ſuppoſed, of one Juſtus, whom Conſtantius ordered to be put to death, while he was governor of Picenum, becauſe he had bragged, giving credit to ſome omens, that he ſhould one day be the father of an emperor [l]. Zoſimus writes, that ſhe had been married before to Magnentius, killed in 352 [m]. She favoured the doctrine of Arius, but craftily concealed her ſentiments in the emperor's life-time [n]. She had two brothers, viz. Conſtantianus, who was raiſed to the dignity of tribunus ſtabuli, but killed by a band of robbers in 369, and Cerealis, on whom the emperor conferred the ſame dignity after the death of his brother [o]. By Juſtina the emperor had four children, viz. Valentinian II. Juſta, Grata, and Galla, of whom the latter was married to the emperor Theodoſius [p]. Socrates writes, that the empreſs Severa having taken Juſtina, upon the death of her father, under her protection, and brought her up at court, the emperor was ſo taken with her charms, that he reſolved to marry her; but on the other hand, being unwilling to divorce his wife Severa, he cauſed a law to be publiſhed in all the cities of the empire, allowing his ſubjects to have two wives at a time: he adds, that Valentinian himſelf being the firſt who made uſe of his own licence, married Juſtina without diſmiſſing Severa [q]. Thus Socrates. But as neither Ammianus Marcellinus, who is no-ways favourable to Valentinian, nor Zoſimus, an avowed enemy to all the chriſtian princes, take any notice of ſuch a remarkable law,

He divorces Severa, and marries Juſtina.

we

[h] Socr. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. [i] Goltz. p. 132. [k] Chron. Alex. p. 702, 704. [l] Socr. p. 249. [m] Idem ibid. Jorn. p. 652. Zoſ. ibid. p 746. [n] Ruin. l. ii. c. 15. p. 184. [o] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 367. [p] Socr. p. 150. [q] Socr. l. iv. c. 32.

we cannot help looking upon the account of Socrates as an arrant fable. Jornandes indeed relates the ſame thing [r]; but he copied it from Socrates, whom, for the moſt part, he follows.

The city of Mentz taken and plundered by the Alemans.

About the cloſe of this year, the city of Mentz was unexpectedly attacked, taken, and plundered, by Rhando, one of the princes of the Alemans, while the emperor, ſays Ammianus, was employed in ſome other expedition [s]; but in what expedition, we are no-where told. The ſame writer obſerves, that Rhando ſurprized the place, while the inhabitants, for the moſt part chriſtians, were celebrating a ſolemn feſtival.

The treachery of the Romans.

The Romans, to revenge this inſult, had recourſe to treachery, and cauſed Vithicabius, a prince of the ſame nation, to be aſſaſſinated by one of his own people, whom they had gained over by their emiſſaries. Vithicabius, was the ſon of Vadomarius, king of the Alemans, of whom we have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the reign of Conſtantius. The death of Vithicabius, who was a prince of great addreſs, intrepidity, and reſolution, put a ſtop for ſome time to the incurſions of the Alemans [t]. Valentinian, ſoon after the promotion of Gratian, left Amiens, and repaired to Treves, in which city he paſſed the winter, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws of this and the following year [u]. Before he reached that place, he was alarmed with diſmal tidings from Britain, viz. that the Picts, Scots, and other northern nations, had broke into the Roman territories; and having killed Nectaridus, count of the maritime tract, and Fullofaudes, who is diſtinguiſhed with the title of dux or duke, had committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the province to a moſt deplorable condition. Hereupon the emperor immediately diſpatched into Britain, Severus, at that time comes domeſticorum; but receiving ſtill worſe news of the ſtate of affairs in that iſland, he ſoon after recalled him, and ſent Jovinus in his room, who having acquainted the emperor with the miſerable condition to which the iſland was reduced, and the ſtill greater evils with which it was threatened, if a powerful reinforcement both of horſe and foot were not ſent with all poſſible expedition to its relief, Valentinian made choice of Theodoſius, father to the emperor of the ſame name, and committed to him the whole management of this troubleſome war. Theodoſius, who was an officer of great experience and known abilities, haſtened to Boulogne, and embarquing there, landed at Rutupiæ; whence, as ſoon as his

The Picts and Scots break into the Roman territories.

[r] Jornand. reg. c 40. p. 652. [s] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 349.
[t] Idem ibid. [u] Cod Theodoſ. chron. p. 81.

his forces arrived from the continent, he marched to Lundonium or London, which Ammianus ſtyles an antient city; and there dividing his troops into ſeveral parties, he advanced againſt the enemy, who were roving up and down the country, cut great numbers of them in pieces, obliged them to quit the booty and priſoners they had taken, and recovered an entire province, which they had ſeized and held as their own. To this province which compriſed the ſouthern parts of Scotland, the emperor gave the name of Valentia, perhaps from his brother Valens. Thus was the number of the provinces in this iſland encreaſed, Valentia being added to the four former, which were Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Maxima Cæſarienſis, and Flavia Cæſarienſis [w]. Theodoſius, at the ſame time, cruſhed in its beginning the revolt of Valentine or Valentinian, who, being baniſhed into Britain, prevailed upon ſome of the inhabitants to proclaim him emperor; which Theodoſius no ſooner underſtood, than he marched againſt the uſurper, and having got him and ſome of his confederates into his power, he delivered them up to the civil magiſtrates; but would not ſuffer them to be examined concerning their accomplices, leſt that ſhould give occaſion to new troubles [x]. The ſame year, the Franks and Saxons broke into Gaul, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by Theodoſius on his return from Britain [y]: it was probably on account of the advantages gained on this occaſion, that Valentinian aſſumed the title of the conqueror of the Franks, which is given him in an inſcription of the year 369 [z]. Ammianus, among the other tranſactions of this year 367, relates ſeveral inſtances of the exceſſive ſeverity and injuſtice of Valentinian, who had hitherto with great care concealed the cruelty of his temper. He condemned Diocles, who had been comes largitionum in Illyricum, to be burnt alive for very inconſiderable faults; and ordered Diodorus, who had been agens in rebus, to be put to death, with three apparitors of the vicar of Italy, for no other reaſon, but becauſe Diodorus had commenced a ſuit againſt a count, who was going to court, and the apparitors had, purſuant to their office, ſummoned him to appear. The memory of Diodorus, and the three apparitors, is ſtill honoured, ſays Ammianus, by the chriſtians at Milan, who call the place where they were

But are repulſed by Theodoſius.

The revolt of Valentine in Britain ſuppreſſed.

Inſtances of Valentinian's cruelty.

[w] Ammian. l xxvii. p. 346 & l. xxviii. p. 368. Uſſer. Britannicar. eccleſiar. antiq. p. 538. [x] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 368. Zoſ. l. iv. p. 742. [y] Idem. l. xxvii. p. 346. [z] Valeſ. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 46.

" were buried the innocents [a]." To this probably the quæſtor Euphraxius alluded, when, upon the emperor's commanding another perſon to be put to death for cauſing the ſentence of a lawful judge to be executed, he told him, that the chriſtian religion honoured thoſe as martyrs whom he condemned as guilty [b]. St. Jerom tells us, that this year, in the country of the Atrebates, now the Artois, wool fell from heaven mixed with rain [c]. Oroſius adds, that it was true wool [d]; and Bucherius, that ſome of it is ſtill to be ſeen at Arras, where it is called manna [e].

Several laws enacted by Valentinian.

THE following year, the two emperors, Valentinian and Valens, were conſuls for the ſecond time. The former enacted this year ſeveral excellent laws; and among the reſt one commanding all pleaders, or lawyers, to forbear, in pleading, abuſive terms, invectives, and injuries, and to content themſelves with ſuch fees as their clients ſhall be pleaſed to give them, without making any bargain or agreement beforehand: as for ſuch lawyers as have been honoured with any public employment, he will have them to be ſatisfied with the glory of protecting the innocent, without debaſing themſelves to accept of any other reward [f]. By another law, he eſtabliſhes a phyſician in each of the fourteen quarters, into which the city of Rome was divided, who was to take care of the poor, and be maintained at the public expence. By this law the phyſician is allowed to accept what the patient ſhall think fit to give him, when entirely recovered, but not what he had promiſed during his illneſs [g]. By a third law, he commands ſome ſoldiers to remove from a ſynagogue, where they were quartered, that being contrary to the reſpect due to a place ſet apart for the worſhip of God [h].

Valentinian enters the territories of the Alemans.

Valentinian, having ſpent the winter at Treves in making vaſt preparations with a deſign to attack the Alemans in their own country, took the field on the ſeventeenth of June; and, having aſſembled all his troops, croſſed the Rhine, attended by his ſon Gratian, by the two generals Jovinus and Severus, and by count Sebaſtian, a man notorious in the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory for his cruelty to the orthodox chriſtians in Egypt, while he was governor of that province. The emperor was, as appears from the date of one of his laws, at Worms on the thirty-firſt of

[a] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 345. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Hier. chron. ad ann. 367. [d] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 32. p. 218. [e] Buch. Belg. p. 349. [f] Cod. Theodoſ. l. ii. tit. 10 leg. 2. p. 140 & Cod. Juſt. l. ii. tit. 6. leg 6. p. 187. [g] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 8. p. 34. [h] Cod. Juſt. l. i. tit. 9. leg. 4. p. 101.

of July [i]. From thence he advanced into the enemy's country, and marched ſome days without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, though he committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. At length he came to a place called Solicinium, where the Alemans had poſted hemſelves on an high and ſteep mountain, which ſeemed inacceſſible on every ſide, except that which looked to the north; and thither he ſent Sebaſtian to intercept them in their flight, if he ſhould have the good luck to diſlodge them from any other quarter. As he advanced to view their ſituation, he narrowly eſcaped falling into an ambuſcade; but having with much difficulty got ſafe to the main body of his army, he led them on to the attack. The Romans on this occaſion behaved with ſuch courage and reſolution, as can hardly be expreſſed: they were ſeveral times repulſed, the Alemans defending themſelves with equal courage and bravery. But the Romans, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the place, and the deſpair of the enemy, gained at length the top of the mountain, and put all to the ſword who oppoſed them. Some of the Alemans made their eſcape by the favour of the night; but the far greater part were cut in pieces, either in the fight or the purſuit, Sebaſtian having cut off their retreat [k]. This memorable battle was fought, as we have hinted above, at Solicinium, which the modern geographers take to be the city of Sultz on the Neckar, at a ſmall diſtance from the head of that river, in the dutchy of Virtemberg [l]. As the ſeaſon was already far advanced, after this victory, the ſoldiers were ſent into winter quarters, and the emperor returned with his ſon Gratian to Treves, which he entered in a kind of triumph [m]. Bucherius deſcribes at length the rout which he ſuppoſes the emperor to have taken on his return from Germany [n]. We find no laws dated from Treves till the firſt or the ſecond of December; but one publiſhed at Cologne the thirtieth of September; whence we conjecture Valentinian, on his return from Germany, to have marched againſt the Franks, who had broken into Gaul, as we have obſerved above.

Whom he defeats with great ſlaughter.

VALENTINIAN ſeems to have ſpent the greater part of the following year, when Valentinian the ſon of Valens, and Victor, one of that prince's generals, were conſuls, in fortifying the banks of the Rhine with an incredible number of forts, towers, and caſtles, from the mouth of that river quite

He fortifies the banks of the Rhine.

to

[i] Cod. Theodoſ. l. xiii. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 94. [k] Ammian. p. 250 - 252. Baud. p. 209. [m] Idem, l. vii. p. 352. [n] Buch. Belg. p. 351—353. [o] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 89.

to Rhætia, where it riſes [p]. He even built ſome caſtles on the other ſide of that river in the enemy's country, and one among the reſt at the conflux of the Rhine and the Neckar, where the preſent city of Manheim ſtands [q]. He likewiſe ordered a fort to be built on an hill called by our hiſtorian Piri [r]; which Bucherius takes to be the hill of Heidelberg. But the Germans, after having by their deputies entreated the emperor in vain to forbear that undertaking, fell upon the ſoldiers who were employed in the work, and cut them in pieces with the two dukes, Arator and Hermogenes, who commanded them. Syagrus, a notary or ſecretary, the only perſon who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, brought the news of it to the emperor, and was on that account diſgraced [s]; but ſoon after taken again, it ſeems, into favour; for we ſhall ſee him conſul in 381. The emperor, to animate with his preſence the ſoldiers in carrying on the above-mentioned works for the defence of the Rhine, and the ſafety of Gaul, paſſed great part of the preſent year on the banks of that river, as appears from ſeveral laws of different dates enacted at Marciaticum, which moſt geographers take to be Manheim; at Altrip, between Manheim and Spire, and at Briſac [t]. This year, the emperor cauſed ſeveral ſenators, governors of provinces, judges, and other officers, to be put to death for receiving bribes, and oppreſſing the people committed to their care, and among the reſt the eunuch Rhodanus, his chief chamberlain, whom, upon the complaint of a widow named Berenice, whoſe eſtate the eunuch had ſeized unjuſtly, he cauſed to be immediately apprehended, and to be burnt alive in the circus, where the people were aſſembled to behold the ſports [u]. The next conſuls were the two emperors Valentinian and Valens, both the third time. The former continued all this preſent year 370, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, partly at Treves, partly at Alteia, which is ſuppoſed to have been an imperial palace or country ſeat near that city. In an inſcription of this year, which is ſtill to be ſeen at Vienna in Auſtria, we read, that Equitius, general of the troops in Illyricum, erected by the emperor's orders a fort in that country; and from another inſcription of the following year found near Strigonium or Gran, in Lower Hungary, it appears, that another fort was built by his

Several perſons put to death by the emperor's orders.

[p] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 966. [q] Bech. Belg p. 353. [r] Ammian. p. 766, 767. [s] Idem ibid Cod Theod. chron. p. 85, 86. [u] Zonar. p. 26. Chron. Alex. p. 700. Suid. p. 706, 707.

his orders in that neighbourhood, for protecting the trade carried on by the ſubjects of the empire in thoſe parts [w]. The emperor cauſed likewiſe a bridge to be built this year over the Tiber at Rome, which was then called the bridge of Gratian, afterwards the bridge Ceſtius, and is by the preſent inhabitants ſtyled Ponto di S. Bartolomeo, or the bridge of St. Bartholomew, being near the porch of St. Bartholomew's church [x]. In the inſcription it is ſaid to have been built in the ſeventh year of the tribuneſhip, that is, of the reign, of Valentinian and Valens, and the third of Gratian, which was the preſent year: nevertheleſs the two former princes are marked there conſuls the ſecond time; whereas it is certain, that, in the ſeventh year of their reign, and the third of Gratian's, they were both in their third conſulſhip. Valentinian and Valens are, in the ſame inſcription, ſtyled emperors for the ſeventh time, and Gratian for the ſecond, and are all three honoured with the title of conquerors of the Germans, Alemans, Franks, and Goths; which ſhews, that each of them ſhared with his collegues the glory of his victories and conqueſts. Their victories, or rather the victories of Valentinian over the Franks, muſt have been very inconſiderable, ſince Ammianus takes no notice of them. This year is remarkable in hiſtory for an irruption of the Saxons, who dwelling on the coaſts of the ocean amongſt inacceſſible marſhes, left their country in great numbers, and landing on the Roman territories, committed there dreadful ravages. Count Nauneinus, who commanded in thoſe parts, endeavouring to make head againſt them, was dangerouſly wounded, and put to flight. Hereupon the emperor diſpatched Severus againſt them, who, as he was an officer of great experience and addreſs, ſo diſtreſſed and harraſſed them, that they were forced to ſue for peace; which was granted them, with leave to return unmoleſted into their own country, after the Romans had picked out their beſt men to ſerve among their troops. But as they were returning, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger, the Romans, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut them all to a man in pieces. Though the Saxons were no-ways on their guard, yet they fought with incredible bravery, and ſuch preſence of mind and reſolution, that victory for ſome time inclined to their ſide *. Ammianus Marcellinus is not aſhamed to ſtyle this black piece of treachery a ſucceſsful attempt. But for ſuch breaches of the public faith, and violations of the right of nations,

The Saxons break into the empire.

Are treacherouſly cut off by the Romans.

[w] Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 291. [x] Gruter. p. 160. Baron. ann. 312. * Ammian. l. xviii. p. 375. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 32.

tions, practiſed by the Romans more frequently under the chriſtian than the pagan princes, we ſhall ſee them abandoned by heaven to thoſe very barbarians, whom they thus treacherouſly endeavoured to cruſh and utterly ſuppreſs. The Saxons were thus ſlaughtered, according to St. Jerom [y] and Oroſius [z], on the territories of the Franks, at Deuſona, ſays the former, which was a caſtle on the other ſide the Rhine, over-againſt Cologne, and is now known by the name of Tuits or Duits. The ſame year the Burgundians, to the number of eighty thouſand fighting men, appeared on the banks of the Rhine, being invited thither by Valentinian, who maintained a private intelligence with their kings, and had promiſed to paſs the Rhine, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon the Alemans, with whom they were then at variance on account of ſome ſalt-pits. But the emperor being then buſied in building the above-mentioned forts, and not caring to interrupt that work, and join them, as he had promiſed to do, they put to the ſword all the priſoners they had taken, and returned to their own country, highly enraged againſt the emperor, by whom they had been thus diſappointed and deluded [a]. However, Theodoſius, general of the horſe, to which poſt he had been raiſed for his gallant and prudent conduct in Britain, taking advantage of the conſternation the Alemans were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a conſiderable number of captives, to whom the emperor allotted lands and ſettlements on the banks of the Po [b]. Ammianus, in ſpeaking of the Burgundians, informs us of ſeveral particulars relating to their government and religion. He ſeems not to doubt but they were deſcended from the Romans; and Oroſius ſpeaks of them as the deſcendents of thoſe Romans, who were left by Tiberius and Druſus, the adopted ſons of Auguſtus, in the caſtles and boroughs of Germany; nay, he ſuppoſes them to have been named Burgundiones, from the Latin word burgus, ſignifying a borough [c]. But from the word burgus they ought perhaps to have been called Burgiones, as Valeſius obſerves [d]. Pliny the elder takes them to be originally a German nation, ſprung from the Vindili; that is, as is generally ſuppoſed, the Vandals [e]. Valeſius diſtinguiſhes the Burgundiones of Germany from thoſe of the ſame name, who dwelt more to the

An army of 80,000 Burgundians on the banks of the Rhine.

[y] Hier. chron. [z] Oroſ p. 219. [a] Idem, p. 377.
[b] Idem, ibid. [c] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 32. p. 219. [d] Valeſ. rer. Francic. p. 48. [e] Plin. l. iv. c. 14. p. 86.

the eaſt on the banks of the Danube [f]. Ammianus gives us a pathetic account of the horrible cruelties practiſed this year at Rome by Maximinus, or, as others ſtyle him, Maximus, a man of a moſt inhuman and ſavage temper. He was brother-in-law to Valentine or Valentinian, who attempted to uſurp the ſovereignty in Britain; but nevertheleſs of a mean deſcent, and by birth a barbarian. However, he raiſed himſelf by degrees to the firſt employments in the ſtate. He was made firſt governor of Corſica and Sardinia, and afterwards of Tuſcia or Tuſcany. From the latter government he was preferred to the honourable employment of præfectus annonæ at Rome, whoſe province it was to ſupply the city with proviſions; which he did at firſt with great prudence and moderation, but in the end betrayed a moſt cruel, inhuman and revengeful temper, which he began to do on the following occaſion: One Chilo, who had been vicar to the prefects, and his wife Maxima, having accuſed Sericus, Aſbolius, and Campenſis, three perſons of mean condition, before Olybrius, prefect or governor of the city, for having, by magical practices and enchantments, endeavoured to take away their lives, Olybrius began to enquire into this matter; but he falling ſick, the complainants, impatient of delay, petitioned and obtained, that the cauſe might be referred to the præfectus annonæ, who readily undertook it, being glad of any opportunity that offered to ſatisfy his cruel temper, no more capable of pity or moderation, ſays Ammianus, than that of a wild beaſt let looſe upon the prey. He had ſcarce begun his examinations, when he wrote to the emperor, that innumerable perſons were guilty of magical practices, but could not be convicted without racks and tortures. Hereupon the emperor, who was himſelf naturally inclined to cruelty, appointed Maximinus vicar to the prefects in the room of Aginacius, and impowered him by an edict to put ſuch perſons, if thought neceſſary, to the rack, as had been by other princes exempted from it on account of their rank, or only ſubjected to it in caſes of treaſon. With Maximinus he joined in commiſſion one Leo, at that time only a notary, but afterwards raiſed to the dignity of magiſter officiorum. He was by birth a Pannonian, of mean parentage, but no leſs blood-thirſty, according to Ammianus, than his collegue Maximinus [g]. Theſe two implacable judges executed their commiſſion with that cruelty which every one may imagine: perſons of all ranks and ages were dragged to their tribunal, tortured

The great cruelties of Maximinus at Rome.

Perſons of all ranks tortured and executed.

[f] Valeſ. ibid. [g] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 358—360.

tortured without mercy, and either executed like public malefactors, or ſtript of their eſtates, and ſent into baniſhment. Among the former were Marinus, a famous pleader, Cethegus, Paphius, and Cornelius, all three ſenators, and many other eminent perſons of both ſexes. Alypius, a young nobleman of great diſtinction, was, for a very ſmall fault, ſent into exile. Lollianus, the ſon of Lampadius, who had been governor of Rome in 366, and præfectus prætorio under Conſtantius, being accuſed of having copied, when he was yet very young, a book of magic, his father, finding Maximinus inclined to condemn him to baniſhment, adviſed him to appeal to the emperor; which he did accordingly: but Valentinian having referred the cauſe to Phalangus governor of Bætica, who ſurpaſſed Maximinus himſelf in cruelty, the youth was by him ſentenced to death, and publicly beheaded. As Maximinus continued raging without diſtinction of ſex, age, or condition, the ſenate diſpatched deputies to the emperor, earneſtly entreating him, as he tendered the lives of his innocent ſubjects, to revoke the power he had given to Maximinus. Valentinian complied with their requeſt, which put an end for the preſent to thoſe bloody executions. Maximinus was called to court, and received with great marks of eſteem and affection by the emperor, who two years after created him prefect of Gaul, in which office he continued at leaſt three years (for he was ſtill prefect in 376); but ſoon after put to death by Gratian, with ſome of the miniſters of his cruelty [h].

Laws enacted by Valentinian.

THE following year, when Gratian and Sex. Petronius Probus were conſuls, the emperor enacted ſeveral remarkable laws, and among the reſt one dated the eleventh of February, and addreſſed to Viventius prefect of Gaul, enacting, that ſuch players and comedians as ſhould have received at the point of death the ſacrament of baptiſm, ſhould not be obliged, if they ſhould recover, to act again on the ſtage [i]. From this law it appears, that the profeſſion of a player, always deemed infamous among the Romans, was, under the chriſtian princes, thought inconſiſtent with chriſtianity; and likewiſe, that it was not free and voluntary, but ſervile, and hereditary in certain families. By another law, dated the ſeventh of September, the emperor declares, that the daughters of players ſhall not be obliged to follow the profeſſion of their mothers, if they have behaved in any other calling ſo as to deſerve a good character [k]. By a third law, dated the twenty-

[h] Idem, p. 361—366. [i] Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 361. [k] Idem ibid. p. 363.

twenty-ninth of May, and addreſſed to the ſenate, he allows the free exerciſe of the pagan religion; and by a fourth, dated the twenty-eighth of June, ſeveral privileges are granted or reſtored to the pagan pontiffs, and the ſame honour and reſpect is ordered to be paid to them as to the comites or counts [l]. It is ſurpriſing, that an emperor, who is ſaid to have been not only an orthodox, but a zealous, chriſtian, ſhould have thus favoured the pagan pontiffs and religion. By a law dated the ſeventeenth of May, he exempts from all civil offices ſuch as had been admitted among the clergy before his time; but obliges the reſt to diſcharge them, notwithſtanding the privileges and immunities granted by other princes to all eccleſiaſtics. All the laws enacted this year before the twenty-eighth of June, are dated from Treves, whence he removed to Cantionacum, a place unknown to geographers, but which muſt have been but at a ſmall diſtance from Treves, ſince the emperor was in that city on the twenty-eighth of June, and the very next day at Cantionacum, where he ſtaid till the fifteenth of Auguſt. On the ſixth of September he was at Mentz, probably on his march into the country of the Alemans: for this year he undertook an expedition againſt them, hoping to ſurpriſe Macrianus their king, a brave and reſolute prince; but he, having received timely notice of his approach, ſaved himſelf by flight; and the emperor, greatly concerned for his diſappointment, returned to Treves, after having laid waſte the country round Mentz belonging to the Alemans called Bucinobantes, to whom he gave one of their own nation, by name Fraomarius, for king, who ſoon after exchanged his new dignity for the command of ſome of his countrymen then quartered in Britain. Valentinian was returned to Treves, with his two generals, Severus and Theodoſius, on the ſixth of December [m]. Ammianus Marcellinus [n] and St. Jerom [o] obſerve, among the tranſactions of this year, that Octavianus, who had been proconſul of Africa under Julian, having concealed himſelf, while he was purſued by the officers of juſtice, in the houſe of an eccleſiaſtic, the magiſtrates commanded the eccleſiaſtic to deliver him up; which he refuſing to do, was by the emperor's orders beheaded at Sirmium. The ſame year Hymecius, who had been vicar of Rome under Julian, and raiſed by Valentinian to the proconſulſhip

He attempts to ſurpriſe the king of the Alemans.

Other inſtances of his ſeverity.

[l] Idem ibid. [m] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 397. & l. xxx. p. 398. Cod. Theod. p. 89. [n] Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 238. & l. xxix. p. 396. [o] Hier. chron.

conſulſhip of Africa, being accuſed of evil practices, (our hiſtorian explains himſelf no farther) was brought to Ocricolum, about thirty miles from Rome, to be tried there by Ampelius, governor of that city, and his vicar Maximinus. A letter was produced againſt him, written with his own hand to a pagan prieſt, named Amantius, deſiring him to offer ſacrifices to the gods, that the cruel and avaricious emperor might in the end be reconciled to him; for part of his eſtate had been already confiſcated for ſome real, or, as Ammianus believed, ſuppoſed, crime. When this letter was produced, Hymecius, well appriſed of the cruelty of Maximinus, appealed to the emperor, who referred the whole affair to the ſenate, by whom Hymecius was baniſhed to the iſland of Boas on the coaſt of Dalmatia. The emperor was highly diſſatisfied with the ſenate for not ſentencing him to death; but did not think it adviſeable to make the leaſt alteration in their decree [p]. The next conſuls were Modeſtus and Arintheus, during whoſe adminiſtration nothing happened in the weſt, which authors have thought worthy of tranſmitting to poſterity. From the dates of ſeveral laws it appears, that the emperor paſſed the whole year, partly at Treves, and partly at Nazonacum, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from that city [q].

THE next conſuls were Valentinian and Valens, both for the fourth time. This year Maximinus was created prefect of Gaul; and the firſt againſt whom he exerted his new authority, was a perſon guilty of no leſs enormous crimes than himſelf, viz. Remigius, who, being magiſter officiorum, had ſcreened his kinſman Romanus from the puniſhment due to the many cruelties, murders, and extortions which he had committed in Africa, as we have related above. Leo, upon his return to Rome, where he had been joined in commiſſion with Maximinus, being raiſed to the poſt of magiſter officiorum, Remigius, who held it before him, retired to his eſtate in the neighbourhood of Mentz, his native city, to lead there a retired life. But Maximinus, deſpiſing him now that he was out of power, ſeized and put to the rack one of his domeſtics, by name Cæſarius, in order to make him diſcover the evil practices of his maſter, and what ſums he had received of Romanus to defend and ſupport him at court. This Remigius no ſooner underſtood, than, overcome by fear, he ſtrangled himſelf, to avoid a public and more ignominious

Remigius and Palladius, the accomplices of Romanus, ſtrangle themſelves.

[p] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 359. [q] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91.

minious death [r]. Palladius, who was no leſs guilty than Remigius, had been, it ſeems, diſgraced before, for ſome other miſdemeanour, though he aſcribed his misfortune chiefly to his having impoſed upon the emperor in an affair of ſuch importance. Of this Valentinian had ſome ſuſpicion, and therefore ordered him to be arreſted; but while the ſoldiers who guarded him were paſſing the night (no doubt the eve of ſome feſtival) in a church, he ended his life in the ſame manner as Remigius had done his [s]. Romanus himſelf was then under arreſt, for having, by his unaccountable conduct, driven Firmus, a Mooriſh prince, to revolt. Theodoſius, who was ſent to ſuppreſs the rebellion, had ſeized Romanus, with all his domeſtics and papers, among which were found ſome relating to the affair of Leptis. Upon this Palladius had been arreſted; but both he and Remigius having laid violent hands on themſelves, Romanus was ſome time after ſet at liberty, and the matter dropped for the preſent, but reſumed under Gratian, when Romanus was convicted of high miſdemeanours; but nevertheleſs, by the intereſt of Merobaudus, allowed to come to court to plead his own cauſe before the emperor [t]. What was the iſſue of this affair, we are no-where told. Firmus, whom we have mentioned above, was the ſon of Nubel, the moſt powerful of all the Mooriſh princes, who looked upon him, though ſubject to the Romans, as their king and ſovereign. He left ſeveral ſons behind him, and among the reſt Firmus and Zamma. The latter being privately murdered by his brother Firmus, Romanus, with whom Zamma lived in great intimacy, to revenge the death of his friend, did all that lay in his power to incenſe the emperor againſt Firmus, being backed therein by his kinſman Remigius, then magiſter officiorum. Hereupon Firmus, appriſed of the danger that threatened him, and no longer able to bear the haughty and inſolent behaviour of Romanus, and the officers of the army, reſolved to revolt in his own defence; and accordingly, having animated the other Mooriſh nations to ſhake off the yoke, under which they had long groaned, he aſſumed the purple and the other enſigns of royalty, with the title of king, a Roman tribune, who had taken part with him, laying his collar upon the head of the new king inſtead of a diadem [u]. Some antiquaries will have this to be the Firmus, who, on an antient

Firmus revolts in Africa.

[r] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 417. [s] Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381. & l. xxix. p. 399. [t] Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381, 382. [u] Idem, l. xxx. p. 429. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 33. Zoſ. l. iv. p. 744.

medal, bears the title of Auguſtus [y]; but their opinion is rejected by others. Firmus, finding himſelf in a ſhort time at the head of a conſiderable body of Moors, who flocked to him from all quarters, ravaged the provinces of Africa and Mauritania without oppoſition, and even made himſelf maſter

Takes Cæſarea and other places.

of Cæſarea, now Algier, the metropolis of Mauritania Cæſarienſis, where he found a conſiderable ſum belonging to the exchequer, but left in the hands of the magiſtrates of that city. The officers of the treaſury ſued the magiſtrates for the money which had been left with them in truſt; but were ordered by the emperor to drop the proſecution, Clemens, biſhop of the place, having prevailed upon him to iſſue that order, and by that means ſaved his country from certain ruin [z]. The famous Symmachus, of whom hereafter, wrote on this occaſion to Titianus, then vicar of Africa, preſſing him to cauſe the order which the biſhop had obtained to be put in execution [a]. Firmus took likewiſe the city of Rucata, betrayed to him as was believed, by the biſhop of the Donatiſts, upon his promiſing not to moleſt any of that ſect [b]. The Donatiſts looked upon Firmus, not as an uſurper, but a lawful prince; whence they were in thoſe parts ſtyled Firmiani [c]. The emperor was no ſooner informed of the revolt

Theodoſius is ſent againſt him.

of Firmus, than he diſpatched againſt him Theodoſius, the beſt general of his time, with the troops that were quartered in Pannonia and Upper Mæſia, and a detachment out of thoſe that attended the court, and were thence called comitatenſes. Theodoſius embarqued at Arles in the latter end of the year 372, or the beginning of 373, and having had a favourable paſſage, landed ſoon after at a place called Igilgitanum in Mauritania Sitifenſis. His firſt care, upon his arrival, was to arreſt Romanus, who, by his haughty and arbitrary conduct, had, as it were, forced the Moors to re-

Firmus pretends to ſubmit.

volt. Firmus in the mean time, hearing that ſo renowned a commander was ſent againſt him, began to deſpair of ſucceſs; and thereupon diſpatched deputies to Theodoſius, declaring, that he had been in a manner forced to revolt; that he did not pretend to juſtify what he had done, but, on the contrary, was ready to ſubmit, and quit the enſigns of royalty, provided the emperor would forget his paſt conduct. Theodoſius, thinking it adviſeable to admit of his ſubmiſſion and excuſe, aſſured him of his pardon, upon his delivering

[y] Spanh. l. vii. p 599. [z] Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 389. Symmach. l. i. epiſt. 58. p. 39. [a] Sym. ibid. [b] Auguſt. ep. 164. p. 296. [c] Idem in par. l. i. c. 10, 11.

ing up to him ſome of the chief men among the Moors, by way of hoſtages. This Firmus promiſed to do; but as he put off from day to day the execution of his promiſe, Theodoſius, ſuſpecting his ſincerity, marched from Panchariana, the place of the general rendezvous, to Tubuſuptius, in the neighbourhood of mount Ferratus, where Maſcezel, brother to Firmus, lay encamped with a conſiderable body of Moors. He was there met by a ſecond embaſſy from Firmus; but, as the deputies brought no hoſtages along with them, he would not ſo much as admit them to his preſence, but fell unexpectedly upon the Tyndenſes and Maſiniſſenſes, two Mooriſh nations, commanded by Maſcezel; and having defeated them with great ſlaughter, he laid waſte the country, razed the caſtle of Petra, which had been lately built, and made himſelf maſter of another ſtrong-hold, which he made choice of for a magazine, ſtoring it with all ſorts of proviſions, that they might be nearer at hand, in caſe he ſhould think fit to penetrate farther into the country. In the mean time, Maſcezel, having rallied his broken forces, ventured a ſecond engagement, in which he was attended with no better ſucceſs than in the former, great numbers of his troops being cut off, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaping. Hereupon Firmus ſent at laſt the promiſed hoſtages, and with them ſome biſhops to intercede with Theodoſius in his behalf. The Roman general received them with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, and upon their promiſing in the name of Firmus, that the booty and priſoners he had taken ſhould be reſtored, and the Roman army ſupplied with proviſions, he granted a general pardon to him and all his followers; which ſo encouraged the Moor, that he came in perſon to wait on Theodoſius; and, bewailing his folly and raſhneſs, promiſed to make amends for both by his future conduct and fidelity. Theodoſius received him in a moſt obliging manner, gave him all the encouragement he expected or deſired, and diſmiſſed him, extremely pleaſed with his reception. Firmus, at his departure, left ſome of his relations behind him for hoſtages; and two days after delivered up to the Romans a place called Icoſium, with the priſoners, military enſigns, and the booty he had taken. From thence Theodoſius advanced to Tipaſa, where he was met by the embaſſadors of the Mazices, a nation inhabiting the eaſtern parts of Mauritania Cæſarienſis, who had joined Firmus in his revolt. They came to ſubmit in the name of the whole nation, and to beg pardon for their revolt; but Theodoſius returned them no other anſwer, than that their perfidy deſerved to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. From Tipaſa

Theodoſius defeats ſome nations in alliance with Firmus.

Firmus pretends anew to ſubmit.

Tipaſa he proceeded to Cæſarea, now Algier, which Firmus had taken in the beginning of the rebellion, and delivered up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. There he received certain intelligence, that Firmus was preparing under-hand for war; that he had never had any real intention of concluding a peace with the Romans; and that he only watched an opportunity of falling upon them at the beſt advantage. Hereupon Theodoſius, leaving at Cæſarea the firſt and ſecond legions, who were to repair the fortifications, and ſecure it in the beſt manner they could againſt any further attempts of the enemy, marched to Sugabarri, a town of Mauritania Cæſarienſis, where he ſurpriſed a Roman cohort, who had joined the rebels. Their tribunes he put to death; but contented himſelf with condemning the common ſoldiers to the meaneſt offices in the army. From thence he advanced farther into the country; and having made himſelf maſter of Gaionatis and Tingitanum, two places of great ſtrength, he paſſed the mountain Ancorarius, and entering the country of the Mazices, gained a ſignal victory over them. They made at firſt a vigorous reſiſtance; but were at length utterly defeated, and almoſt all put to the ſword. But, notwithſtanding this victory, the Moors poured down upon him from all quarters in ſuch multitudes, that he thought it adviſeable to retire, rather than penetrate farther into the country, his army being only three thouſand five hundred ſtrong. But the enemy, appriſed of his deſign, not only harraſſed him inceſſantly on his march, but, by ſtopping up all the paſſes, cut off his retreat; inſomuch, that the whole army muſt inevitably have periſhed, had not the Moors unexpectedly betaken themſelves to flight, and left the paſſes open, at the ſight of a great body of their own countrymen, whom they miſtook, obſerving ſome Roman deſerters at their head, for a reinforcement coming to relieve Theodoſius. The Romans, having thus, by a happy miſtake, eſcaped death or ſlavery, retired in good order to Muzucanum, and from thence to Tipaſa; where Theodoſius, reflecting on the poſture of his affairs, reſolved to manage the war after another manner, and to try, whether he could, by menaces or promiſes, prevail upon the nations in alliance with Firmus to make a ſeparate peace, and deliver him up to the Romans. With this view he diſpatched embaſſadors to the ſeveral nations that had joined him; which Firmus, who was well acquainted with the fickle temper of the Moors, no ſooner underſtood, than, dreading the iſſue of ſuch negotiations, he abandoned his army; and taking the advantage of a dark night, retired privately

But prepares for war.

Theodoſius gains great advantages over his confederates.

vately to the mountains called Caprarienſes, which, by reaſon of the rocks and precipices, were deemed inacceſſible. The multitude, ſtruck with amazement at his unexpected flight, and now without a head, ſoon diſperſed; and Theodoſius, ſeizing their camp, made himſelf maſter of the neighbouring countries without the leaſt oppoſition, placing ſuch governors over them, as had given him evident proofs of their fidelity. He then marched without delay in purſuit of Firmus, who, as he was informed, had taken ſanctuary in the country of the Iſaflenſes. That warlike nation refuſing to deliver him up, ſeveral battles were fought, in one of which Mazaca, Firmus's brother, was taken priſoner, but died the ſame day of the wounds he had received. Evaſius, a perſon of great authority among the Iſaflenſes, and his ſon Florus fell likewiſe into the hands of the Romans; and as they had been remarkably zealous in the cauſe of Firmus, they were both, by Theodoſius's orders, burnt alive. The Romans, overpowered by numbers, were often reduced to great ſtreights; but having in the end utterly defeated the enemy in a battle which laſted from morning to night, ſome nations, that had joined the Iſaflenſes, began to be weary of the war, and deſert them. Hereupon Igmazen, prince of the country, finding himſelf abandoned by his allies, and no-ways in a condition to make head againſt the Romans with his own forces alone, privately agreed with Theodoſius to betray Firmus into his hands, and accordingly ordered him to be ſecured, while he was preparing to make his eſcape. But Firmus, to avoid the diſgrace of the puniſhment, which he apprehended from the Romans, ſtrangled himſelf while his guards were aſleep, to the great grief of Igmazen, who had propoſed to ingratiate himſelf with the Romans, by carrying him alive to their camp. However, he immediately ſent the body to Theodoſius, who received it with great joy, and ſoon after returned to Sitifis, which city he entered in a kind of triumph. The ſeveral Mooriſh nations, that had ſided with Firmus, ſent deputies to ſue for peace; which Theodoſius readily granted them, upon their delivering up to him ſome of their leading men, whom he cauſed to be put to death [q]. In this war Gildo, one of Firmus's brothers, took party with the Romans, and gave ſignal proofs of his fidelity; but afterwards revolted under Honorius, and was attended with no better ſucceſs than his brother. When the war was ended, Theodoſius wrote to Symmachus; but in his letter he ſpoke only

Firmus abandons his army and flies to the Iſaflenſes.

Who are defeated by Theodoſius.

Firmus ſtrangles himſelf.

[q] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 398—408. Zoſ. l. iv p. 744

only in general terms of his victory, referring him to public fame for a more particular account of it. Symmachus, in his anſwer, commends his modeſty, which to him ſeemed the more worthy of praiſe, as Theodoſius was no leſs qualified for writing than fighting [r].

Cruelties exerciſed at Rome by Simplicius.

THE following year, when Gratian was conſul the third time with Equitius, many eminent perſons of both ſexes were cruelly racked and put to death by Simplicius, vicar of Rome, who, being raiſed to that employment by the intereſt of Maximinus, put, under various pretences, all thoſe to death to whom his patron bore the leaſt grudge, and among the reſt Aginacius, a patrician of an illuſtrious and antient family, who had been conſular or governor of Byzacene under Julian, and vicar of Rome in the preſent reign. He was accuſed of adultery; and though the informer could not make good the charge, yet he was ſentenced to death, and executed with Anepſia, a lady of great diſtinction, who, being accuſed of the ſame crime, had impeached Aginacius, hoping by that means to ingratiate herſelf with Simplicius, and eſcape the danger that threatened her [s]. As for the emperor, he paſſed the winter at Milan, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, but was again at Treves on the twenty-firſt of May, and the twentieth of June [t]. From thence he marched into Germany; and, after having ravaged the country bordering on the Rhine, returned to Baſle, in the neighbourhood of which city he ordered a fort to be built named Robur: from this fort we find a law dated the tenth of July [u]. While the emperor was encamped there, news was brought, that the

The Quadi and Sarmatians break into Illyricum.

Quadi had with great violence broken into Illyricum, upon the following provocation: Valentinian, perhaps over-careful in fortifying the borders of the empire, had ordered ſome forts to be built beyond the Danube, in the territories of the Quadi, who, alarmed thereat, prevailed upon Equitius, then general of the troops in Illyricum, to ſuſpend the work till he received further orders from the emperor, to whom they had ſent ſome of the chief men of their nation to complain of that violence. But in the mean time, Maximinus, prefect of Gaul, upbraiding Equitius with cowardice and irreſolution, bragged that, in ſpite of the Quadi, the forts ſhould be ſoon finiſhed, provided his ſon Marcellianus, though yet very young, was but created duke of Valeria, a province of Illyricum. Marcellianus being accordingly advanced to that dignity, upon his arrival

[r] Sym l. x. epiſt. 1. p. 389. [s] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 363—366. [t] Cod. Theodoſ. chron. p. 93, 94. [u] Idem ibid.

arrival in Illyricum, ordered the work, which had been for ſome time diſcontinued, to be carried on a-new, without taking the leaſt notice of the complaints of the Quadi. Hereupon Gabinius, their king, came in perſon to wait upon him, entreating him, with the greateſt modeſty and reſpect imaginable, not to give any motives of jealouſy or miſunderſtanding between his people and the ſubjects of the empire. Marcellianus received him in a very obliging manner; and pretending to hearken to his juſt remonſtrances, invited him to a banquet, during which he cauſed him, without any regard to the ſacred laws of hoſpitality, or the right of nations, to be inhumanly murdered. This black piece of treachery alarmed and incenſed both the Quadi and their neighbours the Sarmatians, who, flying to arms, paſſed the Danube in the utmoſt rage; and falling upon the reapers, it being then harveſt-time, cut moſt of them in pieces, laid waſte the country to a great diſtance, and returned loaded with an immenſe booty. In this confuſion, Conſtantia, the daughter of Conſtantius, who was then paſſing through Illyricum, in order to be married to Gratian, had fallen into their hands, had not Meſſala, governor of the province, who attended her, put her into a chariot in great haſte, and conveyed her with all poſſible ſpeed to Sirmium [w]. Conſtantia was born after the death of her father, and therefore was at that time in the thirteenth or fourteenth year of her age [x]. She is ſtyled on the antient coins Flavia Maxima Conſtantia. Probus, the prefect of Illyricum, reſided then at Sirmium; but as he was a man of no courage, though deſcended of an illuſtrious family, he was ſo alarmed at the report of the many murders and unheard-of cruelties committed by the incenſed enemy, that he had already provided himſelf with ſwift horſes to make his eſcape; but being with much-ado prevailed upon to ſtay, more out of regard to his own ſafety, than the publick good, he took all imaginable care to put the city in a condition to withſtand the efforts of the barbarians; who thereupon, inſtead of laying ſiege to it, reſolved to purſue Equitius, whom they looked upon as the chief author of the murder of their king. He had fled into Valeria, and thither they followed him, committing dreadful ravages in the countries through which they paſſed. In their way they met two legions, the Pannonian and the Mœſian, who had been ſent to oppoſe them, and were of ſufficient ſtrength to

Gabinius, king of the Quadi, murdered by the Romans.

The Quadi invade Pannonia, and commit dreadful ravages.

[w] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 408, 409. Zoſ. l. iv. p. 745.
[x] Chryſ. ad vid. junior. p. 463.

to reſtrain their fury, had they not fallen into an unſeaſonable contention about precedency, each of them claiming the honour of charging the firſt. The barbarians, appriſed of their diſagreement, without waiting for the ſignal of battle, fell firſt with great fury upon the Mœſian legion, before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and having cut moſt of them in pieces, attacked, and in like manner put to the ſword, the other legion, only a ſmall number of them by flight eſcaping death or captivity [y]. Thus all the open country was abandoned to the barbarians, the Romans remaining maſters only of the fortified places, where they committed, ſays Zoſimus [z], as great diſorders as the barbarians themſelves in the other parts. But the Sarmatians, having entered Upper Mœſia, were repulſed with incredible ſlaughter by Theodoſius, afterwards emperor, but at that time very young, and only duke of Mœſia. The barbarians, who were infinitely ſuperior to him in number, thought to have overpowered him; but he, with a courage and conduct far above his years, made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, as to ſatiate with the bodies of the ſlain, to uſe the expreſſion of Ammianus, the birds of prey, and the moſt ravenous among the wild beaſts [a]. The Sarmatians, deſpairing of ſucceſs againſt ſo brave a leader, ſent deputies to ſue for peace, which they obtained, and for ſome time obſerved, being kept in awe by ſome troops, which Valentinian had ſent into Illyricum upon the firſt notice of the irruption of the barbarians into that province. He was for leaving Gaul, and marching in perſon againſt them; but as the autumn was already far ſpent, and Macrianus king of the Alemans, with other princes, ſeemed ready to break into Gaul upon the departure of the emperor, he was with much-ado prevailed upon to put off his march to a more convenient ſeaſon. However, as he was determined to leave Gaul early in the ſpring, and march into Illyricum, he invited Macrianus, whoſe valour he chiefly dreaded, to an interview in the neighbourhood of Mentz. Macrianus complied with his invitation, and though at firſt he betrayed a great deal of pride in ſeeing his friendſhip thus courted by the Roman emperor, yet in the end he accepted the advantageous terms that were offered him, and continued to his death a faithful friend to the Romans [b]. He was in the end killed by Merobandes king

They defeat two Roman legions.

The Sarmatians defeated by Theodoſius.

The emperor concludes a peace with the king of the Alemans,

[y] Ammian. & Zoſ. ibid. [z] Zoſ. p. 745. [a] Ammian. p. 410, 411. [b] Idem, l. xxx. p. 417, 418.

king of the Franks, whoſe dominions he had invaded [c]. Valentinian, having thus concluded a peace with the brave king of the Alemans, returned to Treves, where he paſſed the winter [d]; and the following ſpring ſet out from thence for Illyricum, attended by his wife Juſtina and Valentinian her eldeſt ſon. Gratian was left at Treves, with a numerous body of troops, to keep the German nations in awe. The preſent year 375, is marked in the faſti thus; the year after the third conſulſhip of Gratian and his collegue Equitius. St. Jerom writes, that no conſuls were named this year, on account of the diſturbances raiſed in Pannonia by the Sarmatians [e]. The emperor was ſtill at Treves on the ninth of April [f]; but left that city ſoon after [g]. He was met on his march by embaſſadors from the Sarmatians, who, throwing themſelves at his feet, earneſtly entreated him not to give credit to the reports that had been ſpread abroad concerning the ravages and cruelties ſaid to have been committed by thoſe of their nation; they aſſured him, that, upon examination, he would not find them guilty of the crimes that were by their enemies urged againſt them. The emperor anſwered, that he would determine nothing for the preſent; but ſuſpend his judgment till his arrival in thoſe parts, which had moſt ſuffered by their late irruption. Having thus diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, he purſued his march; and arriving in Illyricum, took up his quarters at Carnuntum, once a flouriſhing city, but then in decay. Moſt geographers take it to be the city of Hainburgh on the Danube in Auſtria, about thirty-three miles eaſt of Vienna. The emperor choſe it, as being moſt conveniently ſituated for the defence of the country, and continued there three months, making the neceſſary preparations for his intended expedition againſt the Quadi and Sarmations [h]. He was ſtill at Carnuntum on the twelfth of Auguſt [i]. Ammianus blames him for not enquiring how Gabinius king of the Quadi came to be murdered, nor puniſhing thoſe, who, through treachery or cowardice, had abandoned the defence of the frontiers; both which things were expected from a prince of his exactneſs and ſeverity [k]. Probus the prefect was the only perſon againſt whom he ſhewed any reſentment; for he, to ſatisfy the avarice of the emperor, had, according to Ammianus, oppreſſed the people committed to his care in a manner

And marches into Illyricum.

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 64. [e] Hier. chron. [f] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94. [g] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 418. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94. [k] Ammian. p. 425.

The people of Illyricum oppreſſed by Probus.

manner hardly to be expreſſed, putting to death, baniſhing, or condemning to dungeons, the moſt wealthy among them, that he might ſeize their eſtates; inſomuch, that all the perſons of rank in the country, dreading the avarice and unheard-of cruelties of their governor, had privately diſpoſed of their effects, and abandoned their country. All this the emperor learnt of a philoſopher, by name Iphicles, who had been ſent by the Epirots his countrymen, to thank Probus for his prudent and mild adminiſtration. The emperor, informed of the errand on which he was ſent, aſked him, whether his countrymen were really ſatisfied with their governor? and whether their thanks and commendations were ſincere? They thank and commend him, anſwered frankly the philoſopher; but with tears in their eyes, and ſore againſt their will. Hereupon Valentinian made a ſtrict enquiry into his conduct, and, finding him guilty of moſt enormous extortions, and unheard-of barbarities, reſolved to depoſe him; but was prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution [l]. Thus Ammianus. But St. Jerom writes, that Illyricum was plundered, and tyrannically oppreſſed, by Equitius, without ſo much as mentioning Probus [m]; and Ammianus himſelf owns, that Leo, then magiſter officiorum, exaſperated the emperor againſt Probus, hoping to be made prefect in his room [n].

An account of the family of Probus.

Probus was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome, and reckoned amongſt his anceſtors the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The families of the Probi, of the Anicii, and of the Olybrii, were, according to St. Jerom [o], Auſonius [p], and Prudentius [q], the moſt conſpicuous in Rome. Probus, who had embraced the chriſtian religion, with his whole family [r], lived in great intimacy with St. Ambroſe, the celebrated biſhop of Milan. When the latter was by the emperor appointed governor of Liguria and Æmilia, Probus, in taking his leave of him, gave him the following memorable advice: Acquit yourſelf in your office, not like a governor, but like a biſhop [s]. St. Ambroſe was then by profeſſion a pleader or advocate. Probus was firſt proconſul of Africa in 358, afterwards four times prefect of Italy or Gaul, and in 371, Gratian's collegue in the conſulſhip. He was no leſs famous for his wealth, than his birth and employments; for he is ſaid to have owned immenſe poſſeſſions in all the provinces of

[l] Idem ibid. [m] Hier. chron. [n] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 424, 425. [o] Hier. ep. 8. p. 63. [p] Auſon. ep. 3. p. 422. [q] Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Ambroſ. vit. p. 79.

of the empire [t]. Paulinus Diaconus tells us, that two Perſian lords of great diſtinction, being come to Milan to viſit St. Ambroſe, went from thence to Rome, on purpoſe to behold the grandeur and pomp in which Probus lived [u]. He died, as appears from Claudian, before the end of the year 394, being then in the ſixtieth year of his age [w], after having received the ſacrament of baptiſm; and was buried in a magnificent monument near the church of St. Peter at Rome, of which monument ſome remains were ſtill to be ſeen in the time of pope Nicolas V [x]. Several letters written to him by Symmachus have reached our times [y], and a poem addreſſed to him by Auſonius in 372. Ammianus commends him in ſeveral places of his hiſtory, but more frequently taxes him with great vices, perhaps becauſe he profeſſed the chriſtian religion [z]. Claudian, though a pagan as well as Ammianus, highly commends him; but it is in a panegyric on his children [a]. Both writers agree in extolling his generoſity. His wife Proba, named in the antient inſcriptions Anicia Faltonia Proba, was no leſs eſteemed on account of her birth and extraordinary qualities, than her huſband, being adorned with every virtue becoming her ſex, and deſcended from the Anician family, equalled by Caſſiodorus [b], St. Auſtin [c], St. Jerom [d], and St. Ambroſe [e], to the imperial families. Some of her anceſtors bore the firſt employments in the times of the republic; and one of them is ſaid to have been honoured with a triumph for reducing Illyricum [f]. Ammianus [g] and Zoſimus [h] take notice of their immenſe wealth; and St. Jerom, writing to Demetrias the grand-daughter of Probus, ſays, that it was the peculiar prerogative of her family to poſſeſs riches, and deſpiſe them [i]. Anicius Julianus, on whom Symmachus beſtows great encomiums [k], was the firſt Roman ſenator that embraced the chriſtian religion [l]. Ammianus obſerves, that, in the reign of Conſtantius, the Anicians bore the chief ſway in Rome [m].

But

[t] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 352. [u] Ambroſ. vit. p. 83. [w] Claud. de conſulat. Olyb. & Prob. p. 2. [x] Baron. ad ann. 395. [y] Sym. l. iii. epiſt. 50—55. p. 36. [z] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 352, 353. l. xxviii. p. 362. l. xxxii. p. 423, 424. [a] Claud. ibid. [b] Caſſiod. l. x. ep. 12. p. 162. [c] Auguſt. ep. 179. p. 305. [d] Hier. ep. 11. p. 162. [e] Amb. ep. 33. p. 263. [f] Auſon. p. 422. [g] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68. [h] Zoſ. l. vi. p. 828. [i] Hier. ep. 8. p. 68. [k] Sym. p 299. [l] Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 221. [m] Ammian. l. xvi. p. 68.

But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory: Valentinian, during his ſtay at Carnuntum, cauſed Fauſtinus, nephew to Viventius, a few years before prefect of Gaul, to be firſt inhumanly racked, and afterwards publicly executed, being accuſed of magical practices, and of having anſwered one Nigrinus, deſiring him in jeſt to make him a notary, Make me firſt emperor. They were joking; but the joke coſt both of them their lives. From Carnuntum the emperor diſpatched Merobandes and count Sebaſtian, with a party of foot, to lay waſte the enemy's country, while he, with the main body of the army, advanced to Acincum, now Gran, or, as others will have it, Buda, in Lower Hungary [n]. There he paſſed the Danube, and having ravaged the enemy's country far and near, deſtroying all with fire and ſword, he returned to Acincum, when the autumn was already far advanced. Being deſirous to find out ſome convenient winter-quarters in that frozen climate, he proceeded from thence to Sabaria, now Servar; but that place not anſwering his expectation, he purſued his march along the Danube to Bregetio, which ſome take to be a village now called Bregnitz, and others a place in the iſle of Schut, where the preſent city of Komare ſtands, or a little below that of Markelhaz [o]. There he gave audience to the embaſſadors of the Quadi, come to ſue for peace; but while he was ſpeaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he all on a ſudden fell to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. He was conveyed into his chamber by thoſe who attended him, where he was ſeized with convulſion fits, and violent contorſions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he expired on the ſeventeenth of November of this year 375, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned twelve years, wanting an hundred days [p]. Victor writes, that he died of a ſurfeit [q]. St. Jerom aſcribes his death to a violent vomiting of blood [r]. Socrates tells us, that being affronted at the meanneſs and beggarly appearance of the embaſſadors of the Quadi, he aſked them, If their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him? They anſwered, That the firſt men in the nation were in his preſence. Hereupon he fell into a great paſſion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for preſuming to inſult the majeſty of the Roman emperor and

Fauſtinus executed.

Valentinian ravages the country of the Quadi.

He dies ſuddenly.

[n] Vide Baudr. p. 55. [o] Vide Sanſ. & Baud. p. 129, 130.
[p] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 427. Vict. epit. Philoſt. l. ix. c. 16. p. 130. [q] Vict. epit. [r] Hier. ep. 3. p. 26.

and people. He delivered this with ſo much heat and violence, that, his veins burſting, he was inſtantly ſuffocated in his own blood [s]. The reader will find in Socrates part of the ſpeech which he made, or is ſuppoſed to have made, to the embaſſadors [t]. His death was preſaged, according to Ammianus, by ſeveral omens: A blazing ſtar, which in the opinion of that writer, ever forebodes the death of ſome great perſonage, had appeared a few days before: at Sirmium the palace court, and forum were conſumed by lightning: the night before he died, he ſaw, or imagined to ſee, his wife, then abſent, ſitting by him, in a melancholy poſture and in a mourning dreſs, with her hair diſhevelled. This Ammianus takes to have been his genius forſaking him [u]. On the day he died, his horſe, while he was about to mount, rearing with great fury, his ſtrator or equerry, ſtriving to place the emperor in the ſaddle, happened to give him a blow; which he reſenting with his uſual brutality, ordered the equerry's hand to be cut off; but Cerealis, tribunus ſtabuli, or maſter of the horſe, put off the execution of ſo cruel and unjuſt an order at the peril of his own life [w]. The year before, the Tiber overflowed its banks, and laid all the lower parts of Rome under water, the inhabitants being obliged to ſave themſelves upon the hills, where they had periſhed with hunger, had not Claudius, prefect of the city, ſent them a ſeaſonable ſupply of proviſions in boats. Theſe overflowings of the Tiber were generally looked upon as the forerunners of ſome public diſaſter. The body of the deceaſed emperor was embalmed, and ſent to Conſtantinople, to be interred there amongſt the other chriſtian princes. It arrived in that city on the twenty-eighth of December of the enſuing year 376, but was not buried till the twenty-firſt of February of the year 382, when Theodoſius paid it that laſt duty [x]. Some pretended in 1174 to have diſcovered his body at Andernach on the Rhine; but it is evident from hiſtory, that he was buried at Conſtantinople. As to his character, Ammianus taxes him with ſeveral vices. He was, according to that writer, naturally inclined to cruelty, puniſhing even the ſmalleſt faults with the utmoſt ſeverity, and ſuffering his miniſters, or rather encouraging them, to exerciſe unheard-of cruelties. He was covetous to a great degree, uſing all poſſible methods to raiſe money; which, however, ſome excuſe in him, as he found, on

Several omens preceding Valentinian's death.

His character.

[s] Socr. p. 248, 249. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Ammian. p. 426.
[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem, p. 433. Marc. chron.

his acceſſion to the empire, the exchequer quite exhauſted by his predeceſſors, eſpecially by Julian, who had ſpent immenſe ſums in the Perſian war. He had a mighty opinion of his own accompliſhments and abilities, and therefore hated all who were eminent for learning, valour, ſkill in the military art, or any other prerogative; nay, even ſuch as had a genteel fancy in dreſs. He pretended to be a great enemy to cowards, and nevertheleſs, on ſeveral occaſions, betrayed more fear than was becoming a man, who, from his infancy, had borne arms; inſomuch, that his miniſters, who were well acquainted with his temper, when he was in a paſſion, and they could by no other means appeaſe him, uſed to pretend certain intelligence from the frontiers, that the barbarians were up in arms, and ready to break into the empire; which never failed to allay his wrath, and make him appear, to uſe the expreſſion of Ammianus, as mild as ever was Antoninus Pius [y]. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſtrangely impoſed upon by his miniſters, repoſing an entire confidence in thoſe who deſerved it the leaſt; whence the provinces were often oppreſſed, and the people reduced to beggary, while he, miſled and deceived by thoſe about him, believed they enjoyed an entire happineſs [z]. Had he not been deceived in the choice of his miniſters, ſays Victor, he would have reigned with great glory, and been ranked after his death amongſt the beſt princes [a]. And truly he was, even according to Ammianus, a writer no-ways partial to him, or any of the chriſtian princes, endowed with many excellent qualities; well acquainted with the military art, and no leſs with the art of governing; careful in protecting the ſubjects of the empire againſt the incurſions of the barbarians; an exact obſerver of the military diſcipline; enured from his infancy to hardſhips, and no-ways biaſſed by favour in diſpoſing of the great offices. Tho' he had many relations, who, upon his advancement, expected great preferments, yet he employed none of them, except his brother Valens, whom he aſſumed for his collegue, and with whom he reigned in perfect concord. In his entertainments he was ſplendid, but not profuſe; in his perſon comely, and well-ſhaped; in his converſation agreeable; of an extraordinary memory, and ready elocution, knowing well how to accommodate himſelf to all times and occaſions [b]. He ſuffered no places to be bought or ſold during the whole time of his reign; and tho' he was often miſtaken

[y] Ammian. l. xxx. p. 431, 432. [z] Vict. ibid. p. 345.
[a] Idem ibid. [b] Ammian. p. 433.

taken in the choice of his officers and miniſters, yet his intention was to prefer only the moſt deſerving, and for that reaſon he neglected his own relations. He abated the taxes, and eaſed his people, as far as the ſtate of his affairs would allow, of the heavy burdens laid upon them by his predeceſſors [c]. He was an utter ſtranger to debauchery and unlawful pleaſures, which he endeavoured to reſtrain by ſeveral excellent laws [d]. As to his religion, in the great variety of opinions, which at that time divided the world, he inviolably adhered to the orthodox faith; but avoiding all diſputes, he allowed to the reſt of his ſubjects, even to the pagans, an entire liberty of conſcience. He is blamed by the eccleſiaſtic writers, for ſuffering his brother Valens to perſecute the orthodox chriſtians; but ſome alledge in his defence, that the condition of his affairs would not allow him in prudence openly to oppoſe Valens, ſince that perhaps might have kindled a civil war, which, at that time, would have proved fatal to the empire. To conclude, he was endowed, according to Ammianus, with ſuch excellent qualities, that had they not been allayed with the mixture of the above-mentioned vices, eſpecially with that of cruelty, he had been no-ways inferior to the excellent emperors Trajan and M. Aurelius [e]. Amongſt his other laws he enacted one addreſſed to Maximus vicar of Rome, relating to the ſtature or ſize of ſuch as were to be admitted into the army, which was not to be under ſix foot ſeven inches [f].

The reign of Valens in the eaſt.

We ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the reign of Valens in the eaſt, which, to avoid confuſion, we have thought proper to deliver ſeparately, there being no other connection, but that of time, between the reigns and tranſactions of the two princes. After the diviſion of the provinces made at Mediana in the neighbourhood of Naiſſus in Dacia in 364, Valens returned to Conſtantinople, where he enacted a law dated the twenty-ſixth of December, forbidding the meſſengers of good news to exact, according to the abuſe which then prevailed, or even to accept, any thing of the people; but allows them to receive what perſons of rank and fortune ſhall think proper to offer them of their own accord [g]. The following year 365, Valens was ſtill at Conſtantinople on the nineteenth of March [h]; but ſoon after ſet out for Syria, the Perſians being in motion, with a deſign, as was apprehended,

[c] Idem, p. 423. [d] Vict. p. 651. [e] Ammian. p. 432.
[f] Cod. Theod. l. iii. de tyronib. [g] Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. [illegible] l. leg. 1. p. 602, 603. [h] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 73.

to break the peace which they had lately concluded with Jovian. Being informed, as he entered Bithynia, that the Goths were ready to invade Thrace, he dispatched messengers to his officers in those parts, warning them to be upon their guard, and pursued his march to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he was on the fourth of July, and continued there till the latter end of the summer [i]. During his stay in that city, a dreadful earthquake happened, which was felt in most provinces of the empire, and overturned several cities in Sicily, Palestine, and above all in the island of Crete, where the shock was most violent [k]. When Valens was upon the point of departing from Cæsarea, news was brought him of the revolt of Procopius, who, after having paid the last duty to the body of his kinsman Julian, had privately withdrawn, through fear of Jovian, into Chersonesus Taurica; but not trusting those barbarians, and finding himself destitute even of the necessaries of life, he left that inhospitable country, and returning in disguise into the territories of the empire, he reached undiscovered the city of Chalcedon, where he was received by one Strategius, his trusty friend, and by him carefully concealed at his country-house. From thence he went frequently in a mean dress to Constantinople; and finding that the people there were generally dissatisfied with the present government, on account of the cruelties practised by Petronius, whose daughter, Albia Dominica, the emperor had married, he resolved to improve that dissatisfaction to his own advantage. Having therefore gained over an eunuch of great wealth, by name Eugenius, lately disgraced by Valens, and some of the officers who commanded the troops that had been sent into Thrace against the Goths, and were then quartered at Constantinople, he boldly ventured to discover himself, and lay before the people and soldiery the title he had to the empire, as being nearly related to Julian. Hereupon the officers, whom he had gained before-hand, proclaimed him emperor; and the rest, following their example, saluted him with the title of Augustus, and carried him in triumph to the imperial palace, whither he was attended only by the dregs of the people. However, the next and the following days, several persons of distinction joined him, and at length the whole city of Constantinople [l]. The news of this revolt struck Valens with such terror and dismay,

Procopius revolts,

And is acknowledged by the city of Constantinople.

[i] Idem, p. 74. Ammian. p. 322. [k] Ammian. p. 331, 333. Hier. chron. p. 258. [l] Ammian p. 320. Zos. l. iv. p. 239. Themist p. 91.

diſmay, that he was for quitting the imperial purple and reſigning the empire; but being, with powerful arguments, perſuaded by his friends not to part with the imperial dignity, he detached ſome troops againſt his new rival, hoping to cruſh him before he was in a condition to make any reſiſtance. This detachment met Procopius at Mygdus in Phrygia, attended by a promiſcuous multitude of fugitive ſlaves, deſerters, and perſons of deſperate fortunes, who, upon the approach of the emperor's forces, put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But Procopius, diſtruſting their courage, while both parties were ready to engage, ſtept boldly forward, as if he deſigned to challenge one of the adverſe party to a ſingle combat; and taking Vitalianus, one of the officers, by the hand, mildly upbraided him and his fellow-ſoldiers, for ſiding with a Pannonian robber againſt one allied to the family of Conſtantine the Great. His ſpeech made ſuch a deep impreſ- *He is joined by a party of the emperor's troops.*
ſion upon them, that they immediately paſſed over to his party, and, with loud acclamations ſaluting him emperor, carried him in triumph to the imperial pavilion [k]. This defection brought a very ſeaſonable acceſſion of ſtrength to Procopius, who thereupon detached a ſtrong party, under the conduct of Rumitalca a tribune, to ſeize on Nice; which they did accordingly, without the loſs of a ſingle man [l]. Valens, alarmed at the uſurper's unexpected progreſs, diſpatched Vadomarius, formerly king of the Alemans, to recover that important place, while he went in perſon to lay ſiege to Chalcedon, from which city one of his laws is dated the firſt of December [m]; but he met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that he was obliged to give over the enterprize, the beſieged inſulting him from the walls as he retired, and reviling him with the nickname of Sabaiarius, that is, Beer-drinker, ſabaia being a kind of ſmall drink made of barley, and common in Pannonia, where Valens was born. Rumitalca, who commanded in Nice, being informed of his retreat, ſallied out with great boldneſs, and bearing all down before him, had utterly defeated the emperor, had not Valens, upon timely notice of his approach, taken a quite different rout by the lake Sunona, and the windings of the river Gallus. Thus was the emperor obliged to abandon Bithynia to the enemy, and retire with all expedition to Ancyra, where he continued waiting the arrival of the troops which *Valens obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Chalcedon.*

Lupicinus

[k] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 322, 324. [l] Idem, p. 325. [m] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 75, 76. [n] Ammian ibid. Socrat. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216.

Lupicinus was leading out of the eaſt to his aſſiſtance. In the mean time, Arintheus, one of his chief commanders, an officer of great proweſs and renown, meeting a party of the rebels, commanded by one Hyperechius, formerly an apparitor, and ſcorning to enter the liſts with ſuch a contemptible enemy, commanded, with an air of authority, Hyperechius's own men to bring to him in chains their vile and deſpicable leader ; which they did accordingly, ſtruck with the awful and majeſtic mein of that renowned commander [o].

Procopius ſeizes on Cyzicus, and the treaſure lodged there.

But, in the mean time, Procopius, being informed, that the money allotted for the pay of the ſoldiers who ſerved in the eaſt, was lodged in the city of Cyzicus, haſtened thither, laid ſiege to the place, and in the end reduced it, though defended with great reſolution and intrepidity by Seronianus, at that time comes domeſticorum, who found means to make his eſcape, as Zoſimus informs us [p] ; but was afterwards taken in Lydia, carried priſoner to Nice, and there by Marcellus, governor of the place, put to death. Procopius being, by the reduction of this place, become maſter of the Helleſpont, he appointed Hormiſda governor of that province, with the title of proconſul. He was the ſon of Hormiſda, brother to Sapor king of Perſia, who, as we have related elſewhere, had, in the year 323, taken refuge in the court of Conſtantine the Great, and ever after ſerved the Romans with great fidelity. Procopius ſpent the beſt part of the winter in endeavouring to draw over to his party the cities of Aſia ; but his deſigns were in great meaſure defeated by Clearchus vicar of that province, and more by his own conduct ; for having hitherto behaved with great moderation and humanity, he all on a ſudden grew proud, haughty, and tyrannical, loading the provinces that had ſubmitted to him with exorbitant taxes, tho' he knew, that their averſion to Valens was chiefly owing to that prince's avarice. But nothing more prejudiced the people againſt him, than his commanding the houſe of Arbetio to be ſtripped of the moveables of ineſtimable value, and of the immenſe riches, which that antient and brave commander had amaſſed under Conſtantius. He gave him this unſeaſonable proof of his indignation, tho' he had formerly lived in great friendſhip with him, upon his declining to wait upon him, on account of his great age, and the infirmities attending it [q]. The following year 366, Valens, upon the arrival of the troops from the eaſt under the command of

He grows tyrannical.

[o] Ammian. ibid. [p] Zoſ. p. 328. [q] Ammian. p. 327. Eunap. c. 5. p. 84. Themiſt. orat. 7. p. 92-99.

of Lupicinus, left Galatia, whither he had retired from before Chalcedon, and marched into Lycia, with a deſign to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. As the ſoldiers of Procopius were greatly animated by the preſence of Fauſtina, Conſtantius's widow, and her little daughter Conſtantina, whom Procopius carried about with him, and often expoſed to the view of the army, Valens, to defeat that artifice, prevailed upon Arbetio, who had commanded the forces under Conſtantius, and was beloved by the ſoldiery, to join him, not doubting, but the preſence and intereſt of one of that prince's chief commanders, would draw great numbers of the rebels over to his party. He was not therein deceived; for the preſence of Arbetio, and the high opinion they all entertained of him, quite turned the hearts of Procopius's men; which Gomoarius, one of his chief commanders, being well appriſed of, thought it adviſeable to abandon the tyrant, and ſubmit to Valens [r]. This happened, according to Zoſimus, in the neighbourhood of Thyatira in Lydia, in the heat of a battle, while Valens was in imminent danger of being utterly defeated by the couragcous behaviour and prudent conduct of young Hormiſda [s]. We queſtion whether this can be reconciled with what we read in Ammianus. After this, Valens advanced to Sardes, and from thence to Nicolia, a city of Phrygia, where he gave the rebels battle, the iſſue whereof continued doubtful, till Agilo, by nation a German, one of Procopius's chief commanders, with many others, went over to Valens; which ſo diſheartened Procopius, that, quitting his horſe, he fled into an adjoining wood, attended by Florentius and Barchalbas a tribune. There they wandered about, till the moon ſhining out with great brightneſs, they began to apprehend they might be diſcovered. Hereupon Procopius's two companions, ſeizing him to ſave themſelves, carried him bound to the emperor, who immediately ordered his head to be ſtruck off, and ſent it to Valentinian then in Gaul [t]. Florentius and Barchalbas were likewiſe put to death by the emperor's orders; but, in the opinion of Ammianus, contrary to the rules of juſtice and equity: for had they betrayed, ſays that writer, a lawful prince, their treaſon had deſerved to be puniſhed with death; but as he was a rebel and uſurper, they had great reaſon to expect another ſort of reward for their faithleſs ſervice.

Procopius abandoned by ſome of his chief officers.

Defeated, taken, and put to death.

[r] Ammian. p. 327, 328. [s] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 739. [t] Ammian. p. 329. Philoſt. l. vii. c. 5. p. 145.

ſervice [u]. Philoſtorgius writes, that the army cauſed Florentius to be burnt alive, for his cruelties to thoſe of their party at Nice [w], he having been appointed by Procopius governor of that city; but from Ammianus it is evident, that Marcellus, of whom anon, and not Florentius was governor of that city. What Socrates writes [x] of the cruel death to which the emperor condemned Procopius, and likewiſe his two generals, Agilo and Gomoarius, tho' they had abandoned him before his defeat, deſerves no credit, ſince Ammianus, who never ſpares Valens, in diſplaying with great minuteneſs his other cruelties, takes no notice of this; nay, he tells us in expreſs terms, that Araxes, father-in-law to Agilo, by his intereſt obtained his pardon, tho' he had been præfectus prætorio to Procopius [y]. Such was the end of this uſurper, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, after he had borne the title of emperor for the ſpace of about eight months. He was put to death, according to Idatius and Socrates, on the twenty-ſeventh of May; but on the twentieth of June, according to the chronicle of Alexandria.

His birth, preferments, and character.

He was born of an illuſtrious family in Cilicia, and nearly related to the emperor Julian. He was, tho' a pagan, employed by Conſtantius on account of his integrity, and raiſed by Julian to great employments, and diſtinguiſhed with the title of count. When that prince ſet out on his memorable expedition againſt the Perſians, he inveſted him and count Sebaſtian with the command of a body of thirty thouſand choſen men, who were to remain in Meſopotamia, and cover the empire on that ſide againſt any ſudden irruption of the enemy [z]. Zoſimus writes, that he delivered up to Jovian the purple robe, which Julian was ſaid, as we have related above, to have given him, charging him to aſſume it, if he ſhould happen to die before his return from Perſia [a]. That writer adds, that thereupon Jovian gave him leave to retire with his family to Cæſarea in Cappadocia, and lead there a retired life. Be that as it will, it is certain from Ammianus, that he was ſent by Jovian to attend the corſe of Julian to Tarſus; and afterwards withdrawing, he kept himſelf concealed, till he aſſumed the title of emperor, which occaſioned his ruin. He was, according to Ammianus, a man of few words, cloſe and reſerved; of no mean preſence, tho' he went ſomewhat ſtooping, with his eyes ever fixed on the ground, which proceeded from his gloomy and melancholy temper;

[u] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 335. & l. xxvi. p. 329. [w] Philoſt. p. 123. [x] Socrat. l. iv. c. 5. p. 214. [y] Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 329. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 736.

temper ; yet he was always averſe to the ſhedding of blood, which, in the opinion of Ammianus, was a thing to be wondered at, conſidering the moroſeneſs of his diſpoſition [b]. Marcellus, governor of Nice, and kinſman to Procopius, hearing of his death, ordered Serenianus, who was kept cloſe priſoner in the place, to be immediately diſpatched, ſaving, by the death of one man, the lives of many, ſays Ammianus ; for as he was noted for his cruelty, and had a great aſcendant over Valens, whoſe countryman he was, it was feared, had he outlived the defeat of Procopius's party, he would have induced the emperor, too much inclined of himſelf, to revenge, and occaſioned the deſtruction of many perſons, innocent as well as guilty [c]. After this bold execution, Marcellus being informed, that a body of Goths was marching to the aſſiſtance of Procopius, and not doubting but he ſhould be able to draw them over to his own party, ſeized on the city of Chalcedon ; and being aſſiſted by ſome, whom poverty and deſpair had driven into rebellion, he aſſumed the purple, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. But Valens, upon the firſt notice of his revolt, diſpatched without delay a party of choſen men againſt him, who, coming upon him unexpectedly, ſeized him, and having loaded him with chains, dragged him to the public priſon ; whence he was taken out the next day, and, together with his accomplices, tortured to death [d]. Themiſtius, in his panegyric upon Valens, written a few months after the death of Procopius, tells us, that he uſed his victory with great moderation, puniſhing only the chief authors of the revolt [e]. But Ammianus [f] and Zoſimus [g] aſſure us, that he proceeded with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt ſuch as were but barely ſuſpected of having favoured the rebels. His ears were open to all complaints and information ; and few who had the misfortune to be accuſed, were ſo happy as to eſcape death, baniſhment, or confiſcation, till the emperor had glutted himſelf with blood, and filled his own coffers, and thoſe of his friends likewiſe. He ordered the city of Chalcedon to be diſmantled, purſuant to an oath he had taken ; but the inhabitants of Nice, Nicomedia, and Conſtantinople, interceding in behalf of a city, of which the walls were its chief beauty and ornament, to comply at the ſame time with their requeſt, and his own oath, he cauſed only part of the walls to be demoliſhed, which he immediately

Marcellus revolts ;

But is taken and tortured to death.

[b] Ammian. ibid. [c] Idem. l. xxvi. p. 325. [d] Idem, p. 326, 327. [e] Themiſt. orat. vii. p. 84. [f] Ammian. p. 330. [g] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 720.

ately rebuilt with ſmaller ſtones, ordering the others to be conveyed to Conſtantinople, where they were made uſe of to make a public bath, called the Thermæ, or Hot baths of Conſtantius, if Socrates is not miſtaken [h]; for it is certain, that Valens built at Conſtantinople a public bath, bearing the name of his daughter Caroſa [i], which was ended in 375. This year the empreſs Albia Dominica was on the eighteenth of January, delivered of a ſon, named Valentinian, and ſurnamed Galata, no doubt, becauſe he was born in Galatia, where Valens paſſed the firſt months of this year, as we have obſerved.

Valens reſolves to war upon the Goths.

THE following year 367, Valens hearing that a body of three thouſand Goths, who were come to the aſſiſtance of Procopius, and had marched back upon the news of his death, had not yet paſſed the Danube, ſent a ſtrong detachment againſt them, who cutting off their retreat, obliged them, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they made, to lay down their arms, and yield themſelves priſoners [k]. Hereupon Athanaric, at that time king, or rather judge, of the Goths, named Thervingi, (for he ſeems to have declined the royal title) diſpatched embaſſadors to Valens, earneſtly entreating him to ſet the priſoners at liberty, and ſuffer them to return to their own country, ſince they had been ſent by their prince, a friend and ally of the Romans, to the aſſiſtance of a Roman emperor. The embaſſadors, after having delivered this meſſage, produced a letter from Procopius to their maſter, wherein he aſſured him, that the empire belonged to him as the kinſman of Conſtantius, and the heir of the great Conſtantine's family. Valens returned, it ſeems, no anſwer to the embaſſadors; but ſent Victor, then magiſter equitum, or general of the horſe, to complain in his name of Athanaric, for aſſiſting a rebel againſt his lawful ſovereign. The Goths anſwered, that they had looked upon Procopius as the kinſman of Conſtantine and heir of his family, adding, that it was not their buſineſs to examine whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and that, if they were therein deceived, the emperor ought to forgive them, ſince their counſels had been influenced by what appeared to them juſt and equitable. They could not, however, obtain the deliverance of their priſoners, Valens, who had no other enemy at that time to divert him, being deſirous to humble that powerful nation

[h] Socr. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216. [i] Ammian. p. 614. Chron. Alex. p. 704. [k] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 740. Eunap. de legation. p. 18

nation [l]. Ammianus thinks he had juſtice on his ſide [m]; but Eunapius will not take upon him to decide whether he had or not [n]. This war was like to prove very dangerous, the Goths being then very powerful, and beſides, elated with the great advantages they had gained over they neighbouring nations, if Jornandes is to be credited [o], who ſeems to have been but indifferently acquainted with the hiſtory of his country, ſince he takes no notice of the preſent war. Valens, being bent upon war, and well appriſed of the ſtrength and power of the enemy, made vaſt preparations during the winter, with a deſign to fall upon the enemy early in the ſpring. Before he ſet out on ſo dangerous an expedition, in order to render heaven propitious to his undertaking, he received the ſacrament of baptiſm, but, out of complaiſance to the empreſs, at the hands of Eudoxius, then biſhop of Conſtantinople, a leading man among the Arians, who, in adminiſtering to him that ſacrament, obliged him to ſwear, that, to his death, he would adhere to the doctrine of Arius, and look upon thoſe who oppoſed it as enemies to truth; which oath he but too ſtrictly obſerved, as the reader may find in the eccleſiaſtic writers of thoſe times. He had before ſhewed no ſmall partiality to the Arians; but thenceforth he became their great patron, and a cruel perſecutor of the catholics. But to return to the war: the emperor being informed, that the Goths, appriſed of his deſign, were aſſembling a mighty army, in order to attack him the firſt, took the field before the winter was over; and having ſent ſtrong detachments to guard the banks of the Danube, he encamped with the reſt of his army in the neighbourhood of Marcianopolis, the metropolis of Lower Mœſia, where he raiſed Auxonius to the dignity of prefect, in the room of Salluſtius Secundus, no longer able to diſcharge that office, on account of his great age. He was ſtill at Marcianopolis on the thirtieth of May, as appears from the dates of ſome laws [p]; which we will not take upon us to reconcile with what we read in Ammianus [q] and Zoſimus [r], viz. that in the beginning of the ſpring he left the city, and having aſſembled his troops, he paſſed the Danube at a place called Daphne, and ſpent the whole ſummer in ravaging and laying waſte the enemy's country, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, the Goths having fled, upon the approach of the Roman

He is baptized by the Arians.

He paſſes the Danube, and lays waſte the country of the Goths.

[l] Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 340. Eunap. p. 18. Zoſ. p. 748. Jorn. rer Goth. c. 23. p 643. [m] Ammian. p. 338. Eunap. p. 18. [o] Jorn. ibid. c. 3. p. 642, 643. [p] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 79. [q] Ammian. p. 340. [r] Zoſ. p. 741.

Roman army, to the neighbouring mountains, called Serri, inacceſſible to thoſe who were not well acquainted with the country. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the Roman territories, and was on the twenty-fifth of September at Doroſterum in Mœſia, and on the thirty-firſt of January of the enſuing year 368, at Marcianopolis [s], where, without all doubt, he paſſed the winter. This year the Iſaurians, who continued quiet ever ſince the year 359, over-ran the neighbouring countries, plundering not only villages, but towns, and advancing as far as Pamphylia and Cilicia, where they amaſſed an immenſe booty. Muſonius, vicar of Aſia, endeavoured to reſtrain them; but, as he was quite unacquainted with the art of war, he was cut in pieces with all his men. Muſonius had taught rhetoric at Athens, from which employment he was raiſed to the dignity of proconſul of Achaia, and afterwards to that of vicar of Aſia. However, the Iſaurians were in the end ſurrounded by the inhabitants of the countries which they had plundered, and their retreat being cut off, obliged to ſubmit, and quit the booty they had taken. Their lives were ſpared, upon their promiſing to give no moleſtation to their neighbours for the future; and accordingly they kept their word till the year 376, that is, for the ſpace of ten years [t]. Germanicopolis was their chief city, and in the fifth century an epiſcopal ſee; but not at this time, for a biſhop could find no employment among perſons who were robbers by profeſſion. The following year 368, Valens was ſtill at Marcianopolis on the ninth of March [u], and heard there his panegyric pronounced by Themiſtius, upon his entering the fifth year of his reign. The orator mentions in his ſpeech an eaſtern prince, who had quitted the dominions of his father, tho' very conſiderable, to have the honour of ſerving under Valens [w]. Some writers conjecture this prince to have been Para, the ſon of Arſaces king of Armenia, who came to implore the aſſiſtance of Valens againſt the Perſians, and continued ſome time at Neocæſarea in Pontus; but he cannot be ſaid to have ſerved under Valens. One Bacurus, ſtyled king of Iberia, ſerved under Valens at the battle of Adrianople [x], as he did afterwards under Theodoſius [y]; and him perhaps Themiſtius meant. From Marcianopolis the emperor marched early

Great diſorders committed by the Iſaurian robbers.

[s] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 80, 81. [t] Ammian. l. xxxvii. p. 348, 349. Eunap. c. 8. p. 125, 126. [u] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 81. [w] Themiſt. orat. viii. p, 433. [x] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 460. [y] Ruf. l. i. c. x. p. 166.

ly in the ſpring to Carpi, a village, as is ſuppoſed, of Mœſia, with a deſign to ravage, as he had done the year before, the enemy's country: but he was obliged to remain encamped in the ſame place till the beginning of autumn, without ever being able to croſs the Danube, which continued ſwelled beyond meaſure all that ſummer. He therefore returned to Marcianopolis, where he took up his winter-quarters [z]. One of his laws is dated from that place the twelfth of November, and another the thirteenth of December [a]. This year is remarkable for one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes that had ever been felt, by which the city of Nice was utterly ruined, and in that of Germa on the Helleſpont only a few houſes left ſtanding [b]. The following year, 369, the emperor was ſtill at Marcianopolis on the third of May; but at Noviodunum in Leſſer Scythia on the third and fifth of July [c], where he paſſed the Danube on a bridge of boats, and advanced far into the enemy's country, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. Zoſimus tells us, that the Goths ſallying frequently out of the woods and marſhes upon the Romans, the emperor diſpatched againſt them the ſervants that attended the army, promiſing them a certain ſum for each head they ſhould bring. Hereupon ſuch numbers of the enemy were killed in the woods and marſhes where they lurked, that the reſt finding no-where a ſafe retreat, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace [d]. Thus Zoſimus. But Ammianus, whoſe authority is of greater weight, informs us, that Valens, having attacked the Greuthungi, a warlike nation at a conſiderable diſtance from the Danube, after ſeveral encounters, gained a great victory over Athanaric, who at the head of a numerous army had ventured to engage him. After this victory, Valens returned to Marcianopolis, with a deſign to winter there, and renew the war early in the ſpring. But, in the mean while, the Goths, weary of ſo deſtructive a war, which had laſted already three years, and reduced them to the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace; which Valens at firſt refuſed to grant them upon any terms, but was in the end, with much ado, prevailed upon by the ſenate of Conſtantinople to hearken to their propoſals. Thus Themiſtius, who was at the head of the Conſtantinopolitan deputies [f]. Valens, having at their requeſt diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with a favourable

He invades anew the country of the Goths.

The Goths defeated, ſue for peace, and obtain it.

[z] Ammian. l. xxxi. p. 460. [a] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 83. [b] Hier. chron. Socr. l. 4. c. 11. p. 219. [c] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 87. [d] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 741. [e] Ammian. p. 341. [f] Themiſt. orat. x. p. 133.

vourable anſwer, approached the Danube, and named Victor and Arintheus to treat with the Goths. After ſome conferences, a peace was concluded upon the following terms, highly honourable for the Romans; viz. 1. That the Goths ſhould not for the future paſs the Danube, nor ſet foot on the Roman territories. 2. That the trade which they had been allowed by former treaties to carry on with what cities of the empire they pleaſed, ſhould be reſtrained to two only, ſituated on the Danube. 3. That they ſhould not for the future claim nor expect the penſions that had been annually paid them by other emperors; but nevertheleſs, that Athanaric's penſion ſhould be continued to him [g]. This was the firſt peace, concludes Themiſtius, which the Romans had in our memory granted to, and not purchaſed of, the Goths. When Valens and Athanaric were to meet, in order to ratify and ſign the treaty, the latter could not be prevailed upon to paſs the Danube, pretending, that his father had obliged him ſolemnly to ſwear never to tread on Roman ground. On the other hand, Valens, thinking it below the majeſty of the empire to go to him, it was agreed, that the two princes ſhould meet in boats in the middle of the river; which they did accordingly, and ratified the peace to their mutual ſatisfaction [h]. Themiſtius, who was preſent at this interview, deſcribes it much at length, but more like an orator than an hiſtorian [i]. He pronounced his ſpeech in all likelihood at Conſtantinople, whither he retired after the concluſion of the treaty; for, according to the code, he was at Marcianopolis on the ſecond of December, and on the thirteenth of the ſame month at Conſtantinople [k]. This year, dreadful diſorders were committed in Syria by the inhabitants of a large village near Apamea, called Maratacupris, who, roving about the country, robbed all they met, and had even the boldneſs to enter ſome cities in the night-time, and plunder the houſes of the moſt wealthy inhabitants. Hereupon Valens ſent a party of ſoldiers againſt them, with orders to ſet fire to their village, and put them all to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age; which was done accordingly with the utmoſt rigor, the ſoldiers being in expreſs terms enjoined not to ſpare even the ſucking children.

Articles of the treaty.

Severity of Valens to ſome robbers.

THE following year 370, Valens, leaving Conſtantinople, ſet out for Antioch; but he had ſcarce reached Nicomedia, when

[g] Idem, p. 135. [h] Ammian p. 341, 342. [i] Themiſt. orat. x. p. 132, 133. [k] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 88. [l] Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 367, 368.

when he received news of the death of Eudoxius, the Arian biſhop of Conſtantinople, in whoſe room the Arians, with his approbation, placed one Demophilus. The catholics too choſe their biſhop, and raiſed to that ſee Evagrius; but the emperor ſent a party of ſoldiers from Nicomedia, with orders to drive him out. The Arians, thus countenanced by the emperor, raiſed a cruel perſecution againſt the catholics, who thereupon had recourſe to Valens, ſending eighty eccleſiaſtics to lay their grievances before him; but the emperor, inſtead of redreſſing them, ordered Modeſtus, who had been raiſed this year to the dignity of prefect in the room of Auxonius, to put them all to death. Modeſtus, fearing the public executions of ſo many eccleſiaſtics might occaſion great diſturbances, put them all on board a veſſel, pretending the emperor had ordered them to be ſent into baniſhment; but when the veſſel was at ſome diſtance from land, the mariners ſet fire to it, as had been agreed on before-hand, ſaving themſelves in their boat. The ſhip was driven by a ſtrong wind into a harbour called by Socrates, Dacidazus, and there conſumed with all who were in it. This cruelty, ſays that writer, was puniſhed by heaven with a dreadful famine, which obliged moſt of the inhabitants of Phrygia to abandon their country, and fly to other provinces for relief [m]. Some unforeſeen accident muſt have diverted the emperor from his intended journey to Antioch; for he was, as appears from the dates of ſeveral laws, on the tenth of June at Cyzicus; on the twelfth of December of this year, and during the months of January, February, and April of the enſuing year, at Conſtantinople [n]; which he left after the fifth of May [o], and ſet out for Syria, advancing ſlowly, and adminiſtering juſtice in all the cities through which he paſſed; which would have gained him the affection of the inhabitants, had he not at the ſame time made it his chief ſtudy to eſtabliſh everywhere the hereſy of Arius, and betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to the catholics [p]. He paſſed the winter in Cæſarea in Cappadocia, where, to his unſpeakable grief, his only ſon Valentinian Galata died. Gregory Nazianzen writes, that, during his malady the emperor had recourſe to the prayers of St. Baſil, who was then at Cæſarea, and promiſed to reſtore the child to health, provided Valens would ſuffer him to receive the ſacrament of baptiſm at the hands of an orthodox biſhop;

Valens cauſes eighty orthodox eccleſiaſtics to be put to death.

Valentinian, his only ſon, dies.

[m] Socr. l. iv. c. 15. p. 226. [n] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 87—89.
[o] Idem ibid. [p] Zoſ. l. iv. p. 242.

biſhop; which condition he not agreeing to, but, on the contrary, ordering him to be baptized by the Arians, the young prince immediately died [q]. This year the emperor divided Cappadocia into two provinces, appointing Tyana the metropolis of Cappadocia Secunda, as Cæſarea was of Cappadocia Prima. At the ſame time he divided Paleſtine into three provinces, Palæſtina Prima, Palæſtina Secunda, and Palæſtina Salutaris, Cæſarea was the metropolis of the firſt, Scythopholis of the ſecond, and Petra of the third. The latter city, with the greateſt part of Palæſtina Salutaris, was diſmembered from Arabia, as were ſeveral cities in the two other provinces from Phœnicia. The governor of Palæſtina Prima was honoured with the title of conſular; but thoſe of the other two were only ſtyled preſidents [r]. At what time Lycania, which had Iconium for its metropolis, was made a ſeparate province, and thoſe of Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnicia divided into two, and Arabia into three, we will not take upon us to determine. Theſe diviſions of provinces proved very burdenſome to the people, and raiſed quarrels and diſputes among the metropolitan biſhops, as appears from the eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians, and the letters of St. Baſil.

Cappadocia divided into two provinces, and Paleſtine into three.

THE following year 372, Valens left Cæſarea in Cappadocia early in the ſpring; for he was at Seleucia on the fourth of April, and on the thirteenth of the ſame month at Antioch [s]. Soon after his arrival in that city, Libanius pronounced in his preſence part of the ſpeech compoſed in his praiſe, the other part, as it was exceeding long, being put off to another time. The emperor heard him with great pleaſure, if the orator himſelf is to be credited; but the remaining part of the ſpeech was never pronounced [t]. Valens was come to Antioch to watch the motions of the Perſians; for Sapor laying claim to Armenia, which had formerly belonged to the kings of Perſia, but not caring openly to invade it, leſt the Romans ſhould eſpouſe the cauſe of their allies, after having attempted in vain to allure the nobility over to his party, pretending great friendſhip for Arſaces their king, he invited him to a banquet, during which he ordered the unwary prince to be ſeized, and having put out his eyes, ſent him in chains to a caſtle, called Agabana, where he was ſoon after put to death [u]. This in all likelihood

Sapor begins new troubles in Armenia and Iberia.

[q] Greg. Naz. orat. xx. p. 351. [r] Hier. quæſt. Hebr. p. 212. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 171. notit. c. 1. p. 3. Noris, epoch. p. 401, 402. [s] Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91. [t] Liban. vit. p. 48. [u] Ammian. l. xxv. p. 300. & l. xxvii. p. 353.

likelihood, is what gave occaſion to the long account we read in Procopius of the captivity of Arſaces king of Armenia, taken priſoner by one Pacurus king of Perſia [w]; an account which has all the air of a romance. Sapor, having thus treacherouſly diſpatched Arſaces, gave the government of Armenia to Cylax and Artabanes, both natives of the country, but inviolably attached to his intereſt. Then, driving out Sauromaces, whom the Romans had created king of Iberia, he put one Aſpacuras in his place, couſin-german to Sauromaces, honouring him with a diadem, which the Romans had refuſed to the other [x]. Olympias, the daughter of Ablavius, one of Conſtantine's chief officers, and given by that prince in marriage to Arſaces, was no ſooner informed of the captivity of her huſband, than ſhe took refuge with her ſon Paras in a ſtrong fort called Artogeraſſa, where the king's treaſures were lodged. Cylax and Artabanes were immediately ordered by Sapor to lay ſiege to the place; which they did accordingly: but pitying the forlorn condition of the queen and the young prince, they agreed with the beſieged to abandon the Perſians to their fury; who were accordingly almoſt all to a man cut off in a ſally made by agreement in the night-time, while the guards themſelves in the camp were aſleep, Cylax and Artabanes having given out, that the beſieged had demanded and obtained a truce for two days, in order to conſider on the terms that had been offered them. The queen, thus delivered from the preſent danger, ſent her ſon Paras to implore the aſſiſtance of the emperor, who cauſed him to be entertained for ſome time at Neocæſarea in Pontus, in a manner ſuitable to his rank and condition. However, not daring to aſſiſt him openly, at the requeſt of the nobility of Armenia, he charged Terentius, who commanded on the border of that country, with the title of comes or count, to conduct him into his father's kingdom, which he ſuffered him to govern, but without the title of king, or any of the enſigns of royalty, leſt the Perſians ſhould look upon his appointing him king as a breach of the peace. Sapor was no ſooner informed of what had paſſed in Armenia, than, tranſported with rage, he ſent a ſtrong body of troops into that kingdom, who committing every-where dreadful ravages, obliged Paras, no-ways in a condition to oppoſe them, to take refuge, with Cylax and Artabanes, among the inacceſſible mountains between the Roman territories and Lazica.

He ſeizes and deſtroys ſeveral ſtrong-holds in Armenia.

[w] Procop. bell. Perſ. l. i. c. 5. p. 15—17. [x] Ammian. p. 353—355.

The Perſians in the mean time, after having taken and burnt ſeveral ſtrong holds, ſat down at length before Artogeraſſa, which, after ſeveral attacks, they took and deſtroyed, carrying away with them the wife and treaſures of Arſaces. Sapor, finding he could not get Paras into his power, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, in which he ſeldom miſcarried; and by private meſſages to the young prince, whoſe cauſe he promiſed to eſpouſe, prevailed upon him to cut off the heads of Cylax and Artabanes, who, he ſaid, were rather his governors than miniſters, and ſent them to him into Perſia [y]. Valens, who had hitherto declined ſending troops into Armenia, leſt he ſhould be charged with a breach of the peace, was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he ordered Arintheus, one of the beſt commanders of his age, with a powerful army, into that kingdom, which by that means was preſerved, the Perſians not daring to ſend more troops thither, through fear of being overpowered by the Romans. Hereupon Sapor diſpatched embaſſadors to Valens, complaining of his ſending troops to the aſſiſtance of the Armenians, which, he ſaid, was a manifeſt breach of the treaty concluded between him and Jovian. Valens, without regarding the complaints of the Perſian king, ſent a new reinforcement of troops to Arintheus, and at the ſame time diſpatched Terentius, with twelve legions, into Iberia, to reſtore Sauromaces, driven out of his kingdom by the Perſians. Terentius was met as he drew near the river Cyrus, by embaſſadors from Aſpacuras, whom the Perſians had created king of Iberia, deſiring, that he and his kinſman Sauromaces might reign jointly, ſince he could neither reſign, nor take part with the Romans, by reaſon his ſon was detained as an hoſtage in the Perſian court. The emperor, being acquainted with his propoſal, and willing to ſettle the affairs of Iberia without bloodſhed, conſented to a partition of the country, aſſigning to Sauromaces that part which lay ſouth of the river Cyrus, and next to Armenia and Lazica, and the remainder, bordering upon Albania and Perſia, to Aſpacuras [z]. This highly incenſed Sapor, who loudly complained, that the Romans, contrary to the treaty of peace, had ſent troops into Armenia, and, deſpiſing his embaſſy, had, without his knowledge or conſent, divided Iberia. Being now reſolved to make open war upon the Romans, he aſſembled his forces, concluded alliances with the neighbouring princes, and ſpent the

Valens ſends troops to the aſſiſtance of the Armenians.

Iberia divided into two kingdoms.

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem. p. 355. Themiſt. orat. xi. p. 143—149.

the winter of this year 372, in vaſt preparations. However, he could not, it ſeems, put himſelf in a condition to act this year; for we do not find, that he attempted any thing, or even appeared in the field. As for Valens, he advanced to the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris; whence he returned in the latter end of autumn, without undertaking any thing which authors have thought worthy of notice. About this time a conſpiracy was, it ſeems, formed againſt Valens, but ſeaſonably diſcovered [a]; and this is all we find in hiſtory concerning it. The following year Sapor ſent a conſiderable army towards the borders of the Roman empire, where they were met by Trajan, an officer of great experience, and Vadomarius, formerly king of the Alemans, at the head of a numerous and choſen body of troops. The Roman generals had orders not to attack the Perſians the firſt, that the emperor might not be charged with a breach of the treaty; but the Perſians falling upon them, they gained a complete victory. However, Valens readily conſented to a truce; which was no ſooner concluded, than he returned to Antioch, and Sapor to Cteſiphon; for both princes had advanced as far as Meſopotamia, to ſupport their reſpective generals [b].

The Perſians defeated.

[a] Themiſt. or. xi p. 148. [b] Ammian. l. xxix. p. 383.

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